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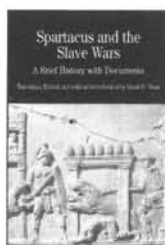


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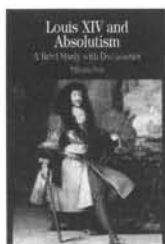
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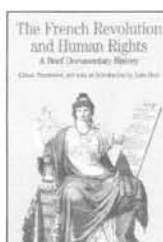
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In This Issue

This issue includes the AHA Presidential Address by Eric Foner, three research articles, a trio of review essays that assess the value and limitations of a recent work of social theory, and our regular array of book and film reviews. It seems fitting, since Foner's theme is the need to internationalize our thinking about America's place in twentieth-century history, that all of the research articles and review essays address issues that are either transnational or comparative in nature. When read as a whole, this issue gives a sense of the varied ways that crossing national boundaries and looking for connections between seemingly disparate case studies can enrich our vision of the past. This is true whether our work focuses on the history of popular culture, the environment, urban space, or the role of the state—to name some of the topical areas discussed in the pages that follow.

Presidential Address

Eric Foner, drawing on his recent book on freedom in America, focuses on the international dimensions of this topic. How exactly, he asks, have visions of freedom in the United States been understood abroad and been affected by events taking place outside of this nation? In exploring this issue, he makes provocative comments in passing on a great many topics of historical and contemporary relevance. One central concern he has, which shows through most clearly in his provocative ending discussion of "globalization," is to demonstrate that bringing history into the picture can help us not just understand more fully but also sometimes add an important critical edge to debates relating to current affairs.

Articles

Kate Brown argues that, due to the political and military rivalries of the Cold War, historians on both sides of the now-fallen Iron Curtain have generally stressed the contrasts between the histories, economies, and political systems of the United States and the Soviet Union when looking at the decades of the latter's existence. Brown challenges the notion that these two one-time enemies were actually the polar opposites they are often imagined to have been. She does this by using, as a starting point, the visual similarity of a Soviet gulag city in Kazakhstan and one of Montana's railroad towns. Brown pays particularly close attention to the way, in each context, space was "gridded" as a method for turning it into efficient units for production. Her essay combines impressionistic discussion of a pair of urban settings that turn out to have much more in common than many readers would imagine, relating not just to urban planning but also to methods of social control, and an overarching analysis of the blinders placed on our vision of the Soviet Union in particular (but also the United States) by Cold War polemics and modes of thought.

Steve Marquardt draws on methods and approaches associated with two disparate historical subfields—labor history and environmental history—in his exploration of the political economy of banana production in Central America and the Caribbean. The main focus of his discussion is a soil-born fungus that devastated banana plantations in this region between the 1890s and the early 1960s, and the varied responses to the disease by the United Fruit Company—responses that were often ineffective and sometimes led to a deterioration of management-labor relations. Marquardt's most fundamental claim is that, to understand fully the history of capitalist agriculture, it is crucial to pay more attention than is often done to the experiences of workers, the nature of the local environment, and the cultural setting in question.

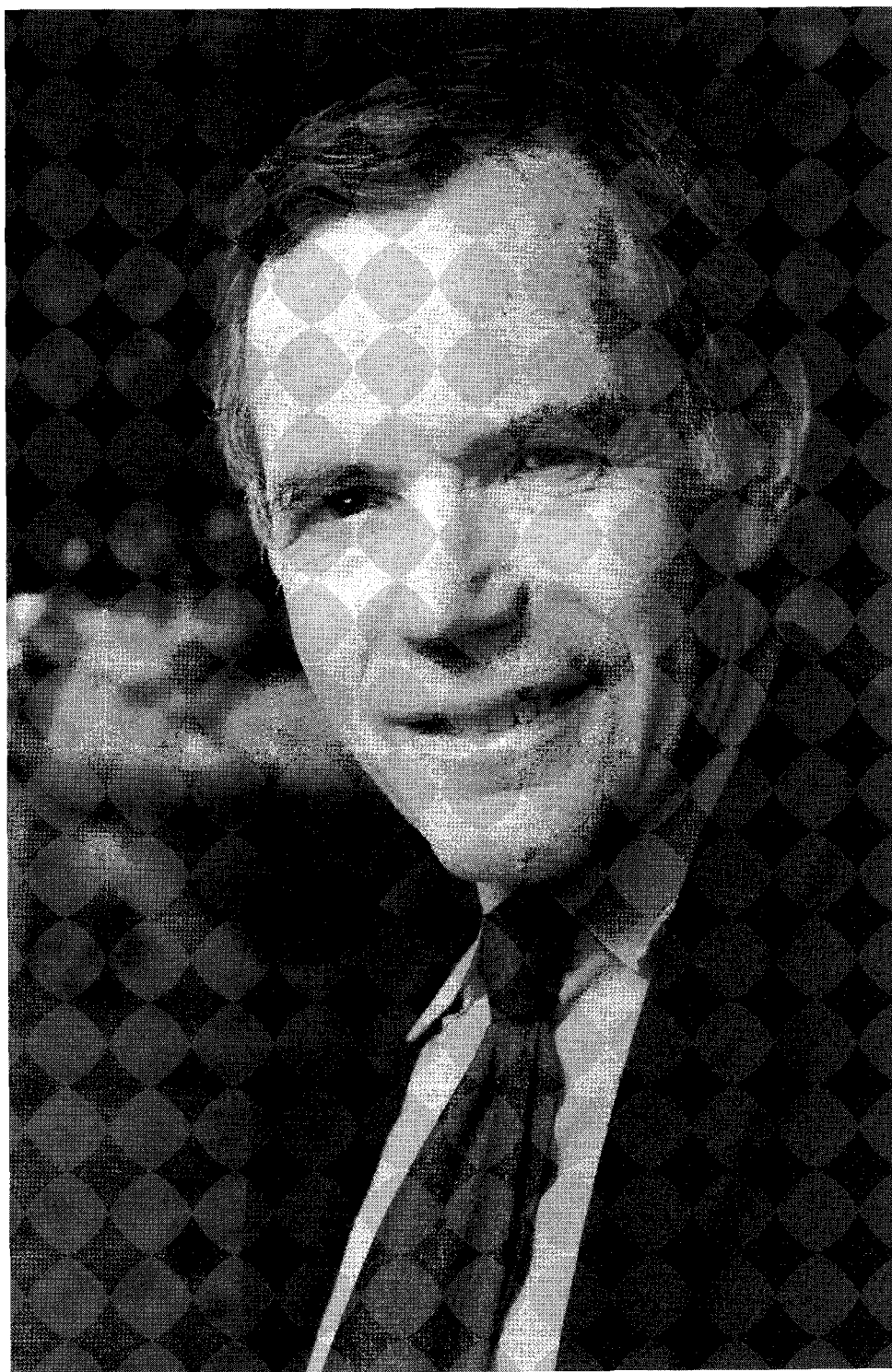
Charles Ambler takes us into the world of Northern Rhodesian popular culture of the 1940s and 1950s, a time when Hollywood

28 larly Westerns, routinely drew large crowds of African
lected everything from children's games to colloquial
abler argues that, in understanding the meaning of this
id thinking more complexly about the influence of
on varied parts of the world, it is crucial to keep in
mind the agency of the audience. Drawing on insights from feminist
film criticism and some of the literature on cultural imperialism, the
piece emphasizes that viewers always can—and often do—ascribe
novel meanings to the movies they watch. In addition, discussions of
film spectatorship only make sense when historicized and placed
carefully into context. His claims about the Northern Rhodesian case,
in which films were often treated as “attractions” of a very particular
sort, is both locally rooted and broad in its implications.

Review Essays

Three essays address different aspects of James C. Scott's *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, an ambitious new work of comparative social theory that explores homologies between regimes of the recent past that have subscribed to different ideologies. **Jane Caplan**, a specialist in German history, stresses the insights provided by Scott's use of the metaphor of mapping to analyze the way modern bureaucracies have often tended to think about and respond to social issues in a manner that is too utopian and abstract and insufficiently rooted in local knowledge. She wonders, though, about Scott's failure to look closely at the ways in which official forms of knowledge can be and often are appropriated by unofficial actors. **Morton Keller**, who specializes in American history, though also finding much of value in Scott's analysis, is troubled by the extent to which this new book downplays the unusual nature of the role of the state in the United States. Rather than challenging ideas about American exceptionalism, Keller claims, paying attention to the role of the state can actually reinforce this notion. **Fernando Coronil**, an anthropologist and specialist in Latin American history, ends the section by expressing concern over what he sees as an approach by Scott both to the mechanisms of state power

and the role of markets in shaping and reflecting social interactions that is too simplistic. For all of its provocative and insightful sections, Coronil argues, *Seeing Like a State* is, in some ways, a work that plays things too safe by creating too orderly a picture of the world—and hence Scott falls, at times, into one of the very traps that he identifies so skillfully as limiting the effectiveness of modern regimes.



ERIC FONER, copyright Barbara Alper.

Presidential Address
American Freedom in a Global Age

ERIC FONER

TO BE CHOSEN AS PRESIDENT OF THE American Historical Association is the highest honor that can come to a historian in the United States. I am extremely grateful to my colleagues for selecting me as the first AHA president of the twenty-first century—or, depending on how one measures the passage of time, the last of the twentieth.

In either case, I want to begin tonight by recalling briefly the last turn of the century. One hundred years ago, the United States had just emerged victorious in its “splendid little war” against Spain. It was actively engaged in the decidedly less splendid struggle to subdue the movement for independence in the Philippines. Both conflicts announced that the country was poised to take its place among the world’s great powers, and writers here and abroad confidently predicted that American influence would soon span the globe. The precise nature of that influence was a matter of some dispute. In his 1902 book *The New Empire*, Brooks Adams, whose brother Charles Francis Adams served as this association’s president exactly one century ago, saw America’s rise to world power as essentially economic. “As the United States becomes an imperial market,” he proclaimed, “she stretches out along the trade-routes which lead from foreign countries to her heart, as every empire has stretched out from the days of Sargon to our own.” Within fifty years, Adams predicted, “the United States will outweigh any single empire, if not all empires combined.”¹

The year 1902 also witnessed a prediction with a somewhat different emphasis, offered by W. T. Stead in a short volume with the arresting title, *The Americanisation of the World: or, The Trend of the Twentieth Century*. Stead was a sensationalist English editor whose previous writings included an exposé of London prostitution, *Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon*. He would later meet his death as a passenger on the *Titanic*. Convinced that the United States was emerging as “the greatest of world-powers,” Stead proposed that it and his homeland “merge” (by which he meant both political union and individual intermarriages), so that the enervated British could have their “exhausted exchequer” revived by an infusion of America’s

Thanks to Professor Thomas Bender of New York University for inviting me to participate in the 1999 La Pietra Conference on Internationalizing the Study of American History, where some of the ideas in this essay were first developed, and for his extremely helpful comments on the paper I delivered there. I also wish to thank my colleague, Victoria DeGrazia, for sharing with me some of her insights on the consequences of globalization.

¹ Brooks Adams, *The New Empire* (New York, 1902), 208.

“exuberant energies.” But what was most striking about Stead’s little essay was that he located the essential source of American power less in the realm of military or economic might than in the relentless international spread of American culture—art, music, journalism, theater, even ideas about religion and gender relations. He foresaw a future in which the United States would promote its values and interests through an unending involvement in the affairs of other nations.²

Today, we are in many ways living in the world Adams and Stead imagined (although Britain does retain its nominal independence). At the dawn of the twenty-first century, the United States is indisputably the world’s preeminent military, economic, and cultural power. Moreover, the flow of people, investment, production, culture, and communications across national boundaries that impressed both Adams and Stead continues its rapid growth. We are constantly being reminded that the world we inhabit is becoming smaller and more integrated and that formerly autonomous nations are bound ever more tightly by a complex web of economic and cultural connections. Globalization, the popular shorthand term for these processes, has been called “the concept of the 1990s.” However, its novelty, extent, and consequences remain subjects of heated disagreement. Is globalization producing a homogenized and “Americanized” world, a unified global culture whose economic arrangements, social values, and political institutions are based primarily on those of the United States? Or is it transforming societies without making them identical, producing “multiple modernities” in which international images and commodities are incorporated locally in a continuing process of selection and reinterpretation?³

I do not plan tonight to try to answer these questions, which now engage the attention of some of our most prominent social scientists. But as a historian, I feel it necessary to point out that, like every other product of human activity, globalization itself has a history. The dream of global unity goes back to the days of Alexander the Great and Genghis Khan. The internationalization of commerce and culture and the reshuffling of the world’s peoples have been going on for centuries. Today’s globalized communications follow in the footsteps of clipper ships, the telegraph, and the telephone. Today’s international movements for social change—including protests against some of the adverse consequences of globalization—have their precedents in transnational labor and socialist movements, religious revivals, and struggles against slavery and for women’s rights. As for economic globalization, Karl Marx long ago pointed out that capitalism is an international system that “must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.” This was why he and Friedrich Engels called on proletarians to unite as a global force. “All old-established national industries,” they wrote, “have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed . . . In place of the old local and national seclusion and

² W. T. Stead, *The Americanisation of the World: or, The Trend of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1902), 5, 59, 123.

³ David Reynolds, *One World Divisible: A Global History since 1945* (New York, 2000), 650–51; Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 1–4; David Held, *et al.*, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford, Calif., 1999), 3–7; “Multiple Modernities,” special issue of *Daedalus* (Winter 2000).

self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations." These words were written in 1848.⁴

Nonetheless, the dimensions and speed of globalization have certainly accelerated in the last two decades. And by remaking our present, globalization invites us to rethink our past. All history, as the saying goes, is contemporary history. Today, our heightened awareness of globalization—however the term is delimited and defined—should challenge historians to become more cognizant of how past events are embedded in an international, even a global, context. Nearly fifty years ago, Geoffrey Barraclough wondered whether histories with a "myopic concentration on individual nations" could effectively illuminate "the world in which we live."⁵ For American historians, this question is even more pertinent today.

The institutions, processes, and values that have shaped American history—from capitalism to political democracy, slavery, and consumer culture—arose out of global processes and can only be understood in an international context. This, of course, is hardly a new insight. Back in the 1930s, W. E. B. Du Bois insisted that it was impossible to understand the black experience in the United States without reference to "that dark and vast sea of human labor in China and India, the South Seas and all Africa . . . that great majority of mankind, on whose bent and broken backs rest today the founding stones of modern industry." Herbert E. Bolton warned that by treating the American past in isolation, historians were helping to raise up a "nation of chauvinists."⁶

At the time, these pleas more or less fell on deaf ears. But some of the best recent works of American history have developed complex understandings of the nation's relationship to the larger world. The emerging "Atlantic" perspective on the colonial era offers the promise of seeing early American history not simply as an offshoot of Great Britain or prelude to the revolution but as part and parcel of the international expansion of European empires and the transatlantic migration of peoples. Bonnie Anderson's history of the "first international women's movement" traces the transatlantic exchange of ideas on issues ranging from suffrage to child rearing and divorce. *Barbarian Virtues*, by Matthew Jacobson, examines how a century ago Americans' real and imagined encounters with foreign peoples—as potential consumers and laborers, and as exemplars of a "lower" state of civilization—helped shape a new sense of national identity. Daniel Rodgers' *Atlantic Crossings* demonstrates that American Progressivism must be seen as part of an international discussion about "social politics." Important writings in economic history stress how world markets have shaped our agriculture, port cities, and industrial towns. Most of these works focus on relationships between the United States and Europe. But the best recent work in Asian-American studies has begun to develop what might be called a Pacific perspective that moves beyond an older paradigm based on immigration and assimilation to examine how continuing

⁴ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto: A Modern Edition* (New York, 1998), 39. See also Kevin H. O'Rourke and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *When Did Globalization Begin?* National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper, 7633 (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

⁵ Geoffrey Barraclough, "The Larger View of History," *Times Literary Supplement* (January 6, 1956): ii.

⁶ W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (New York, 1935), 15; Herbert E. Bolton, *Wider Horizons of American History* (New York, 1939), 2.

transnational cultural and economic interactions shape the experience of minority groups within the United States. Yet in nearly all areas of American history, such works remain dwarfed by those that stop at the nation's borders.⁷

A little over a decade ago, my predecessor as AHA president Akira Iriye called for historians to "internationalize" the study of history by treating the entire world as their framework of study. This is a daunting challenge, probably impossible for most historians to accomplish. Of course, as Professor Iriye well knows, international paradigms—"the West," "modernization," "the Judeo-Christian tradition"—can be every bit as obfuscating as histories that are purely national. My point is somewhat different—that even histories organized along the lines of the nation-state must be, so to speak, deprovincialized, placed in the context of international interactions. Since the birth of the modern era, the nation has constituted the principal framework for historical study. It is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. Internationalizing history does not mean abandoning or homogenizing national histories, dissolving the experience of the United States, or any other nation, in a sea of supranational processes. International dynamics operate in different ways in different countries. Every nation, to one extent or another, thinks of itself as exceptional—a conviction, of course, rather more prominent in the United States (and among its historians) than elsewhere. But globalization does force us to think about history in somewhat different ways.⁸

Historians are fully aware of how American military might, commodities, and culture have affected the rest of the world, especially in the twentieth century. We know how the United States has exported everything from Coca-Cola to ideas about democracy and "free enterprise." Far less attention has been devoted to how our history has been affected from abroad. "Europe," Frantz Fanon wrote in *The Wretched of the Earth*, "is literally the creation of the Third World."⁹ Fanon was referring not only to the wealth Europe gleaned from its colonial dependencies but to the fact that the encounters of different peoples—real encounters and those of the imagination—crystallize political ideologies and concepts of identity. They also, one might add, always seem to produce inequalities of power and of rights. Fanon's insight needs to be extended to the United States. An understanding of America cannot be obtained purely from within America. To illustrate my point, I want to refer to the most central idea in American political culture, an idea that anchors the American sense of exceptional national identity—freedom.

⁷ J. H. Elliott, *Do the Americas Have a Common History? An Address* (Providence, R.I., 1998); Bonnie S. Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830–1860* (New York, 2000); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917* (New York, 2000); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Oscar V. Campomanes, "New Formations of Asian American Studies and the Question of U. S. Imperialism," *Positions* 5 (Fall 1997): 523–50.

⁸ Akira Iriye, "The Internationalization of History," *AHR* 94 (February 1989): 1–10. See also Lawrence Veysey, "The Autonomy of American History Reconsidered," *American Quarterly* 31 (Fall 1979): 455–77; Ian Tyrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *AHR* 96 (October 1991): 1031–55; David Thelen, "Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons: Toward the Internationalization of American History," *Journal of American History* 79 (September 1992): 432–62; Thomas Bender, *The La Pietra Report: The NYU-OAH Project on Internationalizing the Study of American History* (Bloomington, Ind., 2000). Annual reports of this project and *The La Pietra Report* are available on the World Wide Web at www.oah.org.

⁹ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Constance Farrington, trans. (New York, 1963), 81.

No idea is more fundamental to Americans' sense of themselves as individuals and as a nation than freedom. The central term in our political vocabulary, "freedom"—or "liberty," with which it is almost always used interchangeably—is deeply embedded in the record of our history and the language of everyday life. The Declaration of Independence lists liberty among mankind's inalienable rights; the Constitution announces as its purpose to secure liberty's blessings. Obviously, other peoples also cherish freedom, but the idea does seem to occupy a more prominent place in public and private discourse in the United States than elsewhere. The ubiquitous American expression, "It's a free country," invoked by disobedient children and assertive adults to explain or justify their actions, is not, I believe, familiar in other societies. "Every man in the street, white, black, red or yellow," wrote the educator and statesman Ralph Bunche in 1940, "knows that this is 'the land of the free' . . . 'the cradle of liberty.'"¹⁰

In *The Story of American Freedom*, published in 1998, I examined the history of the idea of freedom in the United States, viewing it as a tale of debates, disagreements, and struggles rather than a fixed category or predetermined concept.¹¹ While not entirely neglecting the international dimensions of American history, I emphasized how the changing meaning of freedom has been shaped and reshaped by social and political struggles within the United States—battles, for example, over the abolition of slavery, women's rights, labor organization, and freedom of speech for those outside the social mainstream. Yet America's relationship, real and imagined, with the rest of the world has also powerfully influenced the idea of freedom and its evolution. As with other central elements of our political language—independence, equality, and citizenship, for example—freedom has been defined and redefined with reference to its putative opposite. The most striking example, of course, is slavery, a stark, homegrown illustration of the nature of unfreedom that helped define Americans' language of liberty in the colonial era and well into the nineteenth century. In the early labor movement's crusade against "wage slavery" and denunciations of "the slavery of sex" by advocates of women's rights, the condition of African Americans powerfully affected how free Americans understood their own situation.

While Americans have frequently identified threats to freedom at home, including slavery, luxury, and a too-powerful federal government, they have also looked abroad to locate dangers to freedom. The American Revolution was inspired, in part, by the conviction that Great Britain was conspiring to eradicate freedom in North America. In the twentieth century, world affairs have frequently been understood as titanic struggles between a "free world," centered in the United States, and its enemies—Nazis during World War II, communists during the Cold War, and, most recently, "terrorists," drug cartels, or Islamic fundamentalists.

Of course, the relationship between American freedom and the outside world works both ways. "America," as myth and reality, has for centuries played a part in how other peoples think about their own societies. The United States has frequently been viewed from abroad as the embodiment of one or another kind of freedom.

¹⁰ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, 1944), 4.

¹¹ Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York, 1998).

European labor, in the nineteenth century, identified this country as a land where working men and women enjoyed freedoms not available in the Old World. In the twentieth, younger generations throughout the world selectively appropriated artifacts of American popular culture for acts of cultural rebellion. Some foreign observers, to be sure, have taken a rather jaundiced view of Americans' stress on their own liberty. The "tyranny of the majority," Alexis de Tocqueville commented, ruled the United States: "I know of no country, in which there is so little independence of mind and real freedom of discussion as in America." A century and a half later, another French writer, Jean Baudrillard, concluded his own tour of the United States with the observation that if New York and Los Angeles now stood "at the center of the world," it is a world defined not so much by freedom but by "wealth, power, senility, indifference, puritanism and mental hygiene, poverty and waste, technological futility and aimless violence."¹²

My interest tonight, however, is not images of America emanating from abroad, or the global impact of the United States, but how global embeddedness has affected American history itself. At key moments in our history, America's relationship to the outside world has helped establish how freedom is understood within the United States. To a considerable degree, the self-definition of the United States as a nation-state with a special mission to bring freedom to all mankind depends on the "otherness" of the outside world, often expressed in the Manichean categories of New World versus Old or free world versus slave.

The idea of America as an embodiment of freedom in a world overrun by tyranny goes back to well before the American Revolution. Ironically, however, this ideology must be understood not simply with reference to the unique conditions of North American settlement—available land, weak government, etc.—but as a conscious creation of European policymakers. From the earliest days of settlement, migrants from Britain and the Continent held the promise of the New World to be liberation from the social inequalities and widespread economic dependence of the Old. Many others saw America as a divinely appointed locale where mankind could, for the first time, be truly free in the sense of worshiping God in a manner impossible in Europe. But these ideas can only be understood in the context of the clash of empires that produced American settlement in the first place, and engaged the colonists in a seemingly endless series of wars involving the rival French, Spanish, and Dutch empires. British monarchs did as much as colonists themselves to create the idea of America as an asylum for "those whom bigots chase from foreign lands" by actively encouraging continental emigration to the New World in order to strengthen their colonies without depleting the population of the British Isles. As Marilyn C. Baseler writes, colonial liberty of conscience "was largely a byproduct of English policies and did not necessarily reflect a strong commitment by America's early settlers to the principles of religious freedom."¹³

¹² Rob Kroes, *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall: European and American Mass Culture* (Urbana, Ill., 1996); David M. Potter, *Freedom and Its Limitations in American Life*, Don E. Fehrenbacher, ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1976), 2–3; Jean Baudrillard, *America*, Chris Turner, trans. (New York, 1988), 23.

¹³ Jack P. Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America: Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993); Marilyn C. Baseler, "Asylum for Mankind": *America, 1607–1800* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 4, 56.

The growth of the three most dynamic empires of the eighteenth century—the British, French, and Dutch—depended on the debasement of millions of people into slavery and the dispossession of millions of native inhabitants of the Americas. The yoking of freedom and domination was a global phenomenon, intrinsic to the imperial expansion of Europe, England's mainland colonies not excepted. Nonetheless, all three empires developed discourses claiming a special relationship to freedom (partly in contrast to the Spanish, who were seen as representing tyranny at home and a peculiarly inhumane form of imperialism overseas). From an international perspective, claims by Britain and its colonies to a unique relationship with liberty ring somewhat hollow. The Dutch actually had more justification in claiming to represent the principle of religious toleration, while France respected the principle of “free air”—which liberated any slave setting foot on metropolitan soil—well before Great Britain. Nonetheless, the idea that the Anglo-American world enjoyed a unique measure of freedom was widely disseminated in the colonies. Belief in freedom as the common heritage of all Britons was, Jack P. Greene writes, the “single most important element in defining a larger Imperial identity for Britain and the British Empire.” It served to cast imperial wars against Catholic France and Spain as struggles between liberty and tyranny, a language in which to this day virtually every American war has been described.¹⁴

The coming of independence rendered the rights of “freeborn Englishmen” irrelevant in America. But the revolution did more than substitute one parochial ideology of freedom for another. The struggle for independence universalized the idea of American freedom. Even before 1776, patriotic orators and pamphleteers were identifying America as a special place with a special mission, “a land of liberty, the seat of virtue, the asylum of the oppressed, a name and a praise in the whole earth,” to quote Joseph Warren. This vision required a somewhat exaggerated negative image of the rest of the world. Outside British North America, proclaimed Samuel Williams in *A Discourse on the Love of Our Country* (1775), mankind was sunk in debauchery and despotism. In Asia and Africa, “the very idea of liberty” was “unknown.” Even in Europe, Williams claimed, the “vital flame” of “freedom” was being extinguished. Here, and here alone, was “the country of free men.”¹⁵

This sense of American uniqueness was pervasive in the revolutionary era, as was the view of the revolution as not simply an internal squabble within the British Empire but the opening of a new era in human history. The point was not necessarily to spark liberation movements in other countries but to highlight the alleged differences between the United States and the rest of mankind. One pamphleteer of 1776, Ebenezer Baldwin, predicted that even in the year 2000 America would remain the world's sole center of freedom. But while affirming their uniqueness, Americans from the outset were obsessed with the repute in which they

¹⁴ Jan Lucassen, “The Netherlands, the Dutch, and Long-Distance Migration in the Late Sixteenth to Early Nineteenth Centuries,” in *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration 1500–1800*, Nicholas Canny, ed. (Oxford, 1994), 153; Sue Peabody, “There Are No Slaves in France”: *The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (New York, 1996), 3–5; Jack P. Greene, “Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution,” in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Wm. Roger Louis, editor-in-chief, 5 vols. (New York, 1998–99), 2: 208; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 35, 53–55, 212.

¹⁵ Bernard Bailyn, *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 119, 138–40; Theodore Draper, *A Struggle for Power: The American Revolution* (New York, 1996), 414.

were held abroad. George Washington defended the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion, in part, because of “the impression it will make on *others*”—the others being European skeptics who wished to see the world-historical experiment fail because they did not believe human beings could “govern ourselves.” Over half a century later, Abraham Lincoln would contend that slavery weakened the American mission by exposing the country to the charge of hypocrisy from the “enemies of free institutions” abroad.¹⁶

In his *History of the American Revolution* (1789), David Ramsay, the father of American historical writing, insisted that what defined the new nation was not the usual basis of nationality—a set of boundaries, a long-established polity, or a common “race” or ethnicity—but a special destiny “to enlarge the happiness of mankind.” This narrative was elaborated by nineteenth-century historians such as Walter H. Prescott, Francis Parkman, and George Bancroft. In their account, the seeds of liberty, planted in Puritan New England, had reached their inevitable flowering in the American Revolution and westward expansion. These writers were fully aware of the global dimension of American history, but their conviction that the United States represented a unique embodiment of the idea of freedom inevitably fostered a certain insularity. Since territorial growth meant “extending the area of freedom,” those who stood in the way—European powers with legal title to part of the North American continent, Native Americans, Mexicans—were by definition obstacles to the progress of liberty. In the outlook of most white Americans, the West was not a battleground of peoples and governments but an “empty” space ready to be occupied as part of the divine mission of the United States.¹⁷

American expansion, which involved constant encounters with non-white people (or people like the Mexicans defined as non-white), greatly enhanced what might be called the exclusionary dimensions of American freedom. The nation’s rapid territorial growth was widely viewed as evidence of the innate superiority of a mythical construct known as the “Anglo-Saxon race,” whose special qualities made it uniquely suited to bring freedom and prosperity to the continent and the world. America may have been an empire but, in Thomas Jefferson’s phrase, it was an “empire of liberty,” supposedly distinct from the oppressive empires of Europe.¹⁸

Of course, the contradiction between the rhetoric of universal liberty and the actual limits of freedom within the United States goes back to the era of colonization. The slavery controversy was primarily a matter internal to the United States. But as an institution that existed throughout the Western hemisphere, and whose abolition was increasingly demanded by a movement transcending national

¹⁶ John C. Rainbolt, “Americans’ Initial View of Their Revolution’s Significance for Other Peoples, 1776–1788,” *The Historian* 35 (May 1973): 421–22; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, 39 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1931–44), 34: 98; Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953–55), 2: 255.

¹⁷ Arthur H. Shaffer, *To Be an American: David Ramsay and the Making of the American Consciousness* (Columbia, S.C., 1991), 107–12; Dorothy Ross, “Grand Narrative in American Historical Writing: From Romance to Uncertainty,” *AHR* 100 (June 1995): 651–52; Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret C. Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994), 97–112.

¹⁸ Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 1–4; Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1990).

boundaries, slavery's impact on American freedom had an international dimension as well. Slavery did much to determine how a nation born in revolution reacted to revolutions abroad. American culture in the antebellum period glorified the revolutionary heritage. But acceptable revolutions were by white men—like the Greeks or Hungarians—seeking their freedom from tyrannical government, not slaves rebelling against their own lack of liberty. Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner were not part of the pantheon of national heroes, nor was Toussaint L'Ouverture greeted with the same enthusiasm as Louis Kossuth. Indeed, unlike the French, whose revolution certainly had its share of violence, the carnage in Saint-Domingue was taken to demonstrate that blacks lacked the capacity for self-government—in a word, they were congenitally unfit for the enjoyment of freedom.¹⁹

As the nineteenth century wore on, the centrality of slavery to American life exposed the nation to the charge of willful hypocrisy, and from no quarter was the charge more severe than from blacks themselves. Black abolitionists were among the most penetrating critics of the hollowness of official pronouncements about American freedom. In calling for a redefinition of freedom as an entitlement of all mankind, not one from which certain groups defined as “races” could legitimately be excluded, black abolitionists repudiated the rhetorical division of the world into the United States, a beacon of freedom, and the Old World, a haven of oppression. “I am ashamed,” declared black abolitionist William Wells Brown, “when I hear men talking about . . . the despotism of Napoleon III . . . Before you boast of your freedom and Christianity, do your duty to your fellow man.”²⁰

Most strikingly, abolitionists, black and white alike, reversed the familiar dichotomy between American freedom and British tyranny. Once slavery had been abolished in the British Empire, the former mother country represented freedom more genuinely than the United States. August 1, the anniversary of emancipation in the British West Indies, became the black Fourth of July, the occasion of annual “freedom celebrations” that pointedly drew attention to the distinction between the “monarchial liberty” of a nation that had abolished slavery and “republican slavery” in the United States. With the passage in 1850 of the Fugitive Slave Act, several thousand black Americans fled to Canada, fearing reenslavement in the United States. Which country was now the asylum of the oppressed?²¹

As Linda Colley has argued, the abolition of slavery in 1833 enabled Britons to regain the earlier sense of their own nation as a paradigm of freedom. Emancipation demonstrated Britain's superior national virtue compared to the United States, and gave it, despite the sordid realities of British imperialism, an irrefutable claim to moral integrity. A similar process occurred in the United States. After decades of the slavery controversy, which had somewhat tarnished the sense of a special American mission to preserve and promote liberty, the Civil War and Emancipation

¹⁹ Donald R. Hickey, “America's Response to the Slave Revolt in Haiti, 1791–1806,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 2 (Winter 1982): 368–73; Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968), 412–14.

²⁰ C. Peter Ripley, ed., *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, 5 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985–92), 4: 248–49.

²¹ John R. McKivigan and Jason H. Silverman, “Monarchial Liberty and Republican Slavery: West Indian Emancipation Celebrations in Upstate New York and Canada West,” *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 10 (January 1986): 10–12; Paul Goodman, *Of One Blood: Abolitionism and the Origins of Racial Equality* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 235.

reinforced the identification of the United States with the progress of freedom, linking this mission as never before with the power of the national state. By the 1880s, James Bryce was struck by the strength not only of Americans' commitment to freedom but by their conviction that they were the "only people" truly to enjoy it.²²

If, in the nineteenth century, America's encounter with the world beyond the Western hemisphere had been more ideological, as it were, than material, the twentieth saw the country emerge as a continuous and powerful actor on a global stage. At key moments of worldwide involvement, the encounter with a foreign "other" subtly affected the meaning of freedom in the United States. One such episode was the struggle against Nazi Germany, which not only highlighted concern with aspects of American freedom that had previously been neglected but fundamentally transformed perceptions of who was entitled to enjoy the blessings of liberty in the United States. It also gave birth to a powerful rhetoric, the division of the planet into a "free world" and an unfree world that would long outlive the defeat of Adolf Hitler.

Even before the United States entered World War II, the gathering confrontation with Nazism helped to promote a broadened awareness of civil liberties as a central element of American freedom. Today, when asked to define their rights as citizens, Americans instinctively turn to the privileges enumerated in the Bill of Rights—freedom of speech, the press, and religion, for example. But for many decades, the social and legal defenses of free expression were extremely fragile in the United States. A broad rhetorical commitment to this ideal coexisted with stringent restrictions on speech deemed radical or obscene. It was only in 1939 that the Department of Justice established its Civil Liberties Unit, for the first time in American history, according to Attorney General Frank Murphy, placing "the full weight of the department . . . behind the effort to preserve in this country the blessings of liberty."²³

There were many causes for this development, from a revulsion against the severe repression of the World War I era to a new awareness in the 1930s of restraints on free speech by opponents of labor organizing. But what Michael Kammen calls the "discovery" of the Bill of Rights on the eve of the American entry into World War II owed much to the ideological struggle against Nazism and the invocation of freedom as a shorthand way of describing the myriad differences between American and German society and politics. Once the country entered World War II, the Nazi counterexample was frequently cited by defenders of civil liberties in the United States. Freedom of speech took its place as one of the "four essential human freedoms," President Franklin D. Roosevelt's description of Allied war aims. Not only did the Four Freedoms embody the "crucial difference" between the Allies and their enemies, but, in the future, Roosevelt promised, they would be enjoyed

²² Colley, *Britons*, 351–59; James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 2 vols. (London, 1889), 2: 635.

²³ Jerold S. Auerbach, *Labor and Liberty: The La Follette Committee and the New Deal* (Indianapolis, 1966), 210–13; Michael J. Klarman, "Rethinking the Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Revolutions," *Virginia Law Review* 82 (February 1996): 43.

“everywhere in the world,” an updating of the centuries-old vision of America instructing the rest of mankind in the enjoyment of liberty.²⁴

Talk of freedom permeated wartime America—in advertisements, films, publications of the Office of War Information, and in Roosevelt’s own rhetoric. Over and over, Roosevelt described the war as a titanic battle between “freedom” and “slavery.” The Free World, a term popularized in 1940–1941 by those pressing for American intervention in the European conflict, assumed a central role in wartime rhetoric. It was in a speech to the Free World Association in 1942 that Vice-President Henry Wallace outlined his vision of a global New Deal emerging from the war, in which the nation’s involvement in the postwar world would universalize the Four Freedoms and ensure the promise of the American Revolution. Wallace was, in part, responding to Henry Luce’s more chauvinistic call for the United States to assume the role of “dominant power in the world.” But whatever their differences in outlook, both Wallace and Luce envisioned the United States as henceforth promoting freedom not merely by example or occasional international intervention but via an unending involvement in the affairs of other nations. Indeed, at the war’s end, globalist language and imagery pervaded the mass media, and the idea of America having inherited a global responsibility evoked remarkably little dissent.²⁵

If World War II presaged a transformation, in the name of freedom, of the country’s traditional relationship with the rest of the world, it also reshaped Americans’ understanding of the internal boundaries of freedom. The struggle against Nazi tyranny and its theory of a master race discredited ideas of inborn ethnic and racial inequality and gave a new impetus to the long-denied struggle for racial justice at home. A pluralist definition of American society, in which all citizens enjoyed equally the benefits of freedom, had been pioneered in the 1930s by leftists and liberals associated with the Popular Front. It became the government’s official stance during the Second World War. What set the United States apart from its wartime foes was not simply dedication to the ideals of the Four Freedoms but the resolve that these should extend to persons of all races, religions, and national origins. It was during the war that a shared American Creed of freedom, equality, and ethnic and religious “brotherhood” came to be seen as the foundation of national unity. Racism was the enemy’s philosophy; intolerance was a foreign import, not a homegrown product.²⁶

Reading American pluralism backward into history, postwar scholars defined the

²⁴ Michael Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself: The Constitution in American Culture* (New York, 1987), 336; Samuel I. Rosenman, comp., *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 13 vols. (New York, 1938–50), 9: 672.

²⁵ Charles D. Lloyd, “American Society and Values in World War II from the Publications of the Office of War Information” (PhD dissertation, Georgetown University, 1975), 32–33; Rosenman, *Public Papers*, 10: 181, 192; 11: 287–88; 13: 32; Mark L. Chadwin, *The Hawks of World War II* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968), 69–70, 275; Henry A. Wallace, *The Century of the Common Man*, Russell Lord, ed. (New York, 1941), 14–19; Henry R. Luce, *The American Century* (New York, 1941), 22–27, 31–33, 37–39; John Fousek, *To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War* (Chapel Hill, 2000), 73–87.

²⁶ Wendy Wall, “‘Our Enemies Within’: Nazism, National Unity, and America’s Wartime Discourse on Tolerance,” in *Enemy Images in American History*, Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase and Ursula Lehmkuhl, eds. (Providence, R.I., 1997), 210–23; Philip Gleason, *Speaking of Diversity: Language and Ethnicity in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore, Md., 1992), 190–96; Lloyd, “American Society and Values,” 56.

United States as a nation with a purely civic identity, as opposed to the “ethnic” nationalism of other countries. The American Creed became a timeless definition of America nationality, ignoring the powerful ethnic and racial strains in the actual history of our national consciousness. At the same time, however, the rise of anticolonial movements in Africa and Asia inspired the rapid growth of what would later be called a “diasporic” consciousness among black Americans, which highlighted the deeply rooted racial inequalities in the United States and insisted they could only be understood through the prism of imperialism’s long global history. Like many other products of the war years, this vision of racial inequality in the United States as part of a global system rather than a maladjustment between American ideals and behavior did not long survive the advent of the Cold War.²⁷

Rhetorically, the Cold War was in many ways a continuation of the battles of World War II. The discourse of a world sharply divided into opposing camps, one representing freedom and the other slavery, was reinvigorated in the worldwide struggle against communism. Once again, the United States was the leader of a global crusade for freedom against a demonic, ideologically driven antagonist. The Cold War was a crucible in which postwar liberalism was reformulated. A revulsion against both Nazism and communism abroad, reinforced by the excesses of McCarthyism at home, propelled liberal thinkers toward a wholesale repudiation of ideological mass politics. In its place emerged a pragmatic, managerial liberalism meant to protect democratic institutions against excesses of the popular will.

The debate over communism helps explain the widespread impact, at least among liberal intellectuals, of Sir Isaiah Berlin’s 1958 essay, “Two Concepts of Liberty.” Berlin distinguished sharply between “negative liberty”—the absence of external obstacles to the fulfillment of one’s desires—and “positive liberty,” which led to the subordination of the individual to the whole by identifying the state as the arbiter of the social good. Negative liberty represented the West, with its constitutional safeguards of individual rights, positive liberty the Soviet Union. Of course, the idea of freedom as the absence of restraint had deep roots in American history, but Berlin himself was alarmed by how readily his formulation was invoked not only against communism but to discredit the welfare state and anything that smacked of economic regulation. The absorption of his essay into the mainstream of liberal thought had the effect of marginalizing a different understanding of “positive” freedom as active citizen engagement in democratic politics advanced around the same time by Hannah Arendt.²⁸

With the USSR replacing Germany as freedom’s antithesis, the vaguely socialistic freedom from want—central to the Four Freedoms of World War II—slipped into the background or took on a very different meaning. Whatever Moscow stood for was by definition the opposite of freedom—and not merely one-party rule, suppression of free expression and the like, but public housing, universal health insurance, full employment, and other claims that required strong and persistent

²⁷ Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton, N.J., 1955), 19–20; Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black America and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997), 3.

²⁸ Richard H. Pells, *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age: American Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s* (New York, 1985); Robert Booth Fowler, *Believing Skeptics: American Political Intellectuals, 1945–1964* (Westport, Conn., 1978); Isaiah Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (New York, 1969), xliii–xlix, 118–72; Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York, 1963), 22–26, 119–21.

governmental intervention in the economy. If freedom had an economic definition, it was no longer economic autonomy, as in the nineteenth century, “industrial democracy” (a rallying cry of the Progressive era), or economic security for the average citizen guaranteed by government, as Roosevelt had defined it, but “free enterprise” and consumer autonomy—the ability to choose from the cornucopia of goods produced by the modern American economy. A common material culture of abundance would provide the foundation for global integration—eventually including even the communist world—under American leadership. The Cold War helped secure the glorification of “free enterprise” as the most fundamental form of American freedom, an idea promoted by ubiquitous political rhetoric, advertising campaigns, school programs, and newspaper editorials. Since the Free World contained so many despotic governments (even South Africa was a member in good standing), official definitions of that geopolitical construct tended to feature anticommunism and market economics more than political liberty.²⁹

Although in the late 1960s and 1970s, with the collapse of the postwar ideological consensus and a series of economic and political crises, the Cold War rhetoric of freedom eased considerably, it was reinvigorated by Ronald Reagan. The “Great Communicator” effectively united into a coherent whole the elements of Cold War freedom—negative liberty (that is, limited government), free enterprise, and anticommunism—all in the service of a renewed insistence on American’s global mission. Consciously employing rhetoric that echoed back at least two centuries, Reagan proclaimed that “by some divine plan . . . a special kind of people—people who had a special love for freedom” had been chosen to settle the North American continent. This exceptional history imposed on the nation an exceptional responsibility: “we are the beacon of liberty and freedom to all the world.”³⁰

Today, at least in terms of political policy and discourse, Americans still live in the shadow of the Reagan revolution. “Freedom” continues to occupy as central a place as ever in our political vocabulary, but it has been largely appropriated by libertarians and conservatives of one kind or another, from advocates of unimpeded market economics to armed militia groups insisting that the right to bear arms is the centerpiece of American liberty. The dominant constellation of definitions seems to consist of a series of negations—of government, of social responsibility, of a common public culture, of restraints on individual self-definition and consumer choice. Once the rallying cry of the dispossessed, freedom is today commonly invoked by powerful economic institutions to justify many forms of authority, even as on the individual level it often seems to suggest the absence of outside authority altogether.³¹

As we enter the twenty-first century, the process of globalization itself seems to

²⁹ Elizabeth A. Fones-Wolf, *Selling Free Enterprise: The Business Assault on Labor and Liberalism 1945–60* (Urbana, Ill., 1994), 1–3, 44–51; Herbert McClosky and John Zaller, *The American Ethos: Public Attitudes toward Capitalism and Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 133; *The Public Papers of the Presidents: Harry S. Truman, 1947* (Washington, D.C., 1963), 169; David F. Schmitz, *Thank God They’re on Our Side: The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1921–1965* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999).

³⁰ *The Public Papers of the Presidents: Ronald Reagan, 1985* (Washington, D.C., 1988), 70; David E. Procter, *Enacting Political Culture: Rhetorical Transformations of Liberty Weekend, 1986* (New York, 1991), 61–65; *The Public Papers of the Presidents: Ronald Reagan, 1986* (Washington, D.C., 1988), 1505.

³¹ Foner, *Story of American Freedom*, 330–32.

be reinforcing this prevailing understanding of freedom, at least among political leaders of both major parties and journalistic cheerleaders who equate globalization with the worldwide ascendancy of American commodities, institutions, and values. A series of presidential administrations, aided and abetted by most of the mass media, have redefined both American freedom and America's historic mission to promote it for all mankind to mean the creation of a single global free market, in which capital, natural resources, and human labor are nothing more than factors of production in an endless quest for greater productivity and profit. Meanwhile, activities with broader social aims, many of them previously understood as expressions of freedom, are criticized as burdens on international competitiveness. The prevailing ideology of the global free market assumes that the economic life of all countries can and should be refashioned in the image of the United States—the latest version of the nation's self-definition as model of freedom for the entire world. "In so many ways," writes Thomas Friedman, "globalization is us." "Us" to Friedman means the "spread of free-market capitalism to every country in the world" and the Americanization of global culture. Of course, what Friedman fails to take into account is that "us" is itself a complex and contested concept. There has always been more than one definition of America and of American freedom, and today there is more than one American vision of what globalization should be.³²

For what one student of the subject calls "hyperglobalizers," globalization defines a new epoch in human history, in which a "global civilization" will supersede traditional cultures.³³ Having become irrelevant, the nation-state will wither away or at least surrender its economic functions. At the moment, however, rather than homogenizing the world, globalization seems to be creating all sorts of new cultural and political fissures and exacerbating old ones. The proliferation of social movements and sometimes violent conflicts based on ethnicity, religion, and local and regional cultures suggests that the arrival of a single global culture or consciousness is not yet at hand. But these developments do seem directly related to a decline in the traditional functions of the nation-state.

Politically speaking, the world is likely to remain divided into territorial states for many years to come. Nonetheless, globalization is raising profound questions about governance and accountability in the global economy and throwing into question traditional ideas about the relationship between political sovereignty, national identity, and freedom. Today, the assets of some multinational corporations exceed the gross national products of the majority of the world's nations. Decisions that affect the day-to-day lives of millions of people are daily made by institutions—the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and transnational corporations—that operate without a semblance of democratic accountability. By expanding "individual choice" and weakening the powers of governments, declares a recent account, globalization enhances freedom.³⁴ This definition, however, excludes from consid-

³² John Gray, *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism* (New York, 1998), 216–17; Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York, 1999), 309. For an alternative vision of globalization, emphasizing international social movements rather than market hegemony, see Jeremy Brecher, et al., *Globalization from Below: The Power of Solidarity* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

³³ Held, *Global Transformations*, 3–4.

³⁴ Saskia Sassen, *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization* (New York, 1996); John

eration such elements of freedom, also deeply rooted in the American experience, as self-government, economic autonomy, and social justice.

The relationship between globalization and freedom may be the most pressing political and social problem of the twenty-first century. Historically, rights have been derived from membership in a nation-state, and freedom often depends on the existence of political power to enforce it. "Without authorities, no rights exist." Perhaps, in the future, freedom will accompany human beings wherever they go, and a worldwide regime of "human rights" that know no national boundaries will come into existence, complete with supranational institutions capable of enforcing these rights and international social movements bent on expanding freedom's boundaries. Thus far, however, economic globalization has occurred without a parallel internationalization of controlling democratic institutions.³⁵

Like any other process rooted in history, globalization produces losers as well as winners. It creates and distributes wealth more rapidly than in the past, while simultaneously increasing inequality both within societies and in the world at large. The question for the twenty-first century is not whether globalization will continue, but globalization by whom, for whom, and under whose control. The fate of freedom is centrally involved in this question. It should not surprise us if the losers—those marginalized by globalization—adopt definitions of freedom rather different from those of the winners. It is not inevitable that globalization must take a single, neo-liberal form or that economic openness requires a state's retreat from the social protection of its citizens.³⁶

At the height of the Cold War, in his brilliant and sardonic survey of American political thought, *The Liberal Tradition in America*, Louis Hartz observed that the internationalism of the postwar era seemed in some ways to go hand-in-hand with self-absorption and insularity. Despite its deepened worldwide involvement, the United States was becoming more isolated intellectually from other cultures. Prevailing ideas of freedom in the United States, Hartz noted, had become so rigid and narrow that Americans could no longer appreciate definitions of freedom, common in other countries, related to social justice and economic equality, "and hence are baffled by their use."³⁷

Today, Hartz's call for Americans to listen to the rest of the world, not simply lecture it about what liberty is, seems more relevant than ever. This may be difficult for a nation that has always considered itself a city upon a hill, a beacon to mankind. Yet American independence was proclaimed by those anxious to demonstrate "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." In the global world of the twenty-first century, it is not the role of historians to instruct our fellow citizens on how they

Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *A Future Perfect: The Challenge and Hidden Promise of Globalization* (London, 2000), 336–37.

³⁵ Charles Tilly, "Globalization Threatens Labor's Rights," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 47 (Spring 1995): 4; Smith, *Nations and Nationalism*, 89, 97–98; Eric Hobsbawm, *On the Edge of the New Century* (New York, 2000), 31, 43; Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, "World History in a Global Age," *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1052–57.

³⁶ See Jonathan Michie and John Grieve Smith, eds., *Global Instability: The Political Economy of World Economic Governance* (London, 1999).

³⁷ Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955), 306.

should think about freedom. But it is our task to insist that the discussion of freedom must transcend boundaries rather than reinforcing or reproducing them. In a global age, the forever unfinished story of American freedom must become a conversation with the entire world, not a complacent monologue with ourselves.

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Gridded Lives: Why Kazakhstan and Montana Are Nearly the Same Place

KATE BROWN

FROM THE MAP OF KARAGANDA, it appears that its city plan was based on the model of the old Roman military camp—set up along a grid, the old Stalin Prospect ran north-south, the former Lenin Prospect bisecting it from east to west. The grid makes sense for a prison city because it creates wide open spaces and straight lines, an architecture designed not to be seen but to see, to survey the city's inhabitants so as to regulate and contain their conduct. Karaganda, located on the arid steppe of northern Kazakhstan, was founded in the early 1930s alongside KarLag,¹ one of the largest labor camps in the Soviet Union. Karaganda constitutes a prison city because it was built largely by convicts, and it was fed on crops grown in the labor camp's farms, while prisoners and deportees worked in the mines and factories of the city's blossoming industries. In 1930, Karaganda was not even a point on the map. By 1939, the city had 100,000 inhabitants, half of them wards (prisoners or deportees) of the Ministry of Interior's Gulag division (NKVD-Gulag).²

I had expected Karaganda to have that smoke-belching, wrecked look of industrial cities of Soviet Russia to the north. But I was surprised. After Joseph Stalin died in 1953, the prisoners were gradually given amnesty, the prison barracks were dismantled, the barbed wire was lifted, and, curiously, what remains is a neatly ordered city of broad avenues and shady sidewalks, monumental squares and symmetrically plotted parks, ample and verdant. There is plenty of parking, convenient shopping, and no cramped corners. No sign of the gulag's secrecy or human suffering is written into the urban landscape. Instead, Karaganda is an open-armed embrace that says it has nothing to hide. There are no old shops to dig out of back alleys, no tenements or crowded nineteenth-century courtyards of the kind Dostoyevsky haunted. In fact, Karaganda is so well-ordered, there is no great need to explore it on foot. Rather, it can be read easily from the upholstered comfort of a car at cruising speed.

The car slides by long columns of housing blocks, which replaced the prisoners' barracks in the 1950s. The residential tracts, built with assembly-line efficiency, are the Soviet equivalent of the American suburban development. The same three blueprints echo in row after row, the same efficient economy of occupancy and

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¹ KarLag stands for Karagandinskaia lager, the Karaganda Labor Camp.

² Y. A. Poliakov, ed., *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1937 g* (Moscow, 1991), 180.

technology behind the lace curtains, the same segregation of space based on the daily repetition of meals, commuting, and recreation around which American homes are also designed. Built rapidly, rapidly looking obsolete, the buildings radiate that temporal quality of much of American architecture, as if designed not for generations of a family but for generations of a professional career, a familiar architecture responding to the unmatched social mobility of the twentieth century.³

One evening, I stood on the balcony of the Karaganda hotel room, looking at the neon signs glistening along the rain-soaked streets. The October wind breathed the first frost of winter and sent skyward small wrappers of candy imported from North America. In the distance, the comforting lights of thousands of living rooms lit up the expanse, revealing the soothing grid as it marched up and down, partitioning the electrified urban spaces from the black void of the steppe beyond. Here, far from home, in the midst of a former gulag on the Kazakh steppe, I had the uncanny feeling that I had seen this city before. Karaganda, with its gridded composure, easy repetition of residential units, carefully swept walks and afterschool dance classes, seemed oddly familiar, as if I had landed not in Central Asia but in the American middle west, in Wichita, Topeka, Bismarck, or Billings.

BILLINGS, MONTANA. Like most railroad cities, Billings can be navigated without a map. Broad arteries cut north and south, avenues east and west. The streets are platted out in numbered convenience beginning at one and can multiply to infinity in keeping with the grand aspirations of the founding fathers. The Yellowstone River flows unnoted on the outskirts of town, beyond the grain elevators, the railroad switching yards and oil refineries. Looking at Billings from the height of the cliffs above it, the mind drifts off to high-school geometry, trying to take in the ever-divisible asphalt grid of smaller and smaller blocks that break down to rectangular spaces etched with yellow paint on the parking lots. Fly over Billings, and this chessboard divisibility of space expands to cover the whole land: squared-off fields contained within square-mile sections fit into angular counties in the washboard abdomen of the country, where the states break up into rectangles and trapezoids.

Standing on the bluff overlooking Billings, I was better able to decipher what it was that made it feel like Karaganda: the divisibility and hierarchy of space, the abrupt, fortress-like partition of urban from agricultural territory, the lonely feeling of a city adrift like a ship on a sea of land that is inhospitable and unpredictable. Yet Karaganda is a city erected in the midst of a vast labor camp, a city where children planting trees in the schoolyard still come across human bones. Meanwhile, Billings was founded by railroad entrepreneurs, farmers, miners, and businessmen on the American frontier. One city is the product of an authoritarian state that employed and ruled everyone who toiled there; the other, a conglomerate of competing business interests and individual farmers. Two countries, worlds

³ It is curious to note that the same commentators who frequently comment on the repetition and monotony of Soviet urban spaces and who attribute these qualities to socialist authoritarian state control and uninspired top-down planning overlook, or momentarily forget, the monotony and repetition of the American subdivision located in thriving centers of capitalism.

apart, two different histories, yet cities in the American West share the same modern, expansive, modular feel as Karaganda because Karaganda, like every western American railroad city, is built along a grid.

The fact of the grid may seem like no fact at all. For the grid is no novelty; it has been used as an architectural model for centuries, and it does not necessarily follow that all gridded cities are born of the same motivations. Kazakhstan and the Great Plains fall in the same topographical zone of vast, arid, high plateaus. One could argue that the flat, endless landscapes lend themselves easily to geometric dissection.⁴ Yet it seems logical that two such contrasting societies—the communist Soviet Union and democratic United States—would naturally develop cities in distinct patterns expressing the vast differences between the two countries in ideas, politics, and economic structure. For, if one believes that form relates to content—that cities contain their histories, as Italo Calvino writes, “like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets and the gratings of the windows”—then can it be purely coincidental that Karaganda, a prison city, and Billings, a railroad town, look alike?⁵

To attempt any kind of analogy between Karaganda and Billings, however, is to ignore the polarities between the two places. For, at least in terms of imagery, one can conceive of few regions more dissimilar. The American West represents the last, inexhaustible frontier of American individualism, the place where people went to be free. Northern Kazakhstan, conversely, conjures an image similar to that of Siberia; it is a place of unfreedom, exile, and imprisonment, a place where masses of undifferentiated people were sent against their will to serve a monolithic state. Placed in the larger context of the United States and the Soviet Union, the contrasts between the two cities intensify: the free market versus the planned economy, the democracy of the people versus the dictatorship of the proletariat, the pioneer against the exile, the self-made man and free labor versus the machinated relationship of prison guard and convict. To liken Billings to Karaganda is to blur the domains, as we have defined them, of freedom and bondage, of liberty and oppression. People were deported to Karaganda against their will. They were either sentenced to hard labor in camps or exiled to special settlements, and they starved, froze, and worked until they dropped from exhaustion. Of course, it is true that on the Great Plains people also starved, froze, and worked until they dropped from exhaustion, but in the American Plains they did it of their own free will; they bought their own train tickets. Is that difference of free will essential?

Just by posing the question, I threaten to relativize the oppression of the Soviet

⁴ The grid, however, on high, flat ground is not inevitable. Old Central Asian cities along the silk route, such as Tashkent, Samarkand, and Kashgar, center on the mosque and market, from which streets wind around without any specific pattern. In the American Southwest, Mesa Verde is an intricate labyrinth built into the cliffs of a mesa, and Pueblo Bonito circles around like a contemporary soccer stadium.

⁵ Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, William Weaver, trans. (San Diego, 1974), 11. Henri Lefebvre argues that the passage from one mode of production to another must entail the production of a new space. He calls for a study of history that looks at the “interconnections, distortions, displacements, mutual interactions and their links with the spacial practice of the particular society or mode of production.” Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Donald Nicholson-Smith, trans. (Oxford, 1994), 42–46. As well, Marshall Berman notes the necessity for revolutions to produce new spatial patterns. See Berman’s discussion of Chernyshevsky’s Crystal Palace, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (1982; New York, 1988), 241–44.

penal system and the suffering of millions of people sent into exile or to the gulag. Certainly, there is a difference between Billings and Karaganda, a difference calculable both in magnitude and outcome. As Soviet archives have been opened, documentary evidence has confirmed survivor accounts that narrate how Soviet security forces, the OGPU, NKVD, MVD,⁶ uprooted millions of peaceful citizens and subjected them to physical and psychological abuse, starvation, and conditions ripe for disease, from which hundreds of thousands of people died.⁷ The years of arrest and deportation tore apart families, destroyed communities, and changed permanently both social relations and the landscape.

Yet, setting aside for a moment the well-documented differences between the penal Kazakh steppe and free-market American frontier, I wonder if there is a significance to the spatial similarities of the grid in Montana and Kazakhstan—if a comparison would not be fruitful. Comparisons, after all, can be misleading or overtly political. Anything can be compared to anything. It is a trick of historians to place historic eras or regimes in juxtaposition to point out similarities or differences and thus win an argument. For example, since the onset of the Cold War, Stalin's Soviet Union has often been likened to Hitler's Nazi regime. The extremes of left and right are seen to fuse at one common point of total communist/fascist social control, illustrating the apex of state terror.⁸ Contrasts, too, can be used for polemical effect. Since the Cold War, historians, journalists, and politicians in the United States have focused on Soviet transgressions such as the purge trials, collectivization, and the suppression of dissidents as a way to spell out what democratic America is not or should never become.⁹ In the same way, Soviet

⁶ The title and jurisdictions of Soviet federal and republic security branches changed frequently. In 1934, the Unified State Political Administration (OGPU) was subsumed into the National Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD), which was responsible for the gulag network and special settlements. In 1946, the bureau in charge of state security was renamed the NKVD-MVD, the Ministry of Internal Affairs. To reduce confusion, in this article I will refer to the Soviet security organs generally as the NKVD.

⁷ Soviet security forces maintained broad and variegated categories of incarceration, arrest, and exile. Those arrested were assigned to prisons or labor camps. Those deported were restricted to living within a limited area called a "special settlement" or "labor settlement." For literature on the Soviet penal system, see Edwin Bacon, *The Gulag at War: Stalin's Forced Labour System in the Light of the Archives* (New York, 1994); V. P. Danilov and S. A. Krusil'nikov, eds., *Spetspereselentsy v Zapadnoi Sibiri, 1933–1938* (Novosibirsk, 1994); G. M. Ivanova, *Gulag v sisteme totalitarnogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1997); Michael Jakobson, *The Origins of the GULAG: The Soviet Prison-Camp System, 1917–1934* (Lexington, Ky., 1993). For statistics, see J. Otto Pohl, *The Stalinist Penal System: A Statistical History of Soviet Repression and Terror, 1930–1953* (Jefferson, N.C., 1997); and V. H. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsi," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia* 11 (1990): 3–17.

⁸ For an interesting review of the comparison of Nazi Germany and Stalinist Soviet Union as similar "totalitarian" states, see Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin, *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison* (Cambridge, 1997). For a discussion on the changing concept of totalitarian states, see Abbott Gleason, *Totalitarianism: The Inner History of the Cold War* (New York, 1995).

⁹ Before the Cold War, in the 1930s and during World War II, historians, political scientists, and journalists looked for and found similarities between the Soviet Union and United States. Not just left-leaning activists but right-minded businessmen and politicians saw affinities with the Soviet Union and made trips there to exchange information. For example, Rufus Woods, an influential Washington State newspaperman and one of the chief promoters of the Grand Coulee Dam, made several trips to the Soviet Union in the early 1930s. Though a conservative, Woods admired the Soviet industrialization drive and thought the same pattern of building big could revitalize the West. See Robert E. Ficken, *Rufus Woods, the Columbia River and the Building of Modern Washington* (Pullman, Wash., 1995). For studies comparing, favorably, the United States and Soviet Union, see William T. R. Fox, *The Super-Powers: The United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union: Their Responsibility for Peace* (New York,

historians and journalists for decades fixated on American ghettos, racial strife, social unrest, and rising crime rates as a sign that Soviet socialism was on the right track.¹⁰

Now, however, with the threat of the Cold War faded, there is more room to question whether knowledge itself has not been gridded into neat polarities, communist and democratic. Histories tend to prioritize texts, written matter, and ideological categorizations. And certainly, in the heated debates of the Cold War, words, rhetoric, and ideologies have been highly evaluated, perhaps over-evaluated, at the cost of ignoring and diminishing the history of the production of spaces and the lives that have been forged by and for those spaces. This is no new idea. Several decades ago, Henri Lefebvre asserted there is no communism, just two myths: "that of anti-communism, on the one hand, and the myth that communism had been carried out somewhere on the other." Lefebvre doubted the existence of communism because it had led to no new architectural innovation, no creation of specifically socialist spaces.¹¹ In other words, in the history of space, communism and capitalism have produced no qualities that distinguish one from the other.

What would happen, then, if we discarded all that we know about the polarities of communism and capitalism and, just for the sake of argument, explored the spatial affinities? With this approach, it may turn out that historians and politicians in both countries have focused to the point of obfuscation on the differences between Soviet communism and American capitalism and ignored the parallels produced by the industrial-capital expansions of the twentieth century.¹² After all, a mirror image, the Soviet Union and United States, is just the same form reflected backward. We may even recognize how the two countries followed similar paths of development and destruction that differ more in scale than form. If that is so, then the decades of focusing on political systems and ideology appear in retrospect as a prolonged exercise in self-definition. Neither country could have existed without the other, because each country used its communist/capitalist nemesis as the self-justifying point of departure; each country projected a mirror image of the other in order to define and produce itself so as to rule. Without the specter of the counter-revolutionary capitalist or the subversive communist, each country would have had a much harder time defining the abnormal and the dangerous; it would have been more difficult to appropriate the power to condemn and exclude, to coax and coerce into conformity.¹³ In short, by straining away the mountains of verbiage

1944); I. A. Startsev, *Amerika i russkoe obshchestvo* (Moscow, 1942); Merle Elliott Tracy, *Our Country, Our People, and Theirs* (New York, 1938); Edmund Wilson, *Travels in Two Democracies* (New York, 1936). For an illuminating comparative history of slavery and serfdom in czarist Russia and the United States, see Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987).

¹⁰ Jonathan A. Becker, *Soviet and Russian Press Coverage of the United States: Press, Politics, and Identity in Transition* (New York, 1999).

¹¹ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 55, 62.

¹² As Iain Chambers writes, "The falling away of earlier dualities—the real and artificial, the original and false—leads to casting previous epistemological certainties into an instructive confusion." Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (London, 1994), 58.

¹³ See Michel Foucault on the art of coercive assignment, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (1977; New York, 1995). In the Soviet Union, the enemy and citizen-traitor was most often identified as someone sympathetic to capitalism or "bourgeois-

encircling the Cold War, we may find the Soviet Union and the United States share a great deal in common.

Or perhaps we are still too close to the twentieth century to see how greater forces of the last hundred years have put disparate lives in sync in strange ways. In order to do so, we have to ask a different set of questions than the Cold War theoreticians have posed. Rather than trying to determine where is freedom and where is bondage, who has choices and who does not, who wields power and who is powerless, we might ask, more simply, *how* is power produced?¹⁴ And once that question flutters down to eye level, the gaze is drawn to spaces that once seemed innocent of manipulation—urban architecture, transportation routes, lines of communication, patterns of production—all of which represent a particular political and economic logic that has inhabited our societies, both Soviet and American, for the bulk of the century—inhabited them with an encompassing opacity.¹⁵

My question, then, is—is it possible to write the history of gridded spaces? If so, do the gridded spaces of Kazakhstan and Montana constitute the end-point of larger processes that the United States and Soviet Union shared? Lefebvre sees the grid as an abstraction, “a superstructure foreign to the original space,” which serves as a foothold to establish the basis of rule.¹⁶ James C. Scott understands the grid as a way to simplify the opaque and complex quality of indigenous social practices so as to enhance centralized power at the cost of local rule.¹⁷ In short, the grid can serve as an apparatus for conquest, as a way to dominate space. In this article, I will compare Karaganda in Kazakhstan and Billings and Butte in Montana to illustrate how the grid evolved just as the territories were being swept into the larger industrial and agricultural economies of the two expanding states in eras of superlative industrial and bureaucratic expansion. During North America’s second industrial revolution, which preceded World War I, the railroad, our first national bureaucracy, put Billings, Butte, and all cities of Montana on the map. The Communist Party and specifically the NKVD charted out Karaganda and many cities of northern Kazakhstan during the industrialization drive of the 1930s, which foreshadowed World War II at a time when the Soviet state first became an industrialized and bureaucratized power. In both places, I will argue, political powers produced gridded space, often violently, to serve economic and political goals.

But that is getting ahead of the story. To start from the beginning—there were no

nationalist” states. Meanwhile, in the United States, from the World War I-era Palmer Raids to the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings, socialists, communists, and “fellow travelers” constituted a threatening category of disloyal citizens. See Alan M. Ball, *Russia’s Last Capitalists: The Nepmen, 1921–1929* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987); and Victor S. Navasky, *Naming Names* (New York, 1980).

¹⁴ As Foucault does in *Discipline and Punish*, 167–200.

¹⁵ As David Rollison phrases it: “the organization (and imagination) of space is deeply implicated in the maintenance of existing power structures.” Rollison, “Exploding England: The Dialectics of Mobility and Settlement in Early Modern England,” *Social History* 24 (January 1999): 1–16.

¹⁶ Lefebvre points out how the Spanish-American town was laid down on the basis of the grid, which reflected the political and administrative authority of the new urban power. The grid enabled the Spanish colonizers to arrange space in terms of a hierarchy and segregate space into discrete units designated for different functions. *Production of Space*, 151.

¹⁷ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 2.

cities in northern Kazakhstan or the Great Plains before the steam engine and railroad. Pre-industrial cities in Central Asia and the American plains contained populations that were largely supported by surrounding agricultural communities, and grew only so large as the limits of the land, the reach of the walled fortifications, the scarcities of food, water, and cultivable soil allowed them. Without technology, the short grasslands of the steppe and range, the dry, continental climates, could not support more than small communities of sedentary peoples tilling the soil and were best suited for nomads living off the migratory grazing of range animals adapted to the extreme cold, heat, and aridity of the climate.

Innovations of the industrial age, however, greatly altered the landscape and economies of the Great Plains and Central Asia. Cities in the industrial age did not need to follow the lay of the land or feed populations with foodstuffs produced locally. Montana and Kazakhstan could support urban populations by means of technologies such as railroad networks to move people and goods, steam-powered engines, irrigation systems, the telegraph and telephone, all of which required a concentration of capital investment so large that in both regions it fell to a small group of managers to try to direct from afar the means of production and labor that kept everything going. The managers in both places oversaw these vast networks with the help of time schedules, statistics, and production plans, and with the regimentation and subjection of labor.¹⁸ In both Montana and Karaganda, the rush for land, water, minerals, and cash crops displaced the indigenous peoples who had formerly inhabited the territories, while the European populations who replaced them were sorted according to contrived understandings of race, class, and loyalty.

These patterns of production created corresponding patterns of subjection, which determined that people settled the American high plains and Central Asian steppe in similar ways by carving land into economic units for efficient exploitation. New towns were located for commerce and the quick extraction of resources at railheads and responded not to ecological limits but to the surveyor's rational grid.¹⁹ The grid made space modular and repetitious. The urban grid was a concentration of the expanding rural grid, which linked the hinterland economically and spatially with cities. As a consequence, there were no topographical limits to urban space, and the cities grew and multiplied, supplanting the nomadic cultures that came before. In fact, the cities born during this century gave new meaning to nomadism by ambling across the flat plains wherever transportation routes wandered, with nothing to stop them but sheer loneliness.

In both countries, as a result, conquest meant consumption; the newcomers ate—in coal, copper, wheat, sugar beets, ore—the territories they desired. In short, the histories of cities in Montana and Kazakhstan complement one another; taken in tandem, they tell not two stories but one—the history of gridded space.

¹⁸ For a study of how territory west of Chicago was charted and commodified in this way, see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991).

¹⁹ Sim van der Ryn and Peter Calthorpe, *Sustainable Communities: A New Design Synthesis for Cities, Suburbs, and Towns* (San Francisco, 1986), 3. Scott contrasts gridded industrial cities with the *medina* of an old Middle Eastern city, where each neighborhood and quarter are unique, "the sum of millions of designs and activities," without an overall plan or map. *Seeing Like a State*, 184.

THE SUN REACHES LOW FOR THE HORIZON, the exhaust rises up from the valley, and gazing down on Billings the mind wanders to those childhood stories about the frontier—about “hardy pioneers,” “bringing civilization,” “displacing savagery.” These brave and arrogant aphorisms lay on the hardened sand like the rusted carcasses of the tin cans that followed European settlers wherever they went. American historians have discarded most of the myths of winning the West, and indeed it is hard to see that legend in the small corporate city of Billings.²⁰ In fact, Billings seems to have no history at all written into its carefully measured right angles. Or, rather, its history might be sought in the wake of the bulldozer and the moving van—in the vacated lots and disowned possessions of the long row of thrift stores—which makes sense, because Billings was not founded on precedent or history. Its story, instead, like that of many western cities, is located in a vaporously elusive understanding of the future. An early settler of Kansas instructed his readers: “The American of today must find his enjoyment in anticipating the future. He must look beyond the unsightly beginnings of civilization and prefigure the state of things a century hence.”²¹ The trick in the Great Plains involved overlooking the present to gaze at the future, but a future that never arrived, whether it be steers, coal, or grain.

Yet this myopia for the present tense helped to give Billings its start. In 1881, the land on which Billings stands today was considered worthless. It was a barren, waterless alkali flat with only an oasis here and there of sage brush. The settlers and traders who first came to the region settled upstream at Clark’s Fork Bottom, where the confluence of two rivers made a good trading post and where the land was fertile and the water supply more plentiful. The residents of Clark’s Fork assumed that, when the railroad came through, it would logically create a terminal in their little settlement, as there were a few traders and farmers already waiting for trains to bring in goods and ship their produce off to market. But the railroad executives in St. Paul and New York had a different set of priorities for locating the new town. The federal government had deeded the Northern Pacific line alternating townships of forty miles on either side of the tracks to help offset the cost of building a transcontinental railroad. Frederick Billings, the president of the Northern Pacific, and his engineers studied the U.S. surveyor-general maps and determined that, at a certain point on the map, the odd-numbered townships lay next to each other across the line of the railroad, instead of connecting at the corners as they did elsewhere.²² Sensibly, Mr. Billings decided to locate the new city at that point where the railroad owned twice as much land as usual.

Then Frederick Billings did something even more sensible. He and a few associates formed a real estate development company and bought from the railroad 29,394 acres in the newly proposed township for less than \$4 an acre. It made no difference to Mr. Billings that the site for the new city planned for 20,000 residents would be established on barren flats, somewhat removed from the swampy edges of

²⁰ For a discussion of the changing stories about the American West, see William Cronon, “A Place for Stories: Nature, History and Narrative,” *Journal of American History* 78 (1992): 1347–76.

²¹ As quoted in John W. Reps, *The Forgotten Frontier: Urban Planning in the American West before 1890* (Columbia, Mo., 1981), 454.

²² Carroll Van West, *Capitalism on the Frontier: Billings and the Yellowstone Valley in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, Neb., 1993), 120.

the river, without drinking water, two miles north of the closest human habitation. Within the four walls of real estate speculation, the siting of Billings made sense; the fact that the site was barely habitable mattered little to Mr. Billings. After all, Frederick Billings never dreamed of living in Billings.

After the Minnesota and Montana Land and Improvement Company chose the site for Billings, the company designed the city plan, allocated building lots, and proposed future industrial development before any actual building took place, before the "city" was anything but a thicket of squatters' tents.²³ Nonetheless, the founding of the new city was trumpeted for hundreds of miles, and the profits to be made were fabulous. Once it was announced that Billings was going to be the next "Magic City," Frederick Billings's land development company was selling off the alkali flats at \$250 for a quarter-acre lot. Whole blocks were sold in New York and Chicago, and a few months later the prices had risen to \$1,200.²⁴ By the summer of 1882, most of the city property was purchased, yet two-thirds of the owners were absentee; people who bought lots never planned to live in the hot, dry, treeless flats but to sell them later at a profit.²⁵

The cosmology that ordained the grid in Billings pivoted around economics and administration. Billings's real estate company subdivided land into parcels, uniform and, from the perspective of a map, interchangeable because it made for efficient marketing and sales, especially from remote offices in St. Paul and Chicago. In this way, towns identical to Billings were established throughout the West—Laramie, Reno, Bismarck, Cheyenne. Engineers, land agents, and railroad executives established, planned, and promoted these cities following a uniform gridiron that placed the railroad in the center of the burgeoning city. The pioneering homesteader, the cowboy, and lonesome miner are essential parts of American mythology and self-identity, but historians of the American West have argued that the vanguard of settlement in the West were these corporate-owned towns, run by businessmen who operated on the profits of real estate speculation fueled by federal land grants and the promise of future growth and industrial development.²⁶

Karaganda, like Billings, was an unmarked void on the map before its founding as a city in 1930. It consisted of a ramble of shacks, a few abandoned buildings from a czarist-era coal mine, and a small and occasional market where Kazakhs would come to trade in sheep pelts and mutton steaks for salt, flour, and other necessities. In the late 1920s, Soviet geologists rediscovered the Karaganda coal basin, after which the Moscow-based Department of Mines set up the Karaganda Coal Trust and determined that the site would be home to a major new industrial city. Without visiting the region, architects in Moscow drew up plans for a city of 40,000 workers who would dig out a projected twelve new mines. Within the year, several thousand miners, most of them Kazakhs, began working underground in Karaganda. But the Coal Trust found that it could not keep its stores stocked with enough food to feed the miners, and despite the city plan calling for seven square meters of sanitary

²³ West, *Capitalism on the Frontier*, 119.

²⁴ Waldo Orlando Kliever, "The Foundations of Billings, Montana" (MA thesis, University of Washington, 1938), 11, 20.

²⁵ West, *Capitalism on the Frontier*, 124.

²⁶ See Reps, *Forgotten Frontier*; Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*; Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York, 1995).

housing per person, housing conditions stumbled into proletarian disgrace, with most of the miners living in yurts or tents scattered near the mine shafts. In search of food, the Kazakh miners drifted to and from their native *auls* (villages), which made for a sporadic and ill-disciplined labor force, and coal production sagged below prerevolutionary figures.²⁷

In February 1931, however, the railroad arrived in Karaganda and with it a whole new form of discipline. The railroad brought supplies, geologists, and experienced miners from the Donbass in Ukraine, and it also brought NKVD officers who quickly realized the limitless possibilities of establishing a labor camp next to the Karaganda mines. Sounding as optimistic as a Billings railroad associate, an NKVD officer wrote that the combination of virgin land, mineral resources, and a rail connection meant that "Kazakhstan offers remarkable potential for the creation of a powerful agricultural base. Only a labor reserve is needed due to the sparsely populated territory."²⁸ A labor camp, NKVD officials proposed, would funnel a plentiful supply of workers to Karaganda to till the virgin soil and produce food for the miners. In 1931, the Gulag division of the NKVD set up KarLag on 281,000 acres of land around the growing settlement of Karaganda and began to import labor.²⁹

The labor camp KarLag helped solved Karaganda's problem of workers and food. City leaders made use of prison labor to grow crops on the outskirts of the city and to work on construction sites in the city to build housing for the miners. To supervise the prisoner-laborers, NKVD guards walled districts into "zones" separated with barbed wire, each about the size of a city block. The guards required avenues straight and broad enough to march prisoners in columns to work sites and needed enough visibility to shoot in case anyone made a run for it. Although it is tempting to postulate that Karaganda's grid grew out of the demands of prison architecture, most modern Soviet cities are platted out in a grid—cities never intended for prisoners. In fact, Soviet planners designed and created many new industrial cities in the 1930s that are nearly interchangeable with Karaganda.³⁰ In the early 1930s, Soviet planners dreamed of building an entirely new kind of "socialist city," which would express the principles of socialism in every line of every building. A socialist city, they postulated, would be founded on the antithesis of the confusion and grime of a capitalist city. Soviet architects dreamed of "modernization without urbanism" and preferred to build cities on virgin soil from the ground

²⁷ In 1930, the Karaganda mines produced all of 3,000 tons of coal, a drop from the 1913 prerevolutionary figure of 7,200 tons. See O. Malybaev, *Bor'ba KPSS za sozdanie i razvitie tret'ei ugol'noi bazy SSSR* (Alma-Ata, 1961), 64.

²⁸ "Politburo resolutions," Secret Sector of the All-Union Resettlement Committee of the SNK SSSR, Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Ekonomiki [Russian State Economics Archive] (hereafter, RGAE), 1/5675/48a.

²⁹ The administrative center of KarLag formed its own town, located outside the city of Karaganda. KarLag had divisions that stretched throughout Karaganda Province. By the beginning of 1936, there were 37,958 prisoners and 806 staff persons in KarLag. S. Dil'manov and E. Kuznetsova, *Karlag* (Alma-Aty, 1997).

³⁰ Gridded cities built during the industrial drive include Magnitogorsk, Nizhnii Tagil, Orsk, Novokuznetsk, Makeevka, Komsomol'sk, Bratsk, Magadan, and Noril'sk. For a discussion of Soviet urban planning and the creation of Magnitogorsk *ex nihilo*, see Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 72–85, 108–23.

up.³¹ They sought to design urban landscapes rationally where people would live safely, equitably, with plenty of light, space, and visibility. Architects submitted plans from as far away as Germany with blueprints for cities that did not look like cities at all but more like parks, spaceships, or modern art. But the strange thing is, once built, the new socialist cities looked alike, heedless of climate and topography; they were all plotted symmetrically along a grid, Lenin Prospect running east-west. What motivated the grid in the Soviet context?

Although private property was outlawed in Soviet socialism, the concepts of ownership and management determined the shape of Karaganda, much as it did Billings. Individuals in the Soviet Union could not own land, but after the Soviet government nationalized all property, it allocated land in vast proportions to state enterprises. The NKVD became a major recipient of huge tracts of land in northern Kazakhstan and one of the major exploiters of natural resources. By 1936, the NKVD controlled 795,600 acres of land appropriated from Kazakh pastureland. By 1941, the NKVD was responsible for 12 percent of all Soviet lumber, 54 percent of all nickel, 75 percent of all molybdenum, and 37 percent of all tungsten production. The total value of all gulag industrial production between 1941 and 1944 reached 3.6 billion rubles.³² Land that to Kazakh nomads had been a flowing body of winter and summer pastures marked with ancestral burial grounds became to the Europeans who conquered it a series of parcels, surveyed and assigned value in square meters and millions of rubles.³³

IN ORDER TO MAKE THE TRANSFORMATION from ancestral land to commodified space, European settlers first envisioned indigenous land as empty space, waiting to be populated. Billings and Karaganda were conceived in the minds of people who first saw the territories for the proposed cities as representations on a map. The land for both cities was granted by federal governments to growing bureaucracies charged with settling the territories for the production of raw materials. In both cases, the cities were platted into being by planners from remote locations who drew a series of lines on paper and finalized century-long processes of transferring territory from indigenous to European hands. The first blueprints drafted Billings into a city for

³¹ See Berman's discussion of the Russian revolutionary modern city, "the dream of modernization without urbanization," in *All That Is Solid*, 241–44. For an echo of this vision of deurbanized urban space enacted in Karaganda, see Sabit Mukanov, *Karaganda* (Moscow, 1954).

³² The land was reallocated from the Letovichnii and Bliukherovskii *miasosovkhozi*, meat collective farms, which implies that the land had previously been allocated to Kazakh pastoralists. See "Doklanaia zapiska o pereselenii i khoziaistvennom ustraistvi Ukrainskikh pereselentsev v Kazakhskoi ASSR," October 11, 1936, Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii [State Archive of the Russian Federation] (hereafter, GARF), 9479/1/36, ll. 23–26. In another document, the amount of land for the thirty-seven settlements is given at 955,740 acres. Pliner to Ezhov, Agranov, and Berman, GARF 9479/1/36, ll. 36–39. See, as well, Pohl, *Stalinist Penal System*, 40. On the growing economic impetus behind the spread of the gulag labor camp system, see Ivanova, *Gulag v sisteme totalitarnogo gosudarstva*, 84–88.

³³ For correspondence on the subdivision, transfer, and valuation of formerly "uninhabited land" belonging to Kazakh-based livestock breeding farms, reallocated as farmland for NKVD use, see Director of the Land Fund of the Labor Colony, NKVD Shkele to GULAG NKVD Pliner, November 5, 1936, RGAE 5675/1/140, l. 12; All-Union Department of Resettlement, Berman to Miroshnikov on the incorporation of the department into the NKVD, July 4, 1936, RGAE 5675/1/165, l. 25.

20,000 residents; Karaganda fifty years later was to have 40,000. Once the transactions were complete, the cities came into being, contemporaries in Billings noted, like "magic": "the thoroughfares of Billings present a scene of business activity such as is not witnessed in any other town of Montana. The change seems almost as wonderful as some of those related in the old time tales of Eastern magic."³⁴ In Karaganda, historians also marveled at how the city sprang into being. "Great changes have taken place under Soviet rule on the Kazakh steppe. Where there used to be a few felt yurts and adobe huts, now a beautiful city has arisen . . . We see wide, tree-lined streets, avenues, parks and squares."³⁵

One can read into this narrative on progress the classic subtext of the Soviet command economy at work: the city, planned from afar—but far from planned in actuality, significantly funded by the central coffers of the ominously expanding Soviet bureaucracy whose task it was to Industrialize-At-All-Cost—but primarily built by cheap or unpaid manual labor. The years of hard work and spent lives that went into making Karaganda are summed up in a brief origination thesis describing one seemingly effortless leap from empty steppe to modern city.

Both Soviet and American proselytizers emphasize origins. What was empty had been filled in, what was barren was made green, the primitive had found sophistication. Europeans arrived, found places empty of history, and gave them a beginning and thus meaning. And they did it, the writers stress, quickly. In these new places, in the dawning age of fossil-fuel technology, civilization did not need centuries to ripen, as it had in Europe. There was no time for that. The promoters of Soviet and American insta-cities were drunk on speed, efficiency, the "magic" of machines.³⁶ They threw up hospitals, schools, courthouses, and libraries so the new cities would look like "a city," built not in decades, years, or even months, but weeks. Labor crews in Karaganda competed with builders in Leningrad in a construction race and won.³⁷ In the American West, the English scholar James Bryce wrote critically of the pace at which it expanded: "Why sacrifice the present to the future? . . . Why seek to complete in a few decades what the other nations of the world took thousands of years over in the older continents? Why do things rudely and ill which need to be done well, seeing that the welfare of your descendants may turn upon them? . . . the unrestfulness, the passion for speculation, the feverish eagerness for quick and showy results, may so soak into the texture of the popular mind as to color it for centuries to come."³⁸

Leaders in both countries set out to colonize vast new territories immediately, conquering by consuming land, crops, and minerals in assembly-line fashion. But the problem was that, although Soviet and American planners could imagine these

³⁴ *The Billings Herald*, June 1, 1882, as quoted in West, *Capitalism on the Frontier*, 133.

³⁵ Mukhanov, *Karaganda*.

³⁶ As Berman writes, "This equation of money, speed, sex and power is far from exclusive to capitalism. It is equally central to the collective mystique of 20th century socialism." In both societies, he points out that popular self-image was dedicated to whole peoples on the move. The crucial point, he notes in his discussion of Johann Wolfgang Goethe's modernist vision in *Faust*, is "to spare nothing, to overleap all boundaries, . . . all natural and human barriers fall before the rush of production and construction." *All That Is Solid*, 49, 64.

³⁷ A crew of seven men built a public bath, a hospital, and a school in one month. A. S. Elagin, ed., *Karaganda, Istoriia gorodov Kazakhstana* (Alma-Ata, 1989).

³⁸ As quoted in Reys, *Forgotten Frontier*, 693.

insta-cities, they could not orchestrate their big designs with enough bricks, laborers, and lumber to build them. In this sense, the American booster press and Soviet propaganda read like science fiction. The words described a possible, even plausible, future but one that did not yet exist.

T. C. Armitage discovered this fictional quality of the new urban spaces the hard way. He was an insurance man who worked in the Northern Pacific engineering office in St. Paul. He worked for the railroad and should have known better than to believe the booster press campaigns coming from Billings. Armitage put cash down on a few lots, sight-unseen, choosing a prime location by the Yellowstone River. Soon after, Armitage boarded the Northern Pacific to Billings. When he arrived, he was dismayed to find no depot, no real city, no town, not even an outpost, just a "dreary expanse, white with alkali flats." When Armitage inspected his lots, he found a good deal of his real estate was flooded, and he needed a boat to locate the corners of his property.³⁹

Fifty years later, a Soviet journalist, Semyon Nariniani, had a similar experience. He was sent on assignment to central Siberia, a few hundred miles north of Karaganda, to report on the newly built industrial city, the world-famous steel town of Magnitogorsk. As historian Stephen Kotkin tells the story, Nariniani rode the train for eight days, making five changes and waiting through many delays. One day, the train slowed in the midst of the empty steppe. Nariniani thought it was another breakdown, but the conductor called out, "Magnitogorsk!" Nariniani disembarked, looked around at the empty landscape, turned to the stationmaster and asked, "Is it far to the city?" "Two years," the man answered.⁴⁰

In memoir after memoir, what seemed to bother European settlers of the plains and steppe the most was the emptiness: "the stillness with nothing behind it."⁴¹ Soviet deportees refer automatically to the land they first encountered as "the naked steppe"; they found it stripped of all things: water, trees, streams, houses, people—geography itself—empty of everything but space.⁴² But what most people failed to mention was that the land was not empty but *emptied*.⁴³ They came to territory that had recently been cleared of the nomadic pastoralists and hunters who once populated it, people who lived off the arid grasslands by moving through them, following herds that grazed on a carpet of grasses and plants. Since humans cannot digest grass, exploiting animals that do is a rational way to use the dry range and

³⁹ Kliever, "Foundations of Billings, Montana," 22.

⁴⁰ Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain*, 106.

⁴¹ Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": *A History of the American West* (Norman, Okla., 1991), 216.

⁴² See accounts of deportees to Kazakhstan in Stanisław Ciesielski and Anton Kuczynski, eds., *Polacy w Kazachstanie: Historia i Współczesność* (Wrocław, 1996); Krzysztof Samborski, "Zyczliwosci zadnoi," *Dziennik Polski*, July 6, 1995; Jerzy Sierociuk, "Archipelag Kokczetaw," *Przegląd Akademicki* 13–14 (1994). Vieda Skultans writes that people exiled to Siberia or imprisoned in labor camps emphasized the vastness and absence of human habitation as a way of representing their own lack of personal memories embedded in the landscape. Skultans, *The Testimony of Lives: Narrative and Memory in Post-Soviet Latvia* (London, 1998), 28.

⁴³ As Lefebvre writes, "The notion of a space which is at first empty, but is later filled by a social life and modified by it, also depends on this hypothetical initial 'purity,' identified as 'nature' and as a sort of ground zero of human reality." This kind of "empty" space, he argues, is merely another form of a representation of space. *Production of Space*, 190.

steppe not suited for agriculture or intensive husbandry.⁴⁴ As the first settlers appeared in Kazakhstan and Montana and took up homesteads in fertile land along rivers, Kazakhs and Indians adjusted their economies accordingly, trading fur and meat with the newcomers for tools and commodities. It wasn't harmony and it wasn't an idyll of pastoral unity with nature, but it was life—a social system and economy that adapted adequately to the conditions of the plains and steppe.

But that is not the way Kazakhs and Indians were seen by the Europeans who came to colonize them. Nomadic pastoralists were understood as part of the landscape. They came to symbolize the savage and precarious past, which still loomed over the present on the frontier with terrifying force. For instance, when high winds blew and unsettled the tent cities of Billings or Karaganda or when winter blizzards stranded people and livestock in blinding white confusion, it became clear how flimsy was the edifice white settlers occupied, an edifice linked only by a thin lifeline of steel rails to the distant sources of food and energy that kept their economies going. To Europeans, the unsettled nomad came to embody this cruel and indiscriminating nature. And so European colonizers constructed an ideological and principled crusade, casting themselves in the role of civilized man against primitive nature.

MOST HISTORIES OF KARAGANDA begin with the simple story of the Kazakh shepherd Appak Baizhanov, who one summer day in 1833 chased a fox into a hole.⁴⁵ Appak dismounted, dropped to his knees, and started digging out the foxhole. As he dug, he came across a piece of rock, black as a raven and of a puzzling texture. He brought it back to the elders at camp, who could make nothing of the black stone and tossed it into the fire. The rock blazed up unnaturally and they grew frightened. The elders ruled that the stone must be a bad force and should not be touched again. "Of course, the nomads did not recognize coal," one Soviet historian instructs, "because the young shepherd and his elders were illiterate."⁴⁶

The moral of the story is that Kazakhs lived in cruel ignorance, and it took the arrival of Russians armed with science to help the nomads realize the potential of the riches that existed beneath their "barren land." In Soviet texts, Russians are "the big brothers" come to help Kazakhs, who are "one of the most backward nations in the prerevolutionary empire."⁴⁷ This is another way of saying the Kazakhs made poor subjects because they rode fast horses, fought well, and managed with their nomadic elusiveness to evade the tax collectors' demanding beckon.⁴⁸ And so Soviet officials had no choice but to continue the work begun by

⁴⁴ In fact, ranchers now in the Great Plains, facing soil erosion caused by over-grazing, are reinventing grazing methods that follow the old patterns of the bison herds.

⁴⁵ Mukanov, *Karaganda*; Elagin, *Karaganda*; T. Y. Barag, *Karaganda* (Moscow, 1950); Malybaev, *Bor'ba KPSS*.

⁴⁶ Malybaev, *Bor'ba KPSS*, 15.

⁴⁷ Malybaev, *Bor'ba KPSS*, 102.

⁴⁸ For accounts of pre-Soviet and Soviet-era Kazakh history, see Martha Brill Olcott, *The Kazakhs*, 2d edn. (Stanford, Calif., 1995); Elizabeth E. Bacon, *Central Asians under Russian Rule: A Study in Culture Change*, 2d edn. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980); A. K. Akhmetov, ed., *History of Kazakhstan: Essays* (Almaty, 1988); M. K. Kozibaev and K. S. Algazhumanov, *Totalitarnii sotsializm: Real'nost' i posledstviia* (Almaty, 1997).

czarist officials, who had been trying for decades to colonize Kazakhs by settling them and using the land suitable for tilling to grow cash crops for export. Since the Russian Empire first took control of Kazakh territory in the 1820s, Kazakhs had been gradually pushed off good pastureland into the desert interior of Kazakhstan. The final blow, the equivalent of George Armstrong Custer's buffalo-slaughtering hunting trips, came in the early and mid-1930s when Soviet reformers decided to collectivize Kazakh nomads and thus rationalize the production of meat and dairy products on sedentary collective farms.

Not far from Billings, a small marble marker stands in the brown grasses, embossed with a simple Christian cross above the name George A. Custer, Major General. The story of Custer and his defeat by Crazy Horse at the battle of Little Big Horn is well known. So, too, are his infamous trips through the plains shooting bison and leaving behind the stench of rotting flesh that cloud his memorialization as a martyr on the battlefield. Custer was one of a number of Americans who felt that the extermination of the buffalo would inspire Indians to settle down.⁴⁹ He understood, as did the Soviet collectivizers later, that to take away the roving sustenance of the indigenous grasslanders would be a sure way to root them. In turn, rooting nomads and transforming the landscape would make it hard to remember "a time," as David Rollison puts it, "when the land was anything other than a commodity to be converted to cash."⁵⁰

But even after the bison were turned into bleached bone, their memory brushed onto canvas, and the remaining Indians settled on the reservation to a form of semi-dependency, the neighboring Crow, who had served as allies of the U.S. Army fighting the Sioux and Cheyenne, came to represent a threat and nuisance to the leaders of Billings. Before all the original lots and homesteads were inhabited by white settlers, city leaders in Billings started itching for more *Lebensraum* and petitioned Congress to move the Crow from their territory south of Billings and open the land for settlement.⁵¹ Frederick Billings and other entrepreneurs of the area wanted the Crow territory in order to build rail lines across it to the coal fields in Red Lodge, and, just as important, they sought to sanitize the valley of the "troublesome Indians" who were held responsible for missing cattle. An editorialist wrote in the *Billings Post* in 1884: "It will be a great boon to this section, when these miserable, idle dogs are moved away, and this valuable section of land thrown open to the use of people who will utilize it."⁵²

Perhaps neither Americans nor Soviets anticipated the extent to which forced settlement would exterminate not only the nomadic way of life but nomadic lives as well. Collectivization brought disaster to Kazakh pastoralists. Between 1929 and 1932, the livestock count dropped from 6.5 million heads to 965,000. Of the total population of Kazakhs estimated at 4.4 million in the late 1920s, by the mid-1930s

⁴⁹ White, "It's Your Misfortune," 87.

⁵⁰ Rollison argues there are two ways to transform land into property. The first is to turn people off the land. The second is to eradicate all signs of the old culture. In this way, he writes, the "massive manipulations and transformations of landscape that have resulted from the spread of capitalist values destroyed human memory." David Rollison, *The Local Origins of Modern Society: Gloucestershire 1500-1800* (London, 1992), 73.

⁵¹ West, *Capitalism on the Frontier*, 175.

⁵² From the *Billings Post*, April 17, 1884, as cited in Kliever, "Foundations of Billings, Montana."

2 million were missing; they either died from famine or fled across the borders to China, Mongolia, or Afghanistan.⁵³ In Karaganda, by January 1933, 15 percent of the indigenous Kazakhs remained.⁵⁴ In the Great Plains, the bison, which once roamed in immense black clouds totaling around 25 million, had by the 1880s been all but exterminated. Among American Indians, of the estimated pre-colonial population of 5 to 7 million, only 150,000 remained in 1900, 7 percent of the original population.⁵⁵

American and Soviet reformers created the savage and the primitive by defining it against the civilized and advanced and in so doing they appropriated the power to exclude Indians and Kazakhs from their land and livelihood—a power deployed with destructive results. The project, however, did not cease with mass fatalities. Surviving Indians and Kazakhs became subjects of social programs aimed at supervising and correcting their primitive ways. In Montana, the Bureau of Indian Affairs sought to make Christians out of Indian pagans and farmers out of Indian hunters. Bureau agents banned sacred dances and seized religious objects in a demonstration of authority that often turned violent. Instead of the old traditions, Indians were to learn the new orthodoxies of American hard work by becoming private landowners and farmers in ideal Jeffersonian independence. In 1904, Montana Governor S. C. Reynolds created the Crow Indian Industrial Fair, modeled on the midwestern county fair, where Crow contestants won prizes for the best farm teams, the biggest cabbages, and best-kept tipis. Meanwhile, at missionary boarding schools, Crow children learned to can fruits, milk cows, speak English, and recite the dictums of American Protestant values. And the policy was successful, in part. By 1896, half the Crow lived in houses and grew their own food. But that statistic reveals only a fleeting moment of triumph; by the 1920s, poverty, malnutrition, tuberculosis and trachoma were so chronic on the Crow reservation that local agents calculated with a “mathematical certainty” that the Crow Indian would soon cease to exist.⁵⁶

Like Indians, Kazakhs did not own land and tended to view ownership in communal terms. Even so, Soviet ethnographers found Kazakh tribal life to be poisoned by class relations and the feudal exploitation of the poor by the rich. And so Soviet reformers focused on disentangling Kazakh nomads from their livestock to affix the nomads to Soviet institutions, where they would learn true communal values, proletarian discipline, the Russian language, personal hygiene, and wage labor. Soviet reformers separated recalcitrant parents from their children, the best of whom were sent to orphanages to be retooled for life in a society based on science and technology. Anyone whom the NKVD suspected of holding back socialist development became a target for suppression. NKVD agents banned Kazakh mullahs from teaching Muslim texts, and disenfranchised and later arrested

⁵³ See Olcott, *Kazakhs*; and A. K. Akshiyev, et al., eds., *Istoriia Kazakhstana* (Almaty, 1993), 310.

⁵⁴ Author interview with M. K. Kozybaev, Almaty, September 1997.

⁵⁵ Charles Phillips and Alan Axelrod, *Encyclopedia of the American West*, 4 vols. (New York, 1996), 4: 1092.

⁵⁶ This abbreviated account of Crow history relates only the meta-narrative of Indian victimization. For a far more complex view of the Crows' adaptability and pragmatism in founding the Crow Reservation, which accelerated the tribe's transition to a modern self-consciousness, see Frederick E. Hoxie, *Parading through History: The Making of the Crow Nation in America, 1805–1935* (Cambridge, 1995).

Kazakh leaders, the *aksakal* and *bai*.⁵⁷ They shut down mosques and opened in their stead “red yurts,” where women and children learned to write, clean, and farm. Soviet communists photographed the happy Kazakhs swinging their pitchforks on the way to the fields, and they, too, held fairs where the grower of the biggest melon and thresher of the most wheat mounted the bunting-festooned tribunal to receive a red ribbon with Lenin’s profile looking off to the future.⁵⁸

ONCE EUROPEAN SETTLERS HAD MARGINALIZED INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS, the emptied spaces needed to be refashioned, and because the land was vacant (or vacated), there was nothing to stop the wholesale appropriation of it as productive, agricultural, and industrial space. After the arrival of the railroad in Billings and Karaganda, European colonizers no longer occupied new territory in a piecemeal fashion—a bend in the river here, a river valley there—but implanted a wholly new figurative and physical architecture in the landscapes. Railroad executives, U.S. Geological Survey officials, and Soviet officials spread out a purposeful map blanketing the landscape, dividing and subdividing territory according to function and use—mining, farming, ranching. And once space was divided according to function, so, too, were the lives that inhabited that space. Indians were to become farmers on land designated for that purpose. Kazakhs were to become collective farm members on land designated for that purpose. And new people were to be imported to fill the recently emptied spaces and implement the destiny described by the maps.

It is logical to think that cities emerge after the accumulation of a critical mass of people, but in Montana and Kazakhstan, this pattern was reversed. Cities came first, then people. Most of the settlers to the Yellowstone Valley arrived a full two decades after the founding of the Magic City. Saddled with a great deal of land bought on speculation, the founders of Billings worked in tandem with the railroad to entice homesteaders to the valley. Booster propaganda lied outright only at times; it usually misled by innuendo and cheerful exaggeration. The *Billings Gazette*:

Below you lies miles and miles of cultivated farm land, the beautiful Yellowstone Valley, entrancing vistas of woodland and river greets the eye. Delightful attractions of well-laden orchards, with green and brown and yellow fields all dotted with dainty looking farm buildings and pretty red-roofed school houses, form a picture not readily forgotten. And at your feet, the loveliest gem in the beautiful setting, behold the charming city of Billings.⁵⁹

The photo that accompanied this journalistic account contains a waterfall and thick forest, suggesting a shady, refreshing mountain idyll. Imagine the surprise of homesteaders when they arrived in Billings. Mrs. T. W. Wilkinson Polly, a Missouri native, remembered her first night: “It was a tearful set of women and children that evening. There was not a tree, hardly a blade of grass, only sagebrush and dusty

⁵⁷ See Olcott, *Kazakhs*, chap. 8.

⁵⁸ See Tsentral’nii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Kinofotodokumentov Respubliki Kazakhstan (hereafter, TsGAK RK), photo numbers: 5-4377, 5-3655, 5-4380 (1930).

⁵⁹ “Twenty Years of the Billings Gazette,” *The Billings Gazette*, 1905.

streets and untidy surroundings, making it seem as if we had come to the last place on Earth."⁶⁰

Mrs. Wilkinson Polly's tears flowed out of the realization that she and her family had been duped; they had spent their savings and gambled their singular futures on a swindle. The sun-baked flats and tent city could not be recognized as the Eden of the railroad ads and booster press accounts. Yet Mrs. Wilkinson Polly is written into history as a pioneering homesteader because she and her kin made their future themselves. Once they willingly entered the ideological frame of private property and Jeffersonian independence promoted by the railroad and real estate developers, they became the principal force of their own misery.

A few decades after the railroads went into the business of producing homesteaders for Montana, the NKVD took up the task of supplying deportees for agricultural settlement of Kazakhstan.⁶¹ In addition to KarLag, the NKVD deported tens of thousands of people to northern Kazakhstan to till the virgin but often agriculturally marginal land around growing new industrial centers like Karaganda.⁶² To colonize and utilize the land most effectively, the Labor Colony department of the NKVD-Gulag gridded the land into 240,000 or 480,000-acre parcels for prospective collective farms, assigning an average of 300 deported families to each farm.⁶³

Maria Andzejevskaya was born in a Ukrainian village in the 1920s. One summer day in 1936, NKVD security agents knocked on the door and told Maria's parents they had a week to pack their things and report for resettlement to Kazakhstan. No one in the village knew where Kazakhstan was, but they were told it was to the

⁶⁰ West, *Capitalism on the Frontier*, 145.

⁶¹ The NKVD Resettlement Bureau directed its agents in Kazakhstan to draw up new boundaries from land funds appropriated from Kazakh nomads. Report from Alma-Ata on Karaganda Oblast', RGAE 5675/1/140 (Autumn 1936), ll. 13–19. In 1931, the Resettlement Bureau of the NKVD started to deport *kulaks* (rich peasants) to Kazakhstan and later in 1936 groups of Poles and Germans to the region. The pioneering nature of the deportation program was similar to that of the founding of KarLag. As one official reviewed the program in 1936: "Most new industrial bases are located in the Karaganda Oblast'. There the sparse population in the newly constructed regions creates a severe problem. In a series of events, resettlement has enlivened vacant regions and makes possible the development of agriculture." Just how marginal the land was is captured in the following excerpt from the report: "Almost all parcels suggested have little to no water source." From Land Fund (OMZ) to Pliner, November 2, 1936, RGAE 5675/1/40, l. 4. See also Director of the Land Fund of the Labor Colony, NKVD Shkele to GULAG NKVD Pliner, November 5, 1936, RGAE 5675/1/140, l. 12. On the 1936 deportations, see GARF 5446/18a/209 (23/1/36); on Ukrainian Republic proposals to deport, see the Central State Archives of Government Organizations of Ukraine (hereafter, TsDAHOU) 1/16/12 (February 25, 1936); TsDAHOU 1/16/12, l. 346 (November 25, 1935); on NKVD preparations in Kazakhstan, see Berman to Yagoda, April 16, 1936, GARF 9479/1/36, ll. 7–11, and July 13, 1936, GARF 9479/1/36, ll. 12–16.

⁶² The settlements were largely sited on "uninhabited steppe, in droughty, un-irrigated zones," with eight to seventeen inches of annual precipitation, which evaporated at a high rate in the intense Kazakh sun and wind. For descriptions of the topography, see Berman to Yagoda, July 13, 1936, GARF 9479/1/36, ll. 1.2–16, the State Archive of the Kochetau Oblast' (hereafter, GAKO), 906/1/29; and George J. Demko, *The Russian Colonization of Kazakhstan, 1896–1916* (Bloomington, Ind., 1969), 15.

⁶³ The NKVD also sketched out new towns to accompany the communities, laying out streets for new schools, hospitals, stores, and homes. Land and responsibilities changed hands frequently between state enterprises and bureaus, but land was always under the control of one large bureaucratic organization or another, whether a branch of internal security, regional government, or an economic bureau. For example, the Labor Settlement Division of the NKVD-GULAG was in charge of the distribution network, cultural and educational facilities, medical services, and agricultural-veterinarian expertise for deportees to Kazakhstan until transference to the land bank and regional government in the late 1930s. See "Obiasnitel'naia zapiska NKVD SSSR za 1937 god," GARF 9479/1/41, l. 11.

south, where there was plenty of land for everyone to farm.⁶⁴ To many, resettlement, even if by force, sounded like good news; overcrowding and land hunger had plagued the sandy, swampy regions of central Ukraine for decades.⁶⁵ Maria and her family joined about half her village in packing up and loading their tools, furniture, and livestock on a train to Kazakhstan. They were part of a mass deportation of over 70,000 Soviet citizens of Polish and German descent, who in 1936 were deemed suspect of collusion with bourgeois Poland and Nazi Germany.⁶⁶ Maria's family rode the train for nearly a month, and when they finally disembarked from the cramped cattle cars in mid-September, the landscape had changed drastically. Maria described terrain empty except for a tall pole with a sign on it, labeled "settlement number two": "They told us we were going to Kazakhstan, and they would give us land and homes and we would live well. 'There's no winter, it's the south [they said], 'everything will be perfect,' and then they dropped us off and there was nothing. The five of us children, mamma and papa, everyone cried, and then it was something horrible, night was coming, what would we do?"⁶⁷ Maria's family did what Mrs. Wilkinson Polly did. They built houses out of sod, and in their mud homes they put up with the dampness, snakes, and bugs. They made it through the first winter on their dwindling food stocks, and when those were gone they traded their clothing and dishes to Kazakhs for meat and flour. They learned how to gather up manure and brushwood to burn for heat in the long, sub-zero winters. They figured out the signs of a blizzard and how maybe to survive one if caught outside. In short, they learned to endure.

What is the difference between the homesteader and deportee? At first glance, the two do not belong in the same category. Homesteaders went to Montana voluntarily to break the soil; deportees were rudely coerced from their homes and driven to the virgin Kazakh steppe. Yet, looked at more closely, the categories of free will and coercion begin to fuse. Mrs. Wilkinson Polly's family chose to move based on the hopeful view of Montana advertised by civic boosters and railroad advertisers; an NKVD officer conjured up a rosy picture of Kazakhstan for Maria Andzejevskaya's family. Maria's family was offered no choice in leaving, but there is evidence that many of her neighbors were willing to go, and some even asked to

⁶⁴ The NKVD of Karaganda Oblast' in Kazakhstan reported that the settlers from Ukraine arrived "disoriented" with misinformation about Kazakhstan. They had been told it was to the south and had a warm climate and to sell all their warm clothes and bring salt, because there was little salt to be found in Kazakhstan. Some families brought with them no warm clothes and up to ninety pounds of salt. See Berman to Yagoda, April 16, 1936, GARF 9479/1/36, ll. 7-11.

⁶⁵ A local official in charge of deportation reported in a secret document that 90 percent of the deportees shared the opinion of Friedrich Ralov: "I'm very happy to be resettled, it will get me better work than I have now in the collective farm." Many other resettlement officers reported a similar "I am happy to go" sentiment from other villages. They also reported tearful goodbyes and reluctant departures. State Archives of the Zhitomir Oblast' (hereafter, DAZO), 42/1/372; P-87/1/3, ll. 27-30, and P-42/1/327, l. 76. The assertion that deportees would be happy to be deported sounds hard to believe until one considers that the deportations occurred amid a century of voluntary migration from the overcrowded agricultural terrain of European Russia to the virgin lands of Kazakhstan. Between 1880 and 1980, over 5 million people migrated to Kazakhstan in search of virgin soil and opportunity. For statistics, see V. Moiseenko, "Migratsiia naseleniia v perepiskakh Rossii i SSSR," *Voprosy statistiki* 3 (1997): 30-36.

⁶⁶ Of the 70,000 deportees, 64,319 arrived in the Karaganda Region by October 1936. See GARF 9479/1/36, l. 19.

⁶⁷ Author interview with Maria Andzejevskaya, Tulgari, Kazakhstan, audiotape, September 29, 1997.

be put on the deportation list so they could also try their fortunes in Central Asia, where there was plenty of untilled land—virgin soil, the same motivation for which Mrs. Wilkinson Polly made the long trek to Montana.⁶⁸

Not to overdraw the comparison, once in Kazakhstan, Maria's family was legally restricted from leaving their village and had to report to a local commandant every month.⁶⁹ Mrs. Wilkinson Polly's family could leave if they had someplace else to go and money to get there. In fact, they could be forced to leave if the crops failed and the bank foreclosed on their loans. Many will argue this difference in free will is essential, that to be held in place by decree is entirely different than to be held, or propelled, by debt. And they are quite right, yet these differences themselves point to a set of similarities that cast doubt on assumptions of incompatibility between the Soviet Union and United States. For, in both categories, people became the willing and unwilling tools of larger projects to control huge territories by turning grassland into cash crops. Both families were hoodwinked by visions of a better future. Once they arrived, both homesteaders and deportees expressed a sense of powerlessness, a hazy feeling that their lives were being controlled by outside forces.

Montanans regularly railed against the power of the corporations and the railroads, forces that seemed to seep everywhere, controlling them by setting prices, hiring, firing, overcharging, and underpaying them. In 1912, J. C. Murphy published a book-long diatribe against the corporations in Montana. An excerpt:

Less than a decade of time had been required to bring the material wealth of the state under combine control . . . to acquire most of the tremendous water power and electric power resources of the state to one ownership . . . to bring the banking interests of the state practically under the domination of a single chain of banks owned by the same interest, to reduce the profits of wage earners and to make their condition in industrial centers little better than bond slaves, to transform the functions of a public press . . . into a perfectly organized machine for the suppression of knowledge . . . all this by lawless corporate combination . . . exercised by absentee bosses.⁷⁰

The corporations remain incorporate, the bosses absentee. Murphy could not visualize the source of his subjection; it came from everywhere and embraced everything at once. In Karaganda, I asked a group of elderly people, former deportees, who was responsible for their imprisonment. The voices rang out immediately: "The System." "The Party." "Stalin." "Moscow." "And what about the guards, the people who are your neighbors now?" Again, a chorus of replies: "It is

⁶⁸ See DAZO, P-42/1/372 (1936), ll. 29, 78, 87, 163–41, for lists of persons requesting permission to be deported from the Right Bank border zone of Ukraine to Kazakhstan.

⁶⁹ Deportees could not travel more than 25 kilometers beyond their assigned settlements. See "Postanovlenie SNK SSSR o trudovikh poseleniakh OGPU v zapadnoi Sibiri i Kazakhstane," June 9, 1933, GARF 5446/57/25, ll. 21–22. Not that that law stopped deportees from leaving the special settlements. NKVD officials reported "massive flight of the deportees to various places in the USSR" and ordered that the guard be increased on the railroads and in the special settlements. Berman to Zalin, GARF, June 1937, 9479/1/38, ll. 1–2. In the Kokchetav Province (*oblast'*) of northern Kazakhstan, 9 percent of the deportees fled in the first year. GAKO 11/1/39, l. 144.

⁷⁰ J. C. Murphy, *The Comical History of Montana: A Serious Story for Free People* (San Diego, 1912), 40.

not their fault. They had no choice. They were good people. They only did what they were ordered to do.”⁷¹

Former deportees in Karaganda saw their lives caught in a “system” so immense it swallowed everyone, even the guards. Settlers in Montana at the turn of the century expressed a similar uneasiness about the corporations that seemed to overtake them at every turn. The “Company,” the “Party,” two faceless, diffuse entities encircled, or so it seemed, the lives of the people who lived in Kazakhstan and Montana so fully that they never caught sight of the incorporeal, ephemeral forces ruling them.

THE FIRST YEARS the settlers and deportees plowed up the mineral-rich, virgin grasslands, crops grew considerably. And during years of higher rainfall and milder temperatures, crops also thrived. Settlers in Kazakhstan remember fondly the years between 1937 and 1939, much as the boom years between 1909 and 1917 are still talked of in Montana.⁷² But inevitably, drought followed rain. And with drought came dust. Soil, over-tilled and uncovered, went airborne in the dry years. Settlers in Kazakhstan and Montana remark on the dust so thick “you couldn’t see the horses’ ears.” They mention the dust storms nearly as much as they do the locusts that fed mostly on the weakened crops but even ate through clothes and leather. Those were hungry years. And to make matters worse, when the post-World War I price of wheat fell, dry land farmers in Montana were shadowed by bankers. Bernice McGee’s father, a Norwegian immigrant, homesteaded a farm in the foothills above Billings. Every autumn, she said, her father would sell the crops and head for the bank to pay off the loan he had taken for seed and supplies the spring before. But after he paid the bank, there was no money left for the family to make it through the winter, so he would take out another loan, and the cycle of interests, payments, and anxiety would begin again.⁷³ For the deportees in Kazakhstan, tax rates rose each year, especially as World War II drew closer. Fifty years later, Maria still knows the tax rates by heart: “Thirty-six liters of milk. Eight kilos of refined butter a year. 200 kilograms of meat for every family a year. That was a whole cow!”⁷⁴

The biggest obstacles to farming and living on the steppe and plains involved water, or the lack of it. Karaganda and Billings fall into the same precipitation zone,

⁷¹ Author interview at the Karaganda German Cultural Center, Kazakhstan, audiotape, October 13, 1997.

⁷² It may sound strange to talk of 1937, one of the chief years of the Great Terror, as a good year. However, the agricultural success in 1937 of the deportees was such that NKVD officials worried about the growth of “kulaks” in the settlements. See Pohl, *Stalinist Penal System*, 63. Meanwhile, Zemskov argues that 1937 represented “a peak of liberalization of the labor exile regime.” V. H. Zemskov, “Ob uchete spetskontingenta NKVD vo vsesoiuznykh perepisykh naseleniia 1937,” *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia* 2 (1991): 75.

⁷³ Author interview with Bernice McGee, Livingston, Montana, audiotape, April 20, 1998.

⁷⁴ Author interview with Maria Andzejevskaya, Tulgari, Kazakhstan, audiotape, April 29, 1997. The “Special Settlements” of the kind in which Maria lived functioned usually at a loss to the state, which supported the settlements in the face of continual requests for subsidies to get through the next year. Like homesteaders on the plains, the “special settlers” in Kazakhstan were caught in a cycle. In the fall, they paid their taxes and loans back to state banks; in the spring, they needed more loans and subsidies for planting. See Danilov, *Spetspereselentsi*, 8.

where rainfall deviates from a drought-level eight inches to a cultivable seventeen inches a year. It was decided that farming could only be secured through irrigation, but irrigation seemed a fantasy when even drinking water was in short supply. In Karaganda, people had to cart water for miles by horse or camel. In Billings, residents paid 50 cents a barrel for water hauled from the Yellowstone River. Water was all that was needed to make the land fertile, but large-scale irrigation demanded a concentration of capital and labor well beyond the means of an individual farmer or even of the collective energies of the surrounding urban communities. In Billings, the managers of the land company attracted settlers with the promise of "the Big Ditch" for two decades, but they never succeeded in building it. Only in 1900, when the federal government backed irrigation projects, was there enough capital to build a series of canals and reservoirs.⁷⁵ In Karaganda, where the central government dedicated hundreds of thousands of rubles to a 24-kilometer canal, and KarLag had at its disposal a growing labor force swelling into the thousands, digging it still took four years and then only supplied the city and a few hundred acres of farmland.⁷⁶ Irrigation presents a metaphor for the large-scale settlement of the continental steppe. It takes the kind of money and concentration of labor and machinery that only government budgets, outside capital, and expertise could provide, which left the farmers of the arid steppe and plains in a state of dependency, waiting on the largess of the state.⁷⁷

In other words, small family farms, the kind Thomas Jefferson envisioned, did not prosper in the Great Plains. To have a predictably profitable crop year after year, farmers needed to irrigate, ideally employing heavy machinery and fortifying the soils with fertilizers. The long arch of agricultural development in Montana points to the replacement of small homesteads with large agri-business farms, an American version of the collective farm, where fields are huge, machinery a must, and a mobile labor force is needed to produce high-yield cash crops to pay for it all. At KarLag, the NKVD specialized in setting up large-scale farm-factories and even ran a model farm that pioneered dry land farming techniques, much as Frederick Billings's son Parmly turned the family ranch into a model "scientific" operation.⁷⁸

The experience of working on these large, corporate farms did not differ greatly between Kazakhstan and Montana. Margarete Buber, a German socialist living in the Soviet Union during the 1930s, was arrested and sent to KarLag in 1938, convicted of treasonous activity. Her story—that of a Soviet prisoner—has been told many times. She suffered cold and hunger, slept on hard planks in dirty huts infested with bugs. She worked in the beet fields in KarLag, harvested and threshed grain, hauled water to the fields, shoveled manure, dug ditches on a railroad crew, sorted vegetables, and weeded a truck garden. She recounts the two years she spent in KarLag as a time of perpetual motion. As one job finished, she would be marched with a gang of fellow prisoners to another location in the vast camp and assigned a new job. The gulag system she described as a "slave trust": "Wherever labor is

⁷⁵ West, *Capitalism on the Frontier*, 136.

⁷⁶ Dil'manov and Kuznetsova, *Karlag*.

⁷⁷ White, *"It's Your Misfortune,"* 236. See, as well, Scott on schemes for agricultural modernization that emphasized technical expertise, planning, and central control, which produced commercial and political monopolies and diminished the autonomy of the farmer. *Seeing Like a State*, 271.

⁷⁸ West, *Capitalism on the Frontier*, 169.

needed, the G.P.U. [the State Political Police] sends its prisoners. They fell timber in Central Siberia and Karelia, work in heavy industries in the Urals, cultivate the steppes of Kazakhstan, mine gold in Kolyma, build towns in the Far East of Siberia."⁷⁹

In 1942, the NKVD created a second, even larger "slave trust," a migratory stratum of workers called the "Labor Army." On August 28, 1941, a date nearly every adult in Karaganda knows, the Supreme Soviet sent out an executive order to deport people of German heritage east, to Kazakhstan and Siberia. The government feared that Soviet citizens of German descent would serve as a fifth column for the invading German army.⁸⁰ As a consequence, more than a million citizens of German descent were uprooted and transferred thousands of miles during the first months of war. The NKVD conscripted the transplanted Soviet-German deportees, among others, into a Labor Army to serve in the Asiatic rear of the country manufacturing, mining, and farming to support the Red Army at the front.

In Billings, of course, there was no NKVD to organize labor. But there were large beet farms and far more beets than any farming family could singly sow, weed, harvest, and ship to the Billings sugar refinery. Meanwhile, in New York at the turn of the century, relatives of the same families of Russian-Germans were arriving on Ellis Island in their homespun clothes, speaking an archaic German dialect. Few knew English, but some saw the Milwaukee Railroad posters of the farmer, biceps bulging, plowing up a field of gold coins over a map of the railroad running straight through Billings. Others were enticed by a railroad recruiter in Russia with a cheap ticket to the Great Plains. The Russian-Germans came most often with no cash or assets, and few could afford to buy land and establish their own farms. Instead, colonies of Russian-Germans became part of the sugar-beet labor force throughout the Great Plains, working the fields in Nebraska, Kansas, Idaho, and Montana.⁸¹ In Russia, they had farmed independently; in North America, they entered the world of agricultural wage labor.

It was a precarious world to inhabit. Work came sporadically, was remunerated half-heartedly, and the winters were long, unproductive, and unpaid. In the summers, parents and their children spent the daylight hours in the fields crawling along the rows of beets, blocking, thinning, and weeding. The back-breaking, punishing hours in the fields paid off for some families, who managed to save enough to buy their own farms. But other families remained on the migrant labor circuit for decades, and their ranks grew in the drought periods when farms were lost to banks. One family, for instance, the family of "David K.," emigrated from south Russia in 1903. Three decades later, in 1936, a social worker for the state relief administration found the family "living in a dilapidated, two-room shack,"

⁷⁹ Margarete Buber-Neumann, *Under Two Dictators*, Edward Fitzgerald, trans. (London, 1950), 111.

⁸⁰ The order read: "Among the Germans of the Volga there are thousands and hundreds of thousands diversants and spies, preparing terrorist acts and diversion." Postanovlenie SNK SSSR i TsK VKP(b), August 26, 1941, and ukaz Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR, August 28, 1941, "O pereselenii nemtsev iz Saratovskoi, Stalingradskoi oblastei i Respubliki Nemtsev Povol'zhya," as reproduced in G. A. Karpikova, ed., *Iz istorii Nemtsev Kazakhstana (1921-1975 gg.): Sbornik dokumentov* (Almaty, 1997), 95. The total number of persons deported under this category amounted to 1,093,490, of whom 393,537 were living in Kazakhstan in 1949. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsi," 10, 12.

⁸¹ Fred C. Koch, *The Volga Germans: In Russia and the Americas, from 1763 to the Present* (University Park, Pa., 1977), 214.

unheated and so cold she had to keep her coat on during the interview. In the 1920s, David K. and his wife bought a small farm on credit. "But one year there was no rain, so there was no crop; next year there was too much rain and black rust ruined the crop; next year frost destroyed much of the crop, and each year thereafter some reverse caused loss."⁸² Once, cholera killed the hogs, and later a train ran over the horses. In short, the farm had not prospered. David K. sold it, bought a used car, and set out with his family, rolling through the fields of North Dakota, Idaho, and California as migrant laborers, where they farmed "onions, potatoes and especially beets." David K.'s wife bore eleven children, and the interviewer found her "in poor health, physically run-down and very shabbily dressed," her youngest child nursing at the breast. Three boys were undernourished and "so poorly clad as to be conspicuous." The little girl, Rose, was "unkempt and suffered from a cold and skin ailment." No one in the family had finished grade school. Most had not made it past the third grade.⁸³

Germans from Russia weed beet fields just beyond Billings; Germans from Russia weed beet fields near Karaganda. The processes by which the two groups became migrant laborers are quite different, and again the difference hinges on the element of coercion and free will. However, the outcome—membership in a migrant labor force—and the quality of life are quite similar. Russian-Germans in Karaganda and Montana were related not only by family ties but also as subjects of a new kind of expanding agricultural discipline based on cheap and mobile labor.⁸⁴ The conditions that encompassed their lives—meager living quarters, long work hours, low pay, few chances for advancement, and continual mobility—bonded them long after time and events broke up their German colonies in Russia. Thanks to migration, legal and illegal, there has never been a sustained shortage of unskilled laborers in the United States. The glut of immigrants and all the disparate, untamed forces of the market produced the same kind of mobile, inexpensive labor force that the NKVD generated with its centrally planned charts, mobilization orders, requisitioned trains, and armed soldiers. The invisible hand of the market and the whimsical breezes of U.S. immigration policy sutured together a migrant labor force on the level of the NKVD, with hardly a flourish of weapons.

There are, of course, other differences between deportees to Kazakhstan and homesteaders of Montana. A major difference is memory. The pioneers are lionized as men and women who with courage and the sweat of their brow and a heap of other slogans remade the West, fought off Indians, broke the virginal soil, and in so doing symbolized the freedom and independence of the American way. The deportees, on the other hand, are memorialized as victims of a heartless, impersonal regime. They stand as an icon of suffering in histories of the Soviet Union.⁸⁵ They are driven across the steppe and deposited on a wind-swept plain.

⁸² Nels Anderson, *Men on the Move* (Chicago, 1940), 227.

⁸³ Anderson, *Men on the Move*, 227.

⁸⁴ See Steve Hochstadt on the forces of economic propulsion and agricultural poverty that led to a growing and increasingly powerless migrant labor force, in *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820–1989* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1999), 211–12.

⁸⁵ Mikołaj Iwanow, *Pierwszy naród ukarany: Stalinizm wobec polskiej ludności kresowej (1921–1938)* (Warsaw, 1991); Ciesielski and Kuczynski, *Polacy w Kazachstanie*; Robert Conquest, *The Nation Killers: The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities* (London, 1970); Alexander Nekrich, *The Punished Peoples: The Deportation and Fate of Soviet Minorities at the End of the Second World War*, George Sanders, trans.

They are hungry, are often shown in photographs as children with ribs like knives and pinched women burdened with crying infants. The pioneer, on the other hand, is a man, axe in hand, his jaw projected out, all determination. No one needed to help a pioneer; he did for himself.

Ex-convicts and deportees in Kazakhstan are attached to the memory of themselves as victims of a cruel regime. This is the meta-narrative of their lives, and they feel no remorse for the loss of the nomad, nor do they romanticize life on the agricultural and industrial frontier. The difference in the West lies in the impulse to remember. If you travel through Montana, the stylized ghosts of the past haunt billboards and roadside stands: the dead Indian, the dead pioneer, the long-gone cowboy, the withered family farm, and the displaced miner. Teenagers in American cities, most of whom will never exchange their sweat for wages, walk about in the heavy denim of the farmers' Carharts; suburbanites negotiate manicured avenues in the rugged jeeps of ranchers. James Bryce's premonition has come true: America's restless, feverish passion for quick results has kicked back up a nostalgia for a past plowed under to make room for an ever-receding future.⁸⁶ This grief for what has been paved over is integral to modern life; it is a sign that in the United States, more than in the former Soviet Union, the destruction that accompanies a successfully expanding modernity has been far more complete.⁸⁷

ON A COLD, RAINY SUNDAY, the first winter winds drive the rain like lead pellets against the windows of the German Cultural Center of Karaganda. A group of senior citizens who were once conscripts in the Labor Army sit around a long table. The seniors all have a story to tell about their role in the creation of industrial space in Kazakhstan. They tell their stories all at once, in a chorus of voices describing the long years of work, insults, want, and need, as well as the small acts of kindness and camaraderie that helped them survive. From the corner, a small woman began to speak. Maria Weimar:

They brought us here [to Karaganda] to the mine number 89. As soon as we arrived they placed us in the zone. There was a high fence, on top, three rows of barbed wire. On every corner there were guard towers, and there was a checkpoint. We were escorted to work, at the mine where all of us lined up for roll call. At seven in the morning we were led out and at eight we were already supposed to be at work in the mine. We worked twelve-hour shifts . . . We worked from eight in the morning until eight at night . . . The conveyor went by and

(New York, 1978); Genrich Strons'kii, *Zlet i podinnya: Pol's'kii natsional'nii raion v Ukraini y 20–30 roki* (Ternopil, 1992). On the universalization of the image of displaced persons into an ideal "type," see Liisa H. Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago, 1995), 8–14.

⁸⁶ As Iain Chambers writes, "We seek to return to the beginnings, no longer our own, but that of an 'Other' who is now requested to carry the burden of representing our desire." Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*, 72.

⁸⁷ Berman writes poetically about the wrecking-ball quality of modernity: "The innate dynamism of the modern economy and of the culture that grows from this economy annihilates everything it creates—physical environments, social institutions, metaphysical ideas, artistic visions, moral values—in order to create more, to go on endlessly creating the world anew." *All That Is Solid*, 288.

we picked out slag. You had to grab the rocks quickly all day. Twelve hours without a break.⁸⁸

Maria describes her life in the Labor Army in terms of segregated space measured out with timetables, weights, and scales. In the Labor Army, her life was transformed into an unswerving schedule. She worked seven days a week. She always rose at six, marched to the mine by seven, was lowered into the mine to work by eight. In a country where for years the Soviet authorities grappled to turn the rebellious, chaotic working classes of the former czarist malaise into a disciplined orderly state, they achieved it in Karaganda.⁸⁹ Maria fell into step, a mechanized body plucking slag from a conveyor belt, for twelve hours a day, every day of the week, fueled by the same daily allotment of soup and 800 grams of bread.

Michel Foucault writes that obedience is morality. Maria's life wove through a relationship between labor, discipline, and punishment that may have reached an apex in Soviet penal servitude but was not born there. The walled factory, locked and under key, came of age in nineteenth-century industrial cities in Europe and the United States. Soviet party leaders practiced what American industrialists had discovered a few decades before: to industrialize takes discipline. And discipline, Foucault writes, requires mechanized bodies distributed in partitioned space, watched and supervised. The end result of discipline is homogenization and normalization, a labor force that shows up whenever and wherever, an interchangeable set of bodies perfectly tuned to the tasks set before them.⁹⁰

In Pittsburgh, Polish immigrants worked in the steel mills, twelve hours a day, seven days a week. If they wanted a day off, they worked a 24-hour shift. In the Urals, Soviet-Polish conscripts mined ore in 12-hour shifts, the same period Maria Weimar spent daily underground, every day but one, from 1943 until 1947. In Virginia, during World War I, boys in the coal breakers, their shoulders hunched in the chill and for fear of the foreman, bent over the conveyor belts and picked through slag. Decades later, the children-turned-old-men describe the breakers as "hell" and complain most, as does Maria Weimar, of blistered, cut hands, ripped hour after hour on the jagged rocks. The boys worked out of need and fear, much like Maria did in Mine Number 89 in Karaganda. The same machines, the same hierarchies and rush for production, the same endless days and fatal accidents, clogged air, ragged lungs, fragmented bodies, and flat, beaten stares. It comes as no surprise that in the realm of labor history the names, dates, and places begin to blur into one long, muscle-aching sigh.

A sigh that indicates the physical experience of industrial labor differs little whether in capitalism or communism, because the same grid stretched over not only space but time, the process of production, and, consequently, lives.⁹¹ Time was gridded into schedules (set and calibrated by the railroad); materials were graphed

⁸⁸ Author interview with Maria Weimar, Karaganda, audiotape, October 1987.

⁸⁹ For examples of the chaotic quality of Soviet labor, see Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times; Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (New York, 1999); Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village after Collectivization* (New York, 1994); Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain*.

⁹⁰ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 167–87.

⁹¹ As Lefebvre writes, "It is within space that time consumes or devours living beings." *Production of Space*, 57.

into production quotas; bodies were regimented into units. As such, it is possible to leave Karaganda and retire to another war, another place: Butte, Montana, in 1917. Miners dug in thousands of miles of underground tunnels to produce copper for the American war effort. Foremen for the Anaconda Mining Company continually raised the production quotas to meet the demand, and miners were stretched to the last breath of their reserve. The farther they burrowed below ground, the higher the temperatures rose; at 2,000 feet down, the temperature reached 117 degrees. Dust from the drills swirled in the dank air together with the odors of man and beast, blasting powder, rotting food, and spit-drenched tobacco. Above ground, sulfurous fumes billowed up, floating over exposed heaps of roasting ore. Residents walked about town with damp rags tied over their mouths and lanterns at mid-day. One of the Copper Kings, William A. Clark, claimed the fumes were vital to health as a disinfectant for disease. The airborne arsenic, he asserted, gave Butte women their beautiful, pale complexions.⁹² It was a scene Dante would have recognized even before the night of June 8, when a flume of fire roared through a mine shaft and caused the death of 168 men and the worst hard-rock mining disaster in U.S. history.

After the explosion, the Metal Mine Workers' Union called for additional safety measures. When the company refused the union's demands, 15,000 workers shut down the mines, and for the second time in the preceding few years martial law was installed in Butte. For the next year and a half, troops from the National Guard ruled Butte from the thick-walled respectability of the county courthouse. In the meantime, the state legislature passed the Montana Sedition Act outlawing "disloyal" speeches and literature, legalizing deportation, and outlawing the Wobblies. Pinkerton detectives snuck about the city, trying to infiltrate and uncover seditious organizations. The Wobblies still went to the picket lines, however, with other unions, and in April of 1920, troops opened fire on picketers in front of the Neversweat mine, killing two and injuring thirteen others. After that incident, the governor canceled the National Guard and called in U.S. Army regulars, who monitored the city while work resumed in the mines.

Yet to imply that Butte was an armed camp during the years of the city's biggest boom would be an oversimplification. Most miners did not need guns and soldiers to compel them to work. They went willingly; their paychecks and the need to cover the bills and the gambling debts kept them underground. In fact, after the war, when the demand for copper fell off, miners lived in perpetual fear of being shut out of the mines. Besides, it was underground, in the zone of free-labor relations, not above ground in the midst of violent corporation-versus-labor confrontation, where more miners perished by far. Locals in Butte today calculate death based on the work week. They say one miner died for every week of the hundred years the mines functioned. The official estimate of death by accident falls short of local lore, at 2,000; however, no one knows how many miners died of lung diseases and "natural" causes that shrunk life expectancy and left the city full of widows.

The glue that binds Kazakhstan with Montana forms around the point of collision when two rapidly industrializing, growing, voraciously hungry countries turned the

⁹² Mary Murphy, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41* (Urbana, Ill., 1997), 4.

corner from small-scale, local economies to economies of a national and imperial magnitude. By enticing and coercing, by offering opportunities laced with threats, by dividing time, space, and materials into discrete units, Soviet functionaries and American capitalists found it possible to line up the bodies to build and extract, to build the machines that would build more machines and make it easier and faster to extract more. The machines, and the people that followed them, demanded more coal, steel, ore, and ever more lives. None of these resources were renewable, except for the people. Between 1880 and 1900, 700,000 workers died on the job in the United States.⁹³ Between 1934 and 1940, 239,000 forced laborers died in Soviet labor camps.⁹⁴ These fatalities did not slow industrial expansion, because immigrants, legal and illegal, have always flooded U.S. borders, and in the Soviet Union more "enemies of the people" could always be uncovered, and babies could be endlessly generated. (In 1935, at the height of the industrialization drive, the Soviet government outlawed abortion and made mothers of ten or more children "heroes.") As it happened, for decades, the same teeming Central European countryside supplied both fledgling superpowers an incessant source of able bodies. But the story does not end there. As industrial space gridded the landscape, populations of migrants and prisoners were segmented as well, by class and ethnicity.

NOW, TOURISTS SPEEDING ALONG Interstate 90 in Montana can stop in Butte for a few minutes and stroll out to the platform extending over the Berkeley Pit, the cavity that was once the "richest hill on Earth," now a mile wide and mile deep, filled with flooded toxins left over from a century of mining. On the platform, it doesn't take long to hear the recorded message that describes the history of the pit and the wealth that was dug from the skin-colored cliffs, and when the message dies out, tourists can hear the eerie whizzing signals that warn off birds from landing in the pit, which is acidic enough to liquify steel. While tourists stare into the country's largest Superfund clean-up site, what they can no longer see are the neighborhoods that used to ramble over the hill that is now negative space.

Although nearly half the city has been voided, residents of Butte still chart the town by a mental geography established during the mining days. On the east side, they say, the Irish lived up the hill in Dublin Gulch, above the Finns in Finntown, which gave the Irish gangs the advantage bombarding the Finnish gangs in their regular brawls. Italians and Slavs lived in Meaderville, now an imaginary space over the pit, and on the precipice of the pit in the Cabbage Patch lived Mexicans, Indians, and African Americans, who had houses so transitory that today only empty gridded lots have endured. On the west side of town stand the Victorian mansions of the Copper Kings. The mansions have castle-like turrets from which

⁹³ This figure derives from the 4 million workers in manufacturing; of these, as well, 500,000 annually were injured in accidents. Edward L. Ayers, *et al.*, *American Passages: A History of the United States* (Fort Worth, Tex., 1999).

⁹⁴ Pohl, *Stalinist Penal System*, table 25, p. 48. Not that American labor fatalities and Soviet labor camp casualties are entirely compatible. NKVD-directed industries made up between 15 and 75 percent of total Soviet production in various industrial branches. Thousands more free Soviet workers died on the job throughout the 1930s.

one can survey the miners' homes huddled next to the mines' black headframes. As in Karaganda, Butte had the zone system, too, charting the population into distinctly divided sectors.

In Karaganda, as in Butte, residents were sorted by class, ethnicity, and race. By 1941, 41,000 prisoners worked in KarLag, and thousands of deportees arrived every month, swelling the city's population. Soldiers patrolled the streets, while prisoners marched from walled barrack zones to fenced-off labor sites. The fenced zones were important because the NKVD needed to segregate a complex hierarchy of prisoners incarcerated along a sliding scale of unfreedom—political prisoners, German POWs, Soviet citizens of German and Polish descent interned for the war, and regular prisoners convicted for criminal charges.⁹⁵ Soviet-German Labor Army conscripts lived in one zone. German POWs lived in another, next to but separate from Japanese POWs. As the war continued, more and more suspect ethnic groups streamed into the region under guard: Ukrainians, Poles, Kalmyks, Bashkirs, Chechens.⁹⁶ Each group was assigned a village or zone and told they could not venture from their homes. The zone system meant that most people generally remained where they were deposited, which strengthened ethnic ties and minority allegiances, ironically, the very traits for which these people were deported. But even when given a choice, the free populations of Russians and Kazakhs sought to live segregated from each other. At most factories, Russians and Kazakhs lived in separate dorms, but in one factory, Russian and Kazakh workers had to share a bunkhouse, and so the workers constructed a wall down the middle to divide the space.⁹⁷

What, however, does the NKVD's enforced, zoned, and policed segregation of prisoners and exiles have to do with immigrant ethnic groups in Butte who chose to live together in their own neighborhoods? After all, it makes sense that immigrants would seek to live in a cushion of language and culture to help soften the blow of migration and assimilation. What is strange, however, is that in 1905 a Pole from Silesia, which was located in the south in the Habsburg Empire, had little in common with a Pole from Mazuria, who was a citizen of czarist Russia. These two Poles arrived from different political states; they practiced different customs and spoke different dialects of Polish, if not mutually incomprehensible languages. What compelled Mazurians and Silesians, who would have little in common in the old world, to join into one Polish community in the new world?

The forces that hammered Poles and other immigrant groups into discrete ethnic enclaves belonged to the industrial age. Between 1880 and 1920 in the United States, the way people worked and produced goods altered significantly, which in turn influenced how people lived and where. Corporate bureaucracies organized

⁹⁵ The NKVD orders were explicit: "Labor Army conscripts do not have the right to create mixed settlements. They should be housed in special enclaves, separate from the workers." GARF 9479/1/57, ll. 7–8.

⁹⁶ By 1949, there were in Kazakhstan 820,165 deportees living in guarded settlements called "special settlements." The categories of special settlers consisted of the following state-designated ethnic-political groups: Germans, Chechens, Ingushi, Karachaevs, Balkirs, Kalmyks, Russian collaborators with Germany under General Vlasov (*Vlatsovsti*), Ukrainian nationalists (*Ounovtsi*), and deportees from Georgia and Crimea. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsi," 3–17.

⁹⁷ See Terry Martin, "An Affirmative Action Empire" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1996), 234–36.

production from the top down. As production decisions moved up a lengthening hierarchy, skilled laborers were replaced by foremen supervising unskilled workers. Relations between foremen and workers slid into mutual aggression as the foremen were pressed to continually increase production, and in so doing threatened workers with dismissal and pay cuts.⁹⁸ Workers responded by organizing in unions. In order to fight the unions, firms altered their hiring practices, tending to employ immigrant laborers, who, because of their primitive knowledge of English, were less likely to unionize. On the shop floor, immigrant workers were grouped together because of language to allow work to progress more smoothly, and gradually the workplace became segregated. In turn, native-born workers began to resent the strike-breaking, wage-lowering immigrants and excluded them from their social and residential circles outside the workplace. Immigrants were relegated to the lowest-tiered labor and were promoted far more slowly than native-born workers. This and the experience of being labeled "foreign," "alien," and "inferior" brought members of ethnic groups together in a defensive posture. And so, immigrant neighborhoods, ethnic church, school, and fraternal orders formed around a circle-the-wagon-mentality. Each group tried to carve out its own space along hazy and porous borders defined as "nationality," which gangs of young men patrolled to inhibit others from crossing the invisible lines of race and class.⁹⁹

In other words, the ethnic segmentation of Butte and Karaganda had less to do with race than with discipline. As hierarchies and values were used to segregate and standardize stages of production along an assembly line, they also worked to both normalize and segregate workers inside and outside the factory. The gridded spaces that first organized on a huge scale the settling of Central Asia and the Great Plains made a lasting stamp on the nature of the lives that took up residence on the plains and steppe, because at some point the abstract survey lines turned into boundaries. Boundaries fix labels in space, defining who is inside and who is outside. But boundaries can be porous, and so gradually boundary lines in Montana and Kazakhstan transformed into walls, laws, and social custom, which worked to define who was alien and who was native, who was a prisoner and who a guard, who lived in the migrant camp and who on the affluent east side. Perhaps for this reason, the same grid stretches across the American West and Soviet Central Asia—not only because of topography and efficiency but because the edifice of modernist dichotomies constructed urban spaces that employed the grid as the most effective means to control space by blocking it off into discrete and ever-divisible units. Each unit could be marked for exclusion or reward; each could be arranged in a hierarchy, supervised and observed in a constant division between the normal and the abnormal.

The grid worked to segregate lives and social relations, so that while new cities continually moved across the landscape multiplying and growing, the gridded nature of the cities eventually helped to fix social relations in place. Thus, despite the fact that both the United States and Soviet Union were founded on revolution

⁹⁸ Yda Schreuder, "Labor Segmentation, Ethnic Division of Labor, and Residential Segregation in American Cities in the Early Twentieth Century," *Professional Geography* 41 (1989): 131–43.

⁹⁹ In both the Soviet and American cities, ethnic enclaves never reached a pure form; people moved in and out of them but often with difficulty.

and grew through rapid urbanization, leaders in both countries distrusted the revolutionary and spontaneous quality of urban space and worked to destroy it. With straight lines and the force of the grid, Soviet and American leaders planned new “garden cities” cut through with wide, rebellion-proof avenues, which negated the unpredictability and anarchy of nineteenth-century cities.¹⁰⁰ As a result, both expanding American corporate power and expanding Soviet party-state power etched an anti-revolutionary conservatism onto twentieth-century urban scapes. Perhaps for this reason, Karaganda and Billings do not radiate the energy of New York or Moscow but instead emanate a feeling of listless suspension, of containers waiting to be filled, of the utopia of what Foucault calls the “perfectly-governed city.” It is this utopian wish for gridded order and discipline that links the railroad city of Billings with the prison city of Karaganda.

EVEN AFTER WORLD WAR II ENDED, Maria Weimar continued to work as before in Mine Number 89 as a Labor Army conscript. Some things changed: the bread ration was raised from 800 grams to a kilogram; “No one will starve on a kilogram of bread a day,” she says; and the mine administrators organized a club for cultural enlightenment, where the conscripts gathered in the evenings to play music and dance. And then one morning in 1947, Maria rose as usual, stepped outside, heading for the cafeteria, and noticed that the fence that had held her in for so long was laying on its side.¹⁰¹

We walked out of the barracks, saw the fence, and we were frightened. “Oh, the fence fell down,” I said. No one told us anything. We didn’t move. We were afraid to go out. How could we go out? The head of the column walked up. He was a good man, and he said, “You are free, ladies. You are free to go wherever you want.” We said to each other, “We’ve gotten used to it here. Where would we go?”¹⁰²

A few decades before the barbed wire fence fell in Karaganda, another mine shutdown occurred in Butte and another farm foreclosed near Billings; the rusted economic links in the chain of production were falling away. One less farmer was tied to the bank mortgage; another group of miners was released from the boiling recesses of the mines. Without their fence, Maria and her fellow prisoners wondered what they would do, for without the fence, they no longer had a home,

¹⁰⁰ Marshall Berman, commenting on Baudelaire’s depiction of nineteenth-century Paris, writes that it is no coincidence that Baudelaire’s “primal encounters” could never occur in contemporary urban spatial complexes. He writes: “for most of our century, urban spaces have been systematically designed and organized to ensure that collisions and confrontations will not take place . . . The distinctive sign of 19th century urbanism was the boulevard, a medium for bringing explosive material and human forces together; the hallmark of the 20th century urbanism has been the highway, a means of putting them asunder.” *All That Is Solid*, 165.

¹⁰¹ Maria Weimar, as part of the “Labor Army,” was freed in 1947. See Pohl, *Stalinist Penal System*, 76. However, the zones containing other categories of prisoners from KarLag marked the cityscape until 1955, when the last categories of unfree persons in Karaganda Province were released. KarLag was closed in 1956, and in the countryside around Karaganda deportees termed “special settlers” were gradually granted mobility in a series of laws from 1954 to 1974. Karpikova, *Iz istorii Nemtsev Kazakhstana*; Dil’manov and Kuznetsova, *Karlag*, 12; and V. N. Zemskov, “Massovoe osvobodozhdenie spetsposelentsev i ssyl’nykh, 1954–1966 gg.,” *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia* 4 (1991): 5–25.

¹⁰² Author interview with Maria Weimar, Karaganda, audiotape, October 1997.

jobs, or sustenance, however meager. After World War I, unemployed miners in Butte twisted their blackened faces with similar fears. When the mine company seized up and refused to exploit them any further, miners took to the streets in protest to defend their dangerous jobs, low-paying salaries, and the right to breathe poisonous air. Perhaps we do not have to look far to explore the nature of our prisons, if we allow the term some metaphorical license. What we rarely question is the fatal attraction to our chains, to the consumptive urges that drive us deeper into labor and then remorse for what our labor has destroyed. We have been conscripted to build our own fences, and we like them, or at least get used to them, so that, like Maria, a sigh of regret wheezes from the icy fog when they fall away.

Kate Brown is an assistant professor in the history department of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. She is currently on leave for postdoctoral research at the Davis Center for Russian Studies at Harvard University. Brown came across the idea for the present article while in Kazakhstan conducting archival research and oral interviews of people deported from Ukraine to Northern Kazakhstan in the mid-1930s. In connection with this research, she is preparing a manuscript on the transformation of a multi-ethnic borderland of Ukraine into an unambiguously Ukrainian heartland in the space of three decades (1925–1955).

“Green Havoc”: Panama Disease, Environmental Change, and Labor Process in the Central American Banana Industry

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IN THE MID-1890s, JUST AS THE TAKEOFF of the banana industry brought, for the first time, a fresh tropical fruit to the tables of the consuming masses of North America, overseers on banana plantations in Costa Rica and Panama became aware of a serious problem with their crop. Clusters of mature plants were beginning to bear deformed, stunted fruit. In some areas, the lowest leaves, normally dark green, first turned “vivid yellow,” then brown, and buckled close to the stalk, or pseudostem. The symptoms ascended over the course of a few weeks to the highest, youngest leaf. Not long thereafter: “A puff of wind, stronger than the rest, . . . sends the stately plant crashing to the earth.” Younger plants, which had not yet produced fruit to repay the cost of establishment, died more quickly and in “enormous numbers.”¹ Outward signs of the malady seemed to indicate soil deficiencies or drought, but the pattern and rapidity of spread suggested disease.

As the United Fruit Company, the commodity’s near-monopoly producer, pushed forward with a heady expansion of operations, the banana plague kept pace. By 1910, the epidemic—dubbed “Panama disease” after the outbreak in that country’s Bocas del Toro region—had been blamed for the abandonment of approximately 8,000 hectares each in Costa Rica and Panama, and reduced production in many more. Although cultivation of new lands kept export levels ahead of the disease for a time, by the late 1920s Panama’s Atlantic production had ceased, Costa Rican exports were in precipitous decline, and the disease was beginning to make inroads in the newer plantation divisions of Honduras and Guatemala, and in the West Indies. The company would ultimately blame the disease for the closure of six divisions in four countries, along with major losses in other areas.²

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¹ E. W. Brandes, “Banana Wilt,” *Phytopathology* 9 (September 1919): 345, 350–51.

² Claude W. Wardlaw, *Diseases of the Banana and of the Manila Hemp Plant* (London, 1935), 28. A list of Panama disease–destroyed banana operations compiled by one United scientist includes Almirante, Panama, abandoned in 1926, the Truxillo Division in Honduras (1939), Limón, Costa Rica (1940), Nicaragua’s entire export industry (1942), the Bananera Division in Guatemala (1955), and the Quepos Division in Costa Rica (1956). Other areas, such as Tela in Honduras and the company’s Jamaican operations, also suffered heavy damage, as did Standard Fruit’s Honduran plantings and

The almost simultaneous appearance of Panama disease throughout United's banana empire challenged one of the company's most fundamental corporate strategies, command of geographical space. United responded by redoubling its effort to control all of its other "factors of production," especially its work force, agricultural systems, and the tropical environment. The effort to arrest the agro-ecological disaster of Panama disease would lead to a Faustian, ultimately futile, reshaping of huge portions of the Central American landscape, as former rain forests became the scenes of massive projects of drainage, irrigation, and the flooding of thousands of hectares of "infected" soils.

The United Fruit Company (UFCo) was a pioneer of modern tropical agro-export capitalism. In scale, managerial sophistication, and increasing technical prowess, the U.S.-owned transnational can be seen as an early exemplar of what social scientists have termed "Fordist" (mass production, mass consumption) agriculture. Indeed, many agricultural sociologists have tended to accept Carey McWilliams's famous characterization of twentieth-century agribusiness as "factories in the field," interpreting corporate agricultural enterprise in the same terms as other mass-production industries.³ The argument presented here suggests a broader analytical framework for industrial agriculture—placing alongside what David Noble calls managerial capitalism's "ideology of control" of markets and labor a parallel, and uncertain, drive for the control of nature itself.⁴

Environmental historians such as Donald Worster and the late Warren Dean have developed an "agroecological perspective," emphasizing that capitalist agriculture's "radical simplification" of ecosystems has social and historical consequences.⁵ As Dean observed, it is particularly important to stop discussing tropical plantation agriculture "as though it were a strictly industrial process, as though the ecological conditions of production were unimportant to historical outcomes."⁶ The human-ecological interactions here should not, however, be reduced to a simple, unidirectional narrative of corporate planters degrading the environment. Ecological changes were indeed shaped and accelerated by the replacement of species-

British Commonwealth cultivations in the Caribbean and Belize. R. H. Stover, *Fusarial Wilt (Panama Disease) of Bananas* (Kew, 1962), 85 [table].

³ Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Boston, 1939). The business historian Alfred Chandler notes that United Fruit was one of only five agricultural firms (and the only one noteworthy for its managerial innovation) on his list of the 278 largest industrial enterprises in the United States at the close of World War I. Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, 1977), 346. For discussions of "Fordism" in agriculture, see Martin Kenney, Linda M. Lobao, James Curry, and Richard Goe, "Agriculture in U.S. Fordism: The Integration of the Productive Consumer," in William H. Friedland, Lawrence Busch, Frederick H. Buttel, and Alan P. Rudy, eds., *Towards a New Political Economy of Agriculture* (Boulder, Colo., 1991), 173–88; Alessandro Bonano, Lawrence Busch, William H. Friedland, Lourdes Gouveia, and Enzo Mingione, "Introduction," *From Columbus to ConAgra: The Globalization of Agriculture and Food* (Lawrence, Kans., 1994), 13–14; David Goodman and Michael Redclift, *Refashioning Nature: Food, Ecology, and Culture* (London, 1991), 99–102.

⁴ David Noble, "Social Choice in Machine Design: The Case of Automatically Controlled Machine Tools," in Andrew Zimbalist, ed., *Case Studies on the Labor Process* (New York, 1979), 30.

⁵ Donald Worster, "Transformations of the Earth: Toward an Agroecological Perspective in History," *Journal of American History* 76 (March 1990): 1101.

⁶ Warren Dean, *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber: A Study in Environmental History* (1987; Cambridge, 1990), 6.

diverse tropical rainforest with a genetically uniform crop, but the processes set in motion themselves affected the subsequent human history of the plantation.

If not "strictly industrial," Central American banana production did in fact assume an increasingly industrial character. For that reason, my argument also reflects the analysis of Harry Braverman and subsequent "labor process" historians and theorists. As used here, the term "labor process" embraces the organization of work activities and occupations, as well as the social divisions that result from that organization. More crucially, scholars working within this framework analyze change in industrial systems as a function of conflict over which group, workers or managers, controls knowledge of the production process and is able to make decisions about it.⁷ It is in this context, I argue—as United's struggle against Panama disease led to the relocation of agricultural knowledge from the vernacular skills of the Jamaican workers, who first developed the banana as a commercial crop, to a new centralized body of agronomists and technicians—that the epidemic became a key factor in changing the work regimes of the banana industry.

When United Fruit first pointed to Panama disease as a justification for closing old operations and opening new ones, nationalist critics in Central America dismissed it as a pretext for acquiring new territories. Latin American nationalists, leftists, and their sympathizers, including many historians, have long portrayed the United Fruit Company as a corporate predator, the symbol and embodiment of voracious North American economic imperialism. UFCo's ravenous but fickle appetite for tropical lands—manifest in serial abandonment, from 1930 through the early 1960s, of vast, once-prosperous plantation enclaves in four Central American countries, ruthless tactics for acquiring new banana lands to replace them, and the enormous territorial reserves it held uncultivated, despite land-poor peasantries, against future disease losses—is central to the historiographic "black legend" that surrounds the company's activities in the so-called "banana republics" of Central America. Nationalists and scholars alike have been unreceptive to claims that these policies were necessary responses to crop disease. Most have viewed Panama disease as a symptom of the soil exhaustion that inevitably followed on UFCo's failure to give "adequate attention" to its plantations.⁸

⁷ Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1974). For historical work using Braverman's insights, see David Montgomery's seminal works on U.S. labor history, especially *Workers' Control in America: Studies in the History of Work, Technology and Labor Struggles* (Cambridge, 1979); see also Noble, "Social Choice in Machine Design."

⁸ "Informe de M. Quesada a la Comisión Investigadora de la Industria Bananera," November 11, 1932, Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica (hereafter, ANCR), 1727. Pablo Neruda's poem "La United Fruit Co." is perhaps the most powerful literary expression of the widespread Latin American identification of UFCo with U.S. imperialism. Ben Belitt, ed., *Pablo Neruda: Five Decades, a Selection (Poems, 1925–1970)* (New York, 1974), 78–79. Critical works by Central American scholars on United Fruit, dismissive of Panama disease, include Reinaldo Carcanholo, "Sobre la evolución de las actividades bananeras en Costa Rica," *Estudios sociales centroamericanos* 19 (1978): 170–71; Jeffrey Casey Gaspar, *Limón, 1880–1940: Un estudio de la industria bananera en Costa Rica* (San José, 1979), 63; Elizabeth Fonseca C., *Centroamérica: Su historia* (San José, 1996), 177; Edelberto Torres-Rivas, *History and Society in Central America*, Douglass Sullivan-Gonzalez, trans. (Austin, Tex., 1993), 59–66, 78. For classic, still invaluable, North American critiques of United Fruit that view Panama disease as a symptom of UFCo's exhaustion of tropical soils, see Charles David Kepner and Jay Henry Soothill, *The Banana Empire: A Case Study of Economic Imperialism* (New York, 1935), 31–32; and Kepner, *Social Aspects of the Banana Industry* (New York, 1936), 89. For contrasting views, casting United's fight against Panama disease in a heroic light, see several works by authors closely associated with or on the

The last decade's flowering of scholarship on the Central American banana industry has largely continued to assume the nationalist critique. Recent work has pursued two principal lines of inquiry. One is state centered, focusing on the ruthless political means by which United and its rivals gained concessions. A second, larger current emphasizes the role of ethnicity and local identities in both constituting and limiting resistance to United's power. Largely interpreting the history of the industry without reference to its agro-ecological context—other than taking the company to task for its wasteful use of land—researchers of both tendencies have neglected or dismissed the explanatory significance of crop disease. A well-received 1996 study of plantation worker resistance, for example, briefly asserts that Panama disease control was easily within UFCo's power, through an "immune banana," or simply by replanting.⁹ For many historians, the possibility that nature might have limited United's activities seemed inconceivable, given the multinational corporation's incontrovertible social, economic, and political power.

The banana plague deserves closer, more nuanced examination. While the unavailability of United's internal records leaves many gaps,¹⁰ UFCo scientists and foreign observers did produce a substantial technical literature on the epidemic that remains largely untapped by historians. Agronomists and plant pathologists, unlike social scientists, have seen Panama disease as a major natural disaster—"green havoc" in the words of one contemporary agronomist—but their views of the nature of the disease and its possible cures changed greatly over the course of the

payroll of the company: Charles Morrow Wilson, *Empire in Green and Gold: The Story of the American Banana Trade* (New York, 1947), 214–303; Stacy May and Galo Plaza, *The United Fruit Company in Latin America* (Washington, D.C., 1958), 73–94; Diane K. Stanley, *For the Record: The United Fruit Company's Sixty-six Years in Guatemala* (Guatemala, 1994), 49–50.

⁹ Aviva Chomsky, *West Indian Workers and the United Fruit Company in Costa Rica, 1870–1940* (Baton Rouge, La., 1996), 66. For political histories, see Paul J. Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators: A Political History of United Fruit in Guatemala, 1899–1944* (Wilmington, Del., 1993), 166; Lester D. Langley and Thomas Schoonover, *The Banana Men: American Mercenaries and Entrepreneurs in Central America, 1880–1930* (Lexington, Ky., 1995). For social and ethnic histories, see especially Philippe I. Bourgois, *Ethnicity at Work: Divided Labor on a Central American Banana Plantation* (Baltimore, Md., 1989); Chomsky, *West Indian Workers*; Thomas F. O'Brien, *The Revolutionary Mission: American Enterprise in Latin America, 1900–1945* (Cambridge, 1996); Cindy Forster, "Reforging National Revolution: Campesino Labor Struggles in Guatemala, 1944–1954," in Aviva Chomsky and Aldo Lauria-Santiago, eds., *Identity and Struggle at the Margins of the Nation-State: The Laboring Peoples of Central America and the Hispanic Caribbean* (Durham, N.C., 1998). Darío A. Euraque's study of the relationship between the banana zone and the state in Honduras straddles both historiographical currents: Euraque, *Reinterpreting the "Banana Republic": Region and State in Honduras, 1870–1972* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996). In contrast to historians' neglect of environmental factors, see a geographer's study of present-day West Indian banana cultivation: Lawrence S. Grossman, *The Political Ecology of Bananas: Contract Farming, Peasants, and Agrarian Change in the Eastern Caribbean* (Chapel Hill, 1998). Grossman is also attentive to labor process issues. His case study, however, is a small-farm region on the periphery of the banana industry, with relatively low production, which entered export production after the Panama disease era, and remains viable only through EU preferential tariffs. For these reasons, Grossman could not address the historical issues considered here.

¹⁰ UFCo and its corporate successors, United Brands and Chiquita, have generally maintained an aggressively secretive stance toward academics and journalists: the pressure that Chiquita recently brought to bear on one newspaper to retract its investigative reporting on Chiquita is one of many examples: "An Apology to Chiquita," *Cincinnati Enquirer* (June 28, 1998): 1. A striking exception was the success of anthropologist Philippe Bourgois in photocopying selections from a cache of UFCo documents he found in a warehouse in Bocas del Toro, Panama. Unfortunately for the present inquiry, this private document collection, cited hereafter as "UFCo-Bourgois Papers," primarily relates to Bourgois's research focus on relations between plantation ethnic groups.

epidemic.¹¹ Much can be learned by placing the scientific literature in conversation with the company's own publications and the mainstream of historical analysis of its activities. Using this approach, I offer a more complicated narrative than those of either the company's defenders or its critics.

Exploration of United's struggle with Panama disease is important for more than simply understanding the political histories of the banana industry and Central America. It also sheds light on larger questions in environmental, labor, and agricultural history. Corporate response to the epidemic altered the isthmic landscape and transformed the lives and identities of plantation laborers. This article suggests that the industry's behavior cannot be understood without reference to its environmental context. Indeed, Panama disease can be seen as a window on the dynamic relationships among United Fruit's corporate strategies, its workers, changing cultivation practices, shifting paradigms of agricultural health and disease, and the ecology of banana soils. Thus, rather than simply using the epidemic as evidence to further indict or exculpate banana imperialism for exploiting and abandoning tropical lands in Central America, I focus on it as a key episode in the struggle of an archetypal tropical agribusiness for control of nature and labor, and to locate sites of resistance in each.

THE INITIAL CENTRAL AMERICAN LAND BASE of the United Fruit Company was formed from enormous Costa Rican railroad concessions, made in 1894 to U.S. entrepreneur Minor C. Keith. The concessions, forming the bulk of the Atlantic province of Limón, encompassed some of the finest banana lands in the world. Reaching from the flanks of the central mountain range of the isthmus to the hot, humid coastal lowlands, Keith's exploitation rights included the drainages of the Reventazón, Pacuare, Matina, and Zent rivers, and would later enfold the Estrella, Sixaola, and more. These rivers plunge from steep Atlantic-facing slopes, carrying heavy loads of sediment. As they reach the narrow coastal plain, their courses flatten and wander, leaving deep deposits of alluvium along their shifting paths. Because of the mother rock's largely volcanic origins, such silt deposits are rich in phosphates and magnesium, and they tend toward a fairly high acidity. Until recent times, these soils, watered by constant rains averaging more than 2,000 millimeters per year, supported complex, multi-storied forests, whose dense canopies inhibited the tendency of constant rain to rapidly leach the nutrients left by siltation and forest decay. As the workers Keith imported to build the railroad discovered, Limón's riparian bottom lands, the end result of these processes, produced flourishing crops of exportable bananas.¹²

¹¹ Claude W. Wardlaw, *Green Havoc in the Lands of the Caribbean* (London, 1935). For appraisals of Panama disease (by writers not associated with UFCo) that rank it with such famine-producing epidemics as wheat rust and potato blight, see Robert P. Scheffer, *The Nature of Disease in Plants* (Cambridge, 1997), 215; N. W. Simmonds, *Bananas* (London, 1959), 367; G. L. Carefoot and E. R. Spratt, *Famine on the Wind: Man's Battle against Plant Disease* (Chicago, 1967), 130.

¹² Carolyn Hall, *Costa Rica: A Geographical Interpretation in Historical Perspective* (Boulder, Colo., 1985), 15, 25, 30–32. Similar processes were at work in the other Atlantic (and a few Pacific) banana zones of Central America. Smallholders in the Bay Islands and north coast of Honduras, a high proportion of whom were of Antillean descent, with little connection with the interior of the isthmus,

Keith soon began to explore ways to export bananas to the United States, but his ability to build a major commerce in the fruit was limited by a lack of marine shipping connections and capital. These and all other barriers to the establishment of a massive international trade in the tropical fruit were swept away by the foundation of the United Fruit Company in 1899. The crop had distinct advantages as an agro-industrial commodity. Banana acreage produces huge volumes of fruit on a seasonless and potentially continuous basis. Moreover, the fruit's extreme perishability favored, indeed mandated, a firm with access to capital-intensive locomotives and steamships, capable of coordinating precisely the timing of harvests and embarkation for northern markets.¹³

By uniting shipping networks, Boston capital, and Keith's vast lands and railroads, the new consortium revolutionized the trade: capitalizing market development on a scale that could in turn support a fleet of fast steamers and massive tropical cultivations to fill them, on schedules and specifications coordinated with ships and retailers.¹⁴ In essence, the corporation would duplicate the accomplishment of the Chicago meat-packing giants—transforming a once local crop into a hemispheric commodity. As William Cronon has written of the meat packers: "Geography no longer mattered very much except as a problem in management: time had conspired with capital to annihilate space."¹⁵

In another sense, however, space remained very much alive, as a tool for control of nature and men. United scattered its production sites widely—first in Jamaica and Costa Rica, then to regions of Panama, Honduras, Colombia, and Guatemala, where soils and climate seemed similar to those of Limón. The new corporation thus sought to ensure a predictable supply of fruit against any local disruptions, whether from environmental or political sources. Neither storm blow-downs of plantations, nor floods, nor uncooperative states or workers could stop production entirely, unless they somehow affected all of United's far-flung territories simultaneously.

But until the 1920s, the company's modern, rationalized approach to production was confined to the technologies of transportation and communication. More than 60 percent of its fruit was purchased from smaller "private" planters, over whose cultivation practices United had no direct control.¹⁶ These contract planters included smallholders of Antillean descent, along with larger estates owned by foreign investors and Hispanic entrepreneurs from the interior of the isthmus. Both

made similar discoveries about their alluvial and coastal soils during this period. Richard LaBarge, "A Study of United Fruit Company Operations in Isthmian America, 1946–1956" (PhD dissertation, Duke University, 1960), 10–11; Euraque, *Reinterpreting the "Banana Republic,"* 24–26.

¹³ For surveys of the requirements and potential of large-scale banana cultivation, see William Fawcett, *The Banana: Its Cultivation and Commercial Uses*, 2d edn. (London, 1921); Simmonds, *Bananas*; N. W. Simmonds and R. H. Stover, *Bananas*, 3d edn. (London, 1987); Moises Soto, *Bananos: Cultivo y comercialización* (San José, 1985).

¹⁴ LaBarge, "Study of United Fruit," 8–16.

¹⁵ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991), 259. Indeed, as an effective monopoly, with substantial production on its own lands, UFCo had improved on Swift and Armour's example. Victor Cutter, United's president through most of the 1920s, explicitly looked to the meat packers as business models. Samuel Crowther, *The Romance and Rise of the American Tropics* (Garden City, N.Y., 1929), 226.

¹⁶ O'Brien, *Revolutionary Mission*, 52.

United and the larger planters relied on migrants from the Caribbean for labor and often left actual production to Jamaican labor contractors.¹⁷ On both private and company farms, cultivation practices and technologies were little different from those that had characterized Caribbean peasant banana cultivation for decades—hardly surprising, since they were essentially determined by the industry's Antillean labor force.

West Indians had originally come to Costa Rica to work on Keith's rail line in the 1880s. Suffering at home from yet another slump in the world sugar market, they were simply the most "exploitable" workers available; more would arrive later from work on the Panama Canal.¹⁸ Many of these workers brought with them generations of experience with the commercial cultivation of bananas. The sweet, thick-skinned "Gros Michel" variety—the standard cultivar of the international trade until the 1960s—was introduced to the West Indies early in the nineteenth century, and it promptly became a fixture of the mixed cultivation systems of smallholding slaves and freedmen, especially in Jamaica. After emancipation, land for commercial production of this and other crops became available to freedmen on abandoned sugar estates, and thriving internal markets based on peasant production grew up on the island.¹⁹

Island smallholders' sales of their harvests to U.S. shipper Lorenzo Dow Baker, beginning in the 1870s, launched the North American banana trade. By the next decade, Baker's high prices and consistent purchases had encouraged a tremendous expansion of banana cultivation. By 1883 in Jamaica's Portland Parish, 2,883 cultivators, all with holdings of fewer than four hectares, grew bananas for export. In the early years of the banana trade, such plots produced 80 percent of the fruit reaching U.S. markets.²⁰

Charles Koch has argued convincingly that Keith's first experiments with banana production were based on observation of the provision "grounds" planted by his workers during the rail work's frequent delays.²¹ In the nineteenth-century Caribbean, peasant cultivation grounds were characterized by close attention to soils, careful balance of crops, and skilled siting that recognized the critical importance of good natural drainage. Former cane fields were usually prepared by burning, but elsewhere, cultivators often simply cut back underbrush, girdled large standing trees, and allowed natural decomposition gradually to add a quotient of humus.²²

¹⁷ Casey Gaspar, *Limón*, 9.

¹⁸ Bourgois, *Ethnicity at Work*, 48. Keith originally experimented with Chinese, then Italian, workers, but neither they nor highland Costa Ricans were willing to endure exposure to yellow fever and malaria for Keith's wages. See Carmen Murillo Chaverri, *Identidades de hierro y humo: La construcción del ferrocarril al Atlántico, 1870–1890* (San José, 1995), 82–88.

¹⁹ Sidney W. Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations* (Baltimore, Md., 1974), 159, 186.

²⁰ Baker's later acquisition of land for banana production did not change the smallholding character of the early Jamaican industry, as most was rented to small farmers. W. Randolph Barlett, Jr., "Lorenzo Dow Baker and the Development of the Banana Trade between Jamaica and the United States, 1881–1890" (PhD dissertation, American University, Washington, D.C., 1977), 48–50, 76–80. For another study ascribing a foundational role in the international banana trade to Jamaican smallholders, see Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore, Md., 1992), 349–56.

²¹ Charles Koch, "Ethnicity and Livelihoods: A Social Geography of Costa Rica's Atlantic Coast" (PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 1975), 123.

²² William Fawcett, "The Banana Industry in Jamaica," *West Indian Bulletin*, no. 3 (1902): 153–71; *Bulletin of the Department of Agriculture* (Jamaica), new ser., 22, cited in Fawcett, *Banana: Its*

This latter technique would transfer well to the rich, newly opened soils of Central America.

It is clear that these forms of local, vernacular agricultural knowledge were the basis of United Fruit's cultivation practices until at least the 1920s. Site selection for new UFCo plantations, for example, was intuitive rather than scientific, generally favoring bottom lands, usually avoiding or draining standing water. Only the most obvious features of topography influenced these choices: a letter from a manager in 1916 opening new land in Costa Rica assured his division manager (and future company president) Victor Cutter that, as per instructions, he was "carefully avoiding all hilly land."²³ As late as 1926, a forester's report from new UFCo operations in Guatemala indicates that plantation sites were chosen by the character of the tropical forest: "at its climax in the lands best suited for banana culture."²⁴

Workers prepared land much as they had in the most fertile areas of Jamaica, first clearing undergrowth by machete, then planting the rhizomes in shallowly dug holes. Until the mid-1920s, installed drainage was minimal and was excavated only with hand tools. As a last stage, axemen felled (or girdled and allowed to fall on their own) the great ceiba trees and other lowland forest giants, which would gradually add nutrients to the soil as they decomposed. The most significant difference between this clearing and planting process and earlier peasant practice lay in its enormous scale. Vast, newly opened plantation zones offered startling scenes of devastation and apparent chaos, as young banana stalks rose through a deep tangle of limbs and trunks.²⁵

Maintenance of the established crop was largely limited to digging and maintaining drainage ditches, periodic "cleaning" of competitive brush around the plant clusters ("mats"), and pruning of unwanted stalks. As United's plantations aged, a few managers tried soil "improvement" practices that had, by the turn of the century, become the norm in Jamaican cultivations, such as plowing between rows, hand tilling ("grubbing"), and mulching.²⁶ These innovations, however, appear to have been sporadic, short-lived, local initiatives. The company did not fertilize or

Cultivation and Uses, 56. See also Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations*, 236; Jean Besson, "Agrarian Relations and Perceptions of Land in a Jamaican Peasant Village," and Theo Hills, "The Caribbean Peasant Food Forest, Ecological Artistry or Random Chaos," in John Brierley and Hymie Rubenstein, eds., *Small Farming and Peasant Resources in the Caribbean* (Winnipeg, 1988).

²³ Letter to Victor Cutter [author's name illegible], Bocas del Toro, Panama, April 19, 1916, UFCo-Bourgeois Papers.

²⁴ Samuel J. Record and Henry Kuylen, "Trees of the Lower Río Motagua Valley, Guatemala," *Tropical Woods* 1 (September 1, 1926): 10. See also entomologist Amelia Calvert's account of travel through reserve banana lands in Bananito, Costa Rica, in 1910. She describes them as dark, close-canopied, but open enough to walk through comfortably. Amelia Smith Calvert and Philip Powell Calvert, *A Year of Costa Rican Natural History* (New York, 1917), 290.

²⁵ United Fruit Company Educational Department, *The Story of the Banana* (Boston, 1936), 17–18. One divergence from peasant planting practice should be noted: in a concession to corporate notions of good order, the planting grid on UFCo plantations was first measured and laid out with stakes. The infusion of nutrients provided by rapidly rotting downed trees was absolutely necessary for banana cultivation: their levels in uncleared soils were quite low. For a United Fruit soil scientist's surprised reaction to this finding, see Samuel C. Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, United Fruit Company Research Laboratory Bulletin No. 3 (Boston, 1918), 571.

²⁶ See soil comparison charts for the Costa Rican Division and the Jamaican Division in Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, 66–143, 424–83. For Jamaica, see also Fawcett, "Banana Industry," 161.

irrigate any of its farms until the mid-1920s, and it introduced these practices only gradually thereafter. Like a swidden cultivator, but on an enormous scale, United relied almost entirely on the agro-ecological resources bequeathed it by the felled rainforests. With stagnant cultivation technologies, company managers obtained steady increases in banana exports (briefly interrupted by World War I) entirely by bringing more land into bearing. Yields per hectare climbed or fell only as the average age of all plantations declined or fell respectively—older plantations generally producing less fruit.²⁷

During its first quarter-century of operation, United Fruit went to considerable effort to maintain the West Indian character of its work force. The company continued actively to recruit island labor until World War I, and some immigration continued thereafter. Estimates of the pre-war percentage of Antilleans on isthmian banana plantations are necessarily speculative, but British and U.S. consular officials each put their proportion at 75 percent.²⁸ Historians have offered a number of explanations for United's long preference for island workers in its Central American operations, but a key aspect of the company's relationship with these workers has been consistently neglected.²⁹ There is considerable evidence that, during the first phase of United's cultivation system, plantation managers preferred Caribbean workers because they relied on the agricultural knowledge and skills these workers had acquired through long experience with the tasks of banana cultivation. UFCo managers recognized that the art of pacing crop maturity by selective pruning, the "eye" for the desired thickness of fruit ready for harvest, the ability to load fruit for transport without bruising, and early recognition of plant disease and nourishment problems were not easily replaceable skills.³⁰

Until the mid-1920s, the company's North American field managers were recruited from the social and business milieu of its Boston officers and had little

²⁷ The total number of Central American bananas exported increased by an average of 5.5 percent per year between 1899 and 1930. Frank Ellis, *Las transnacionales del banano en Centroamérica* (San José, 1983), 51.

²⁸ On recruitment, see Chomsky, *West Indian Workers*, 34–35, 44. The 1908 British percentage estimate is cited in Elisavinda Echeverri-Gent, "Forgotten Workers: British West Indians and the Early Days of the Banana Industry in Costa Rica and Honduras," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (1992): 285; the U.S. estimate, made in 1918, is cited in Dosal, *Doing Business with the Dictators*, 138 n. 39. While the 75 percent figure may be exaggerated (especially for 1918), scholars are in agreement on West Indian predominance before World War I. For Guatemala, in addition to Dosal, see Forster, "Reforging National Revolution," 200. For West Indians in Panama and Costa Rica, the literature is vast. See Koch, "Ethnicity and Livelihoods"; Bourgois, *Ethnicity at Work*; Chomsky, *West Indian Workers*; Echeverri-Gent, "Forgotten Workers"; Ronald Harpelle, "The Social and Political Integration of West Indians in Costa Rica: 1930–1950," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25 (1991). Honduras, the latest-starting UFCo operation, probably had the lowest proportion of West Indian immigrant workers, but there, too, Jamaicans and the Caribbean-descended black workers were the core of the pre-World War I labor force. In addition to Echeverri-Gent, see Darío Euraque, "Nationalism and Mestizaje in Honduras," in Chomsky and Lauria-Santiago, *Identity and Struggle at the Margins of the Nation-State*, 155–57.

²⁹ Among these explanations, the relatively greater labor-market availability of Jamaicans for lowland tropical work, compared to highland Central Americans; the greater control that West Indians' relative political and social isolation as foreign workers gave the company; the "cultural familiarity" of English-speaking Protestant Jamaicans for North American managers compared to Hispanic and indigenous Central Americans. Quince Duncan and Carlos Meléndez, *El Negro en Costa Rica*, 8th edn. (San José, 1981), 104; Bourgois, *Ethnicity at Work*, 49–51, 75–76; Chomsky, *West Indian Workers*, 51.

³⁰ Circular del gerente no. 128, Puerto Armuelles, Panama, April 26, 1932, UFCo-Bourgois Papers.

agricultural background.³¹ After a tour of UFCo's Costa Rican Division in 1929, the British banana agronomist Claude Wardlaw wrote: "The amazing thing is that very few of them [plantation overseers] possess even a smattering of real agricultural knowledge, and if they do it probably does not help them in the least . . . [The overseer] is mainly a supervisor of labour. His job is to see that a given programme is carried out. And when you are handling labour, especially native labour, that is a man's job."³² By contrast, company literature often acknowledged (albeit in a condescending, often racist way) dependence on the skills and experience of "the black Jamaican farm workers . . . who knew more about banana raising than any other people in the hemisphere."³³ An American hired as an overseer in Panama in the 1920s recalled that he found "planting a banana farm . . . a novel and interesting experience, since I knew nothing about it."³⁴ His admission of reliance on his "old black" Jamaican foreman echoes the advice reprinted by company apologist Samuel Crowther, in the form of a letter from an old hand to a "new man" in the tropics: "Another man who can help you [besides the farm overseer] is the Negro foreman. He is usually a Jamaican and raised among bananas."³⁵ In pre-World War II company literature, this latter phrase, "raised among bananas," is linked as if by statute to any reference to Jamaican workers. The characterization was, in many cases, literally true. Mr. Paul, a Jamaica-born banana worker in Costa Rica, described a multi-generational tradition of banana cultivation to historian Paula Palmer: when his father left work in the Canal Zone, he sought employment with United in the Almirante Division (Panama), "because in Jamaica his family grew bananas and he knew the system."³⁶

Like the nineteenth-century steelworker craftsmen described by U.S. labor historian David Montgomery, experienced West Indian banana workers hid "the manager's brain under the workman's cap," controlling the labor process of one of the world's emerging commodity trades.³⁷ Using managerial power to overcome this gap between workers who understood "the system" and overseers who did not was

³¹ Vernon W. Gooch, "Letters from a Company Traveler," *Unifruitco* (February 1929): 390; Stanley, *For the Record*, 96-97. *Unifruitco*, the intermittently published internal magazine of the United Fruit Company, is an interesting, under-utilized source. Especially in its early years, it appears to have been a genuine channel for pooling of information and experiences among geographically separated managers and engineers. Unfortunately, issues published after its post-World War II rebirth show much greater influence from the company's famous public relations department, and should be consulted more cautiously.

³² Wardlaw, *Green Havoc*, 57.

³³ Wilson, *Empire in Green and Gold*, 118. Wilson, whose work was sponsored by UFCo, is referring here to the success of United's "first banana plantings."

³⁴ Marc Trafton, Jr., "Raising Cane and Growing Bananas," in Clyde S. Stephens, ed., *Bananeros in Central America: True Stories of the Tropics* (Fort Meyers, Fla., 1989), 111.

³⁵ Crowther, *Romance and Rise*, 232. By the time of Crowther's and Trafton's experiences in the second half of the 1920s, many Jamaicans had left the lower ranks of the work force to return home, or to establish small farms, under circumstances to be discussed below. The Jamaican presence was thus concentrated among higher level employees such as foremen.

³⁶ Quoted in Paula Palmer, "Wa'apin Man": *La historia de la costa talamanqueña de Costa Rica, según sus protagonistas*, 2d edn. (San José, 1994), 144. See also Palmer's interview with Mr. Cyril Gray, p. 121.

³⁷ The phrase was originally coined by the early twentieth-century radical U.S. labor leader "Big Bill" Haywood, but Montgomery has used it to characterize the control that craftsmen exercised in industry before the implementation of "scientific management." David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925* (Cambridge, 1987), 9.

thus a central part of the “man’s job” of “handling native labour.” An article in UFCo’s house organ by a manager in a Honduran division recounts his struggle with a Jamaican worker named “Jones” over routine cultivation tasks: “It is awfully hard to know what to say when a man who knows infinitely more about bananas than yourself, looks you in the eyes and assures you that obviously bad work is the only thing that will do your bananas good. And I could not deny that Jones knew bananas. He was a Jamaican Negro, tall, big-framed, very black, and with one yellow snag of a tooth that showed occasionally between his thick black lips. Like many Jamaicans, he had been born with a bunch of bananas in his mouth.”³⁸ The writer, who resolves the problem by firing Jones, clearly intends to offer a paradigmatic account of a common dilemma. The frank acknowledgment that his employee’s mastery of the production process far exceeded his own does not prevent him from resolving the problem by firing Jones. To him, the skills of “very black” Jamaicans were natural (Jones was not just “raised among bananas,” they sprouted from his mouth!) and not evidence of any superiority that fundamentally challenged managerial authority. This was a stable, if uncomfortable, equilibrium. While Jamaican workers had considerable control over the labor processes of cultivation, they were held in check by their status as racially suspect aliens in Hispanic Central America and by the company’s absolute control over shipping and marketing. There is no evidence that these tensions of themselves led to significant changes in the organization of production.

IT WAS NOT UNTIL ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE AND CRISIS, embodied in the gathering epidemic of Panama disease, exposed this system’s limitations that United began systematic intensification of its control of cultivation. During the epidemic’s first decades, plantation-level response to it actually reinforces the picture of a varied array of agricultural labor processes, under the control of the Jamaican work force rather than the company. A survey of UFCo-owned plantations in 1918 lists sixty infected farms in Costa Rica and Panama. Agricultural histories of twenty-three show no action to contain the disease. In the remainder, treatments ranged from adding lime, to digging out infected rhizomes and liming around them, to burning or bleaching diseased areas, to mulching or adding manure.³⁹ The diversity of approaches shows how little the company was engaged in supervision of agricultural practices in these years. Moreover, the reappearance of many of these procedures among private planters in Jamaica in the later disease outbreak there (along with quarantining—a practice never seriously attempted in Central America) suggests that they were part of a West Indian repertoire of responses to plant failure.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, none slowed the plague on United’s plantations.

³⁸ John Stuart Erskine, “Jones,” *Unifruitco* (August 1926): 26.

³⁹ Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, 66–142, 160–238.

⁴⁰ Claude W. Wardlaw and Laurence P. McGuire, “Panama Disease of Bananas: Reports on Scientific Visits to the Banana Growing Countries of the West Indies, Central and South America,” *Empire Marketing Board Reports*, no. 20 (London, 1919), 46–47. The relatively strict plantation quarantine measures adopted by Jamaican growers may have delayed the disease’s onslaught by a few years, but they did not prevent an eventual outbreak. The epidemic there did remain slower-paced than in Central America, as will be discussed below.

It is important to emphasize that abandonment of banana plantations in the face of declining yields was not new: the epidemic was in this sense an acceleration of the industry's "normal" pattern. Thus, as the disease spread, the life expectancy of a typical plantation dropped from between fifteen and twenty years to less than five, with many areas producing usable fruit for two years or less. The gradual nature of this plantation life-cycle contraction may account for the company's rather slow response to the epidemic.

Losses from the "green havoc" of Panama disease would have to be compounded by the impact of the global Depression before United's earnings began to drop, but signs of trouble emerged well before the world crisis. Months before the stock market crash in 1929, the Almirante Division's accountant advised UFCo's comptroller that United's already high 8 percent depreciation rate for tropical lands and fixed assets had been grossly insufficient: "the banana lands have been exhausted and fact must be faced." The division's banana-related investments of almost 9 million dollars (which still retained a book value of \$5,583,000) were now valueless except as support for a few, deeply unprofitable, cultivations of cacao on the diseased plantations. Panama, he noted, was the first operation to cease banana production, but every division had the same unrealistic depreciation policies, "and all programs should be reviewed to prevent any repetition of this Panama situation."⁴¹ After a stockholders' revolt in 1932, one of the new board's first measures was a 50 million dollar downward revaluation of UFCo's tropical properties.⁴²

Even though United would later claim to have begun scientific research on the problem from its first appearance, there is no evidence of serious investigations before disease losses reached major proportions in the early 1910s. By 1915, research partially funded by the company finally demonstrated the causal relationship between the wilting syndrome and *Fusarium oxysporum* f. *cubense*, a soil-dwelling fungus that invaded the roots and caused mortality by clogging the banana plant's vascular tissues.⁴³ The geographic origin of the fungus remains unknown to this day. Plant pathologists now believe that it began its Central American career in infected planting stock and was rapidly and irrevocably disseminated by the tremendous circulation of workers and tools throughout the banana empire.⁴⁴

As the fungus spread through the company's domain, it found a habitat well chosen and well prepared for its widespread dispersion. The warm, lowland

⁴¹ Memo from Calder to Taylor, Almirante, Panama, May 16, 1929, UFCo-Bourgeois Papers.

⁴² Earnest Hamlin Baker, "The United Fruit Company," *Fortune* (March 1933): 118, 125-26, 129. The Great Depression itself seems to have had relatively little to do with this—demand and prices for bananas remained remarkably strong.

⁴³ "The United Fruit Company first began studies on this problem [Panama disease] in 1903, and has continued them more or less steadily since then." J. R. Johnston, "General Tropical Research," *Unifruitco* (February 1928): 395. For a rough chronology of Panama disease research, including reference to much work that remains unavailable due to the company's obsessive secrecy, see a UFCo phytopathologist's monograph published after the end of the epidemic: Stover, *Fusarial Wilt*. The bibliography is especially helpful. For the initial discovery of *Fusarium*'s role in Panama disease, see Brandes, "Banana Wilt," 346.

⁴⁴ Stover and Simmonds, *Bananas*, 317. The immunity of some wild Southeast Asian banana varieties suggests their coevolution with the pathogen, and hence an Asian origin, but spontaneous mutation of native *Fusarium* species in the Americas is also possible. Scheffer, *Nature of Disease in Plants*, 219.

rainforest ecologies that the company had replaced with banana monoculture were ideal environments for—indeed, dependent on—a multitude of airborne and soil-dwelling fungi. While tropical forests, with thousands of species, were not susceptible to invasion by host-specific fungal disease, the same could not be said of the vast territories United had filled with Gros Michel “clones.” Reproducing by rhizome, rather than sexually, the plants were genetically uniform. As Warren Dean has argued, tropical agro-ecosystems are especially vulnerable to disease, since, unlike temperate zone cultivars, tropical crops have evolved in relatively stable, infrequently disturbed environments, and have developed little resistance to environmental changes like the eruption of a new fungal pathogen.⁴⁵

The discovery of an infectious agent did not, unfortunately, lead to a cure. Plant pathologist E. W. Brandes, whose experiments in Puerto Rico confirmed the role of *Fusarium*, noted that, because of its hardiness and soil-born nature, chemical attempts at control would require the fungicidal saturation of hundreds of thousands of tons of earth in each infected plantation—an impossibly expensive proposition.⁴⁶ Although the heroic age of microbiology was but recently under way, banana agronomists reluctantly turned from any search for a chemical “magic bullet” to another current of contemporary epidemiology: the strengthening of host resistance through environmental manipulation and selective breeding.⁴⁷ This necessitated the acquisition and application of a new body of knowledge for the crop and its tropical environment.

In 1916, United launched a sweeping inventory of conditions in all of its banana divisions. Samuel Prescott, the soil scientist who conducted the survey, immodestly proclaimed it “the most extensive study of tropical soils which has ever been made for direct comparisons.” It was also the first serious agricultural soil analysis the company had ever undertaken. Prescott and two North American assistants collected soil specimens, agricultural histories, and disease data from thirty to forty “representative” sites in each banana division, including productive farms, abandoned plantations, and “virgin woodland.”⁴⁸ Prescott’s *Examination of Tropical*

⁴⁵ For the mutual affinity of fungi and tropical environments, see Frederick L. Wellman, *Tropical American Plant Disease (Neotropical Phytopathology Problems)* (Metuchen, N.J., 1972), 67–70; Adrian Forsyth and Ken Miyata, *Tropical Nature: Life and Death in the Rainforests of Central and South America* (New York, 1984), 18–19. For the vulnerability of monoculture to pathogens, see Scheffer, *Nature of Disease in Plants* 4, 43, 144–53; Helen Miller Alexander, “Spatial Heterogeneity and Disease in Natural Populations,” in Michael J. Jeger, ed., *Spatial Components of Plant Disease Epidemics* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1989). Dean’s analysis can be found in *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber*, 60.

⁴⁶ Brandes, “Banana Wilt,” 348.

⁴⁷ The relationship between the development of concepts of human and agricultural health and disease is an intriguing theme that deserves more consideration than can be given here. For suggestive treatments of the former, see Esteban Rodríguez Ocaña, *Por la salud de las naciones: Higiene, microbiología y medicina social* (Madrid, 1992); and Andrew Cunningham, “Transforming the Plague: The Laboratory and the Identity of Infectious Diseases,” in Cunningham and Perry Williams, eds., *The Laboratory Revolution in Medicine* (Cambridge, 1992). Discussions of the development of phytopathology lack, unfortunately, the depth of cultural analysis to be found in medical historiography. Nonetheless, several sources point toward phytopathology’s reflection of and links to the larger course of medical science. See Herbert Hice Hetzel, *An Outline of the History of Phytopathology* (London, 1918); John Charles Walker, *Plant Pathology*, 3d edn. (New York, 1969), 14–46; Scheffer, *Nature of Disease in Plants*. The latter is, intriguingly, far more influenced by ecological theory than earlier work, perhaps pointing to greater divergence in future concepts of plant and human medicine.

⁴⁸ The true representativeness of Prescott’s sites is, unfortunately, somewhat questionable, as some were selected by company vice-president Victor Cutter and some by managers of the respective

Soils, distributed in-house in 1918–1919, provides a fascinating window on soil use and agricultural practices on company plantations, as well as United's early conceptualization of the agro-ecological crisis represented by fusarial wilt.

Prescott presented alarming data on disease conditions. No Central American region was disease free. In the oldest and hardest-hit divisions of Costa Rica and Panama, every plantation surveyed showed *Fusarium* infestation. Young plantations, the industry's future, were especially imperiled. The survey showed "medium" to "rapid" spread of disease symptoms on almost half (46 percent) of Costa Rican plantations under ten years old.

The report's introductory remarks leave no doubt that the twin problems of Panama disease and early plantation failure lay at the core of the survey project: "the investigation has sought to throw some light on the occurrence and spread of the special type of fungus infection known as Panama Disease by studying the character of the soils where the infection has been found and comparing directly with other locations where its ravages are not known or are less severe."⁴⁹ Though never made explicit, an ecological hypothesis underlay this and subsequent work: the fungus was an opportunistic agent, taking advantage of weak plants in poorly sited, exhausted, or otherwise "unhealthy" plantations. Managers hoped that research would produce a precise formula for the soil structure, mineral and organic material contents, and water regime that could guarantee a healthy plantation ecology.⁵⁰

Unfortunately, Prescott's results in this regard were disappointing. No consistent correlations could be found between such soil factors and disease spread. In fact, the quandary of UFCo agricultural managers was deepened by the study's confirmation of what had until then been reported anecdotally: some infected farms, with apparently good, well-drained soils, succumbed to the wilting syndrome almost immediately, while others, in no clear way superior, continued to produce good harvests for many years despite the presence of the fungus.⁵¹ In coming decades, debates over the adequacy of the company's cultivation practices among growers, agronomists, and UFCo's critics would return again and again to this enigma of occasional plantation "resistance" to Panama disease.

Despite the absence of an infallible formula for plantation survival, several future strategies for coping with Panama disease emerged from Prescott's study. First, while no specific deficit in soil chemistry could yet be linked to the disease, the richest soils, "those . . . which are most heavily impregnated with food materials and where the banana has reached the highest vigor," seemed, overall, to produce more resistant plants.⁵² Thus attention to soil composition and structure in the establishment of new plantations was likely to reward the expense. There was also a weak correlation between rapid disease spread and plantation drainage. Although good

divisions. Although some managers may well have had immediate agricultural problems in mind rather than statistical accuracy, in the absence of better data we will have to accept Prescott's judgment that the samples "probably represent in a fair way the general soil conditions of the entire division." Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, ix.

⁴⁹ Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, 4.

⁵⁰ Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, 3.

⁵¹ Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, 131–33, 592.

⁵² Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, x.

drainage could not necessarily inhibit the fungus, very badly drained farms were significantly more susceptible, underscoring the need for increased control of plantation water regimes. Finally, Prescott felt that, his inconclusive results, rather than amounting to a dead end, only emphasized the need for more intensive research on soils, "the question of fertilizers," and the needs of the crop.⁵³

In concluding, Prescott offered a suggestive summary of the unscientific cultivation system that had heretofore prevailed in United's banana empire: "The fact is that the banana lands of the Caribbean Sea region are so fertile and in general so easily cultivated that no special pains have had to be taken to secure good agricultural return." However, he argued, "with the advent of diseases," the easy bounty of nature and traditional crafts of Caribbean laborers would no longer suffice.⁵⁴ Intensive agronomic study and systematic application of the results would now be mandatory. With this in mind, as a first step toward placing the company's agriculture on a scientific basis, UFCo Vice-President Cutter made it the "policy of the Company" to require tropical managers to "study carefully [Prescott's] report."⁵⁵

Prescott's survey opened a long-term, multifaceted corporate campaign against Panama disease. UFCo technicians sought answers in banana genetics, soil, water, and labor regimes. The first of these initiatives is, in retrospect, the most ironic. Company researchers examined and rejected what would ultimately prove to be the solution—switching to a resistant strain of banana. Sometime between 1920 and 1922, United launched a systematic drive to find or breed a banana variety that could replace the Gros Michel. UFCo's future research chief, Vining Dunlap, headed the project, which was based in a new Agricultural Research Station quietly established in Farm 6 in Changuinola, Panama.⁵⁶

True breeding quickly proved (and has continued to prove) to be beyond the ability of plant scientists, as edible bananas are by definition sterile, propagating through rhizomes rather than seeds.⁵⁷ Selecting survivors in diseased plantations proved futile as well, since these plants quickly succumbed when inoculated with *Fusarium*. Finally, researchers established a secret island nursery where they conducted exhaustive trials for disease resistance, productivity, and marketability on over 150 existing banana strains brought at considerable expense from Africa, the Pacific, and Asia. Clyde Stephens, whose dual status as company scientist and amateur historian allowed him to consult the project's files, reports that the Dunlap team isolated two of three high-yield, flavorful, disease-resistant "Cavendish"

⁵³ Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, 3.

⁵⁴ Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, 584.

⁵⁵ Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, vii, 584.

⁵⁶ Clyde Stephens, "Bosquejo histórico del cultivo del banano en la provincia de Bocas del Toro (1880–1980)," *Revista panameña de antropología*, Publicaciones Especiales No. 1 (1987): 24, n. Experiments with small crops of resistant *musae* species actually began fairly early in the course of the epidemic. Prescott's surveys, for example, list a number of plantations in which more resistant strains like "reds" or "congos" were planted in diseased areas, and Frederick Upham Adams claimed in 1914 that Cavendish species were often planted where Gros Michel failed. The varieties available at this point, however, looked very different from the Gros Michel and were not considered capable of holding their own on the U.S. market. Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, 184, 196; Adams, *Conquest of the Tropics: The Story of the Creative Enterprises Conducted by the United Fruit Company* (Garden City, N.J., 1914), 32.

⁵⁷ E. E. Cheeseman, "Banana Research at ICTA," *Tropical Agriculture* (Trinidad) 26 (July 1948): 12.

varieties that would dominate the world banana trade by the 1960s: the "Valery" and the "Lacatan." Nonetheless, the work was shelved when the researchers reported that, because these fruits bruised easily and needed to be shipped and marketed in boxes, rather than loose on large stems like the Gros Michel, they could never be "economically profitable."⁵⁸ United had invested great effort in creating a U.S. market for the thick-skinned Gros Michel banana, which middlemen ("jobbers") knew how to ripen on the stem. Changing these characteristics put consumer preference for the fruit at risk.⁵⁹ Judging the U.S. market to be inflexible, the company did not give serious consideration to planting "varieties" again until the late 1950s.

United's more sustained (and better-funded) research focused on soil ecology, continuing Prescott's quest for a formula for disease resistance. Beginning in 1922, research projects at the Changuinola station and in the Motagua Valley of Guatemala sought to slow the spread of disease through the use of mineral and organic fertilizers and the reduction of soil acidity through the addition of lime. None of these attempts actively to combat Panama disease through soil amendments succeeded. Nonetheless, this work, as well as experimentation in Honduras and Jamaica later in the decade, found a rough, never entirely consistent correlation between the natural acidity of soils and the rapidity with which infection would destroy a plantation.

By 1925, this imperfect, nearly anecdotal association became the basis of UFCo's soil selection system for new lands, and company agronomists estimated the productive "life" of potential plantation sites through pH testing, declining to plant "third-class" soils whose probable life was under five years.⁶⁰ Even government inspectors, using the company's formula, agreed that most of the soils remaining in older UFCo divisions fell into this category.⁶¹ As a modest stride in disease predictability, the pH finding was helpful, but the limits it placed on United's operations were unacceptable. In research and in practice from the 1920s through the 1950s, the company continued to pursue a new science of cultivation that could allow it to grow bananas wherever it chose.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Stephens, "Bosquejo," 28.

⁵⁹ The cost of boxing was an issue, but orchard owners in the United States had long shipped their tree fruit in boxes, without excessive expense. See W. A. Luce, *The Washington State Fruit Industry: A Brief History* (Seattle, 1972), 26; Al C. Bright, *"Apples Galore!": The History of the Apple Industry in the Wenatchee Valley* (Wenatchee, Wash., 1988), 40. Much more important was the perceived inflexibility of fruit jobbers and grocers who, managers believed, would not accept a change in the fruit's unique appearance or handling characteristics. For the importance UFCo accorded market considerations, see Adams, *Conquest of the Tropics*, 32; Stover, *Fusarial Wilt*, 102–03. For the relationship with jobbers, see E. Baker, "United Fruit Company," 125–26.

⁶⁰ A. F. Butler, "Fertilizer Experiments with the Gros Michel Banana," *Tropical Agriculture* (Trinidad) 37 (January 1960): 31; Stover, *Fusarial Wilt*, 45–56, 101–03. The pH-longevity correlation was valid only for the soil in its natural state—soils in which the pH had been altered showed no increased resistance. This, and the large number of exceptions to the pattern, led some company researchers to conclude that alkalinity was itself a marker of some other, unknown factor leading to resistance. One striking case in which pH did not predict survival was the Esquinas district of the Golfito Division of Costa Rica, which never succumbed to disease infestation despite relatively acid soils.

⁶¹ "The majority of lands that remain are third-class . . . Today it is not possible to create a thousand hectare plantation whose soils are not mostly third class." Viriato Espinach to Volio, February 15, 1933, Congreso 16689, ANCR, 29. See also Prescott's comments on soils of the Costa Rica Division, which he found "rather low" in lime content. Prescott, *Examination of Tropical Soils*, 156.

Despite, or because of, the continuing inconclusiveness of United's research, its managers increasingly viewed the "backwardness" of the company's old cultivation methods as the cause of the epidemic, and agronomic science as the solution. When Victor Cutter, Prescott's principal backer, became UFCo's second corporate president in late 1924, his first major policy initiative was the consolidation of research into a single department, which he achieved two years later. At the same time, the company centralized field studies under the new department's auspices in its new, expansive, lavishly appointed Lancetilla Research Station in La Lima, Honduras. Unsurprisingly, the new department's central mission was investigation of "the relation between the character of soils and the spread of Panama disease."⁶² The elevation of research to departmental status, with in-house programs and laboratories, was something of a U.S. corporate fad in the 1920s, but—undoubtedly because of the challenge posed by the epidemic—UFCo's was probably the first in an agricultural firm. In European and North American agriculture, scientific research and innovation were promoted by sectors *external* to the farm itself, including universities, chemical corporations, and makers of agricultural machinery.⁶³ Thanks to Panama disease, United's new stratum of scientists and technicians now occupied a relatively privileged position *within* the apparatus of production. The move was a striking indication of United's new determination to rationalize its cultivation systems.

Thus, in addition to basic research, the new department was charged with modernizing cultivation practices in the field. Henceforth, extensive soil surveys and analyses would precede planting. Technicians, especially in the Tela Division of Honduras (which benefited from the proximity of the Lancetilla Station's staff), would conduct extensive field fertilizer trials, establish an elaborate apparatus of plant-performance recordkeeping, and experiment on a large scale with new systems of water management. Moreover, the company's next generation of field managers would be well trained to cooperate in these technical initiatives: in the mid-1920s, United began for the first time to recruit plantation staff for all divisions from agricultural and engineering schools. But United also brought its older management corps up to date. Even those in regions whose decline seemed irreversible were gathered together at considerable cost and logistical exertion for lectures by Research Department agronomists and visiting experts on photosynthesis, disease symptoms, and "Why it is important to study soils."⁶⁴

⁶² "Second Annual Conference of the United Fruit Company and Subsidiary Companies at Swampscott, Mass., Oct. 5–6–7, 1927," *Unifruitco* (November 1927): 201. In the same venue, Cutter laconically characterized the new department as "rather expensive." Unfortunately, no data exist to quantify what percentage of the company's expenditures went to the Research Department over time. Nonetheless, the establishment of very large laboratory complexes in Honduras and Boston, and the maintenance of a large number of scientists to staff them, lends credence to Cutter's remark. May and Plaza claim an annual expenditure of "well over \$1 million" on "fundamental research" (over and above control measures) by 1958. May and Plaza, *United Fruit Company in Latin America*, 153.

⁶³ David F. Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (Oxford, 1977), 110–66; Lawrence Busch, "The State of Agricultural Science and the Agricultural Science of the State," in Bonano, *From Columbus to ConAgra*, 74–75.

⁶⁴ "Costa Rica: Agricultural Department Holds Important Meeting," *Unifruitco* (June 1929): 691. For upper management's imprimatur on this interventionist aspect of research, see Cutter's 1927 injunction to managers: "keep fully informed and assist in the work of this department. Modern research is not dry and theoretical. It is simply a form of insurance against mistakes in future. Our

Among the visiting lecturers was an investigative mission of agronomists in 1928 from the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture (ICTA) in Trinidad. The British researchers, hoping to learn from the Central American experience as they confronted the more recent outbreak in Jamaica, shared data with United's agronomists and gave demonstrations of "proper" cultivation techniques in many plantations. The leader of the ICTA group was Claude Wardlaw, a garrulous Scottish plant pathologist who went on to write the next decade's standard work on banana diseases. Wardlaw apparently enjoyed considerable cooperation from upper-level UFCo managers and agronomists: he claimed that the latter were in "substantial agreement" with him on the correct approach to Panama disease.⁶⁵ With few UFCo documents on cultivation and disease-control strategies available for this period, the reports of the ICTA team thus offer valuable insights into the company's view of its problems.

Wardlaw's study stridently echoed the ecological assumption that had prevailed at least since Prescott: the disease was a "conditional infection" of badly cultivated or deficient, exhausted soils.⁶⁶ After lengthy tours of both abandoned and still-productive plantations throughout United's dominions, Wardlaw concluded that the Central American banana industry had been engaged in soil mining: "exploitation of the native fertility of virgin soil with the minimum amount of detailed treatment." Once the vitality bequeathed by the region's former "giant forests" was used up, disease set in, and the "pioneer" industry moved on.⁶⁷ But the ICTA agronomists believed that, even on inferior sites, ecologically healthy, disease-resistant soils could be created (or prolonged) through a more intensive application of labor. A program of "sound agricultural treatment" would include: careful soil analysis and plantation siting; provision of deeper, better-maintained drainage systems; active soil improvement through tillage, liming (to reduce acidity), and fertilization; far more attention to brush control and pruning; and, perhaps, irrigation. These methods could not eliminate Panama disease, but, by creating vital, healthy conditions for the crop, they could almost certainly hold it "in

mistakes in the past have cost us more than it will to maintain this department in future." Victor M. Cutter, "Introductory Address at the Second Annual Conference of the United Fruit Company, Oct. 5-7, 1927, Swampscott, Mass.," *Unifruitco* (October 1927): 135. For claims that Research Department staff had carried out soil surveys and analyses on over 800,000 hectares in potential new expansion zones, see *United Fruit Company Annual Report* 29 (January 8, 1929), 3. For field experimentation and monitoring, see R. M. Beasley, "Tela Has Changed in 30 Months," *Unifruitco* (May 1929): 620; Wilson Popenoe, "Plant Performance Records," *Unifruitco* (May 1929): 607-09. For the recruitment of managers in agricultural and engineering schools, see Gooch, "Letters from a Company Traveler," 390.

⁶⁵ Wardlaw and McGuire, "Panama Disease of Bananas," 33. Apparently, this unusual openness was possible because United indirectly controlled the British Caribbean banana trade, and it was thus in United's interest to cooperate on disease control measures there. There were, nonetheless, limits to this cooperation, as Wardlaw seems to have been unable to acquire complete figures for disease losses. For the unequal relationship between UFCo and Jamaican growers, see Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 354-65.

⁶⁶ Wardlaw, *Diseases of the Banana*, 55. This reference work, along with Wardlaw's 1935 memoir, *Green Havoc*, is also based in large part on his 1928 fact-finding trip to Central America, and I cite both, along with the 1929 report, in the following pages. Despite its harsh criticism of United's cultivation practices, company managers regularly consulted *Diseases of the Banana*. A Honduran writer, for example, describes being referred to Wardlaw's book when he tried to discuss the problem of Panama disease with the manager of the Tela Division in 1939. Pompilio Ortega, *Las enfermedades del banano y cómo evitarlas* (Tegucigalpa, 1946), 1.

⁶⁷ Wardlaw and McGuire, "Panama Disease of Bananas," 18, 66.

check.”⁶⁸ The implementation of most of this program on United’s plantations during the following years indicates the extent to which company managers and agronomists shared Wardlaw’s perspective.

Wardlaw was shocked at the agricultural indifference of old-line overseers: most of the elements of “sound treatment” were already in use on the farms of developed nations.⁶⁹ In this sense, United had indeed lagged behind the practices of contemporary capitalist agriculture. Yet farmers in North America and Europe largely adopted these “sound” practices on a piecemeal basis, empirically, or on the advice of non-farmers. When the company’s management interpreted the epidemic as a clarion call to modernize its cultivations, it did not just catch up but moved well beyond other agricultural operations on the road to fully rationalized production. As United integrated agricultural research and expertise into the heart of its tropical operations, it attempted to apply all relevant agricultural and managerial technologies in an integrated, planned approach, on a highly regimented, transnational level. This scientific approach extended far beyond the concerns of contemporary agricultural producers to embrace the “scientific management” of labor, though not (as in Taylorized industrial manufacturing) to curb the autonomy of craftsmen and thus extract greater efficiency in a competitive market.⁷⁰ After 1929, United’s monopoly was more secure than ever. Instead, the rationalization of the work regime of banana cultivation aimed at more precise control of the crop’s biological underpinnings than could be achieved by relying on West Indians “raised among bananas.” Despite this divergent end-goal, the transformation of the plantation labor process followed the same principle as deskilling in other industries—the separation of conception and execution.

In fact, United’s managers, engineers, and agronomists increasingly saw workers’ autonomy on the job as a big part of the problem.⁷¹ As the company overhauled the cultivation techniques that had originated in the practices of West Indian peasants, knowledge and day-to-day control of the work process began passing to United’s new body of experts. New plantation siting, the layout of drainage systems, the timing and requirements of maintenance tasks, and even the evaluation of fruit readiness for harvest were all now specified by technicians. At the same time, the company’s predominantly task-based wage system (the *tarea*) came increasingly to take on the characteristics of piecework, with exacting specifications for compliance. Overseers were encouraged to experiment with the development of specialized crews for tasks such as pruning, brushing, and drain maintenance—splitting the

⁶⁸ Wardlaw and McGuire, “Panama Disease of Bananas,” 46, 66.

⁶⁹ Wardlaw wrote scornfully of the astonishment with which overseers in Costa Rica observed his basic soil and root evaluations: “Unless a member of the staff goes out of his way he may easily spend years on a farm without making even the most elementary botanical observations.” Wardlaw, *Green Havoc*, 57.

⁷⁰ For a comparative historical discussion of agricultural sectors in Europe and North America, emphasizing their unintegrated nature and failure until very recently to rationalize the agricultural labor process, see Goodman and Redclift, *Refashioning Nature*, 97–101. See also William D. Heffernan and Douglas Constance, “Transnational Corporations and the Globalization of the Food System,” in Bonano, *From Columbus to ConAgra*, 29–51. Braverman’s treatment of Taylorism and “scientific management” remains essential: *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, 85–124.

⁷¹ The ICTA team concurred in seeing labor as a barrier to disease control. See remarks on the problems posed for better cultivation by “expensive” labor: Wardlaw and McGuire, “Panama Disease of Bananas,” 83.

tasks of cultivation into smaller units and handing down detailed research-based instructions for jobs that had previously been left largely to workers' own judgment and experience.⁷²

The ethnic recomposition of United's isthmian work force during this period, with native Central American mestizos replacing West Indian workers, smoothed the transition to the new labor regime. No company payroll census exists, but all available evidence indicates a steep decline in the proportion of West Indian workers on company plantations and an equally steep rise in the proportion of Hispanic Central Americans between the beginning of World War I and the end of the 1920s.⁷³ The new workers, migrants from arid, cattle-ranching regions of the isthmus and the relatively temperate interior, lacked the Antilleans' generations of familiarity with commercial banana cultivation. One Jamaican-born former banana worker in Limón recalled for an anthropologist: "The Spaniards when they come they work, but they don't know the work. They can't dig drain, they can't grade a banana."⁷⁴ The new workers—"inexperienced *mozos*," in the words of one overseer—were particularly apt for the deskilled, directed division of labor that company agronomists believed (paradoxically) would raise cultivation standards.⁷⁵

The actual patterns of change in ethnicity and labor regime, however, were more complex than the above sketch suggests. The company's expanding Honduran operations, for example, saw steady intensification of labor and cultivation systems in the late 1920s and early 1930s, but this process was not directly linked to workforce ethnic change. Instead, it was the widening gap between the dynamism of the banana sector and languishing subsistence economies in the interior that attracted waves of highland Hondurans and immigrant Salvadorans to banana payrolls. As racially inflected nationalist pressure slowed new Jamaican immigration, Hispanics came to predominate.⁷⁶

In diseased divisions like Limón, on the other hand, where surveys suggested that remaining soils were short-lived, and Panama disease was pervasive, the company did not risk investment in more intensive cultivation. Instead, United increased the share of fruit purchased from planters under contract. While Honduran contract production fell to less than 20 percent by 1930, in Costa Rica the percentage of

⁷² R. H. Davis, "Pruning," *Unifruitco* (January 1927): 376; H. E. Caunter, "New Pruning Methods," *Unifruitco* (January 1929): 339; George S. Bennett, "Maintaining a Profitable Investment," *Unifruitco* (October 1930): 130–31. Older banana workers interviewed in 1996 by the author in Golfito, Costa Rica, recall that at some time in the 1930s the "eye" of experienced workers was replaced by mechanical measuring devices in grading fruit readiness for harvest. O'Brien discusses the progressive hardening of a piecework wage regime as an aspect of the insertion of rationalistic U.S. corporate culture into the Honduran divisions, but he does not connect it with Panama disease. His argument is not inconsistent with the one presented here, since the search for solutions to agro-ecological problems was shaped by the culture he describes. O'Brien, *Revolutionary Mission*, 53–54, 89–90.

⁷³ For example, death records kept by UFCo doctors from 1917 to 1931, and organized by birthplace, indicate the direction of these ethnic tides (although they cannot, of course, accurately represent the proportions of United's living laborers). During these years, which begin well after Hispanics began to join the work force, West Indians fell from comprising nearly half of recorded deaths to less than one-fifth, while the proportion of Central American-born fatalities rose to over 80 percent. United Fruit Company Medical Department, *Annual Reports*, 1917–1931. This method of estimating ethnic change in United's work force was first used by Aviva Chomsky, for the Limón Division only: Chomsky, *West Indian Workers*, 49.

⁷⁴ Bourgois, *Ethnicity at Work*, 180.

⁷⁵ Davis, "Pruning," 376.

⁷⁶ Euraque, "Nationalism," 157–63; Echeverri-Gent, "Forgotten Workers," 298–307.

UFCo bananas grown by “private” planters rose from less than 50 percent before World War I to 75 percent by 1930.⁷⁷ Paradoxically, among workers on United’s own plantations, falling in-house production contributed to the same kind of ethnic transition that increased investment had yielded in Honduras. Vacated lands and rising fruit purchases offered West Indians the opportunity to leave company payrolls and use their skills on their own small farms. Costa Ricans and Nicaraguans took their places on United’s plantations. As fruit production shifted to Jamaican smallholders, pouring family labor into “third-class” reserve lands, or into abandoned but still marginally viable plantations, Limón’s labor process actually became, overall, less integrated and more “traditional.”⁷⁸

The long survival of pockets of smallholder banana production, like the relatively slow pace of the fusarial epidemic in Jamaica (where large, corporate plantations were the exception), points to a major irony in the banana industry’s struggle with Panama disease. Scattered “peasant” producers, by mixing their cultivations and separating them from United’s vast monocultural operations, were more capable of resisting disease spread than the company’s modern, agronomically “sound” (but monocultural) operations.⁷⁹ Had it not been for the appearance in 1935 of another fungal epidemic, sigatoka (a disease amenable to chemical treatment, but only through installation of a costly fumigation infrastructure), this vestigial contract production might have persisted for many years in Limón and perhaps in Panama.⁸⁰

For workers who remained on the dwindling percentage of plantations operated by the company, as well as workers on the larger “private” plantations, the decay of the Costa Rican Atlantic banana industry brought dismissals, wage cuts, the decay of company housing, and the virtual abandonment of hospitals and clinics. A spiral of production decline set in as overseers on afflicted plantations drew out the intervals between such elements of routine agricultural maintenance as pruning, weed control, and drain clearance. Without upkeep, plantation yields dropped even more precipitously, while workers’ piece-rate tasks grew ever-more arduous and less remunerative. Many factors—including the general economic stress of the Depression and aggressive Communist organizing—contributed to the famous 1934 general strike of Costa Rican banana workers. Nonetheless, the disinvestment and

⁷⁷ Casey Gaspar, *Limón*, 90–91; Kepner and Soothill, *Banana Empire*, 172, 272.

⁷⁸ Bourgois, *Ethnicity at Work*, 73–84; Chomsky, *West Indian Workers*, 48–50; Ronny Viales Hurtado, “La región atlántica costarricense y el enclave bananero: Del Esplendor a la crisis, 1927–1950” (Tesis de Maestría, Universidad de Costa Rica, San José, 1993), 32, 101–03; Koch, “Ethnicity and Livelihoods,” 163.

⁷⁹ For separate observations on the slower pace of the epidemic and the smaller size of production units in Jamaica, see Kepner, *Social Aspects of the Banana Industry*, 100–01. Noting continued smallholder production in Panama and Costa Rica, Wardlaw implicitly acknowledged the superior resistance of “a well-established peasantry”: “Panama Disease of Bananas,” 62. For the post-epidemic agronomic consensus on this point, see Scheffer, *Nature of Disease in Plants*, 215, 220; Stover, *Fusarial Wilt*, 62. Although Chomsky (citing Koch’s 1975 study “Ethnicity and Livelihoods”) claims that peasant cultivators survived the disease by uprooting infected plants and replanting with healthy rhizomes, this is unlikely to have been effective in pathogen-rich soils: the scattered, mixed nature of smallholder cultivations was almost certainly the more important factor. Chomsky, *West Indian Workers*, 66.

⁸⁰ Unfortunately, space does not permit discussion of the impact of sigatoka on United’s operations. Unlike *Fusarium*, the sigatoka fungus was airborne, and thus much more rapidly infectious, but ultimately controllable through heavy aerial sprays of copper sulfate solution. The most complete discussion of the disease can be found in D. S. Meredith, *Banana Leaf Spot Disease (Sigatoka) Caused by Mycosphaerella musicola* Leach (Kew, 1970).

corporate pressure on work regimes inspired by Panama disease played a central, if seldom-recognized, role.⁸¹ Further research may clarify whether neglect of older diseased plantations and the pressures of expansion in areas of “first-class” soils played a similar part in the violent series of banana strikes in Honduras in 1930–1931, but these events of the 1930s, and the second isthmus-wide upsurge of banana strikes during the epidemic’s resurgence after World War II (discussed below), suggest a larger relationship between disease-caused plantation decline, intensified labor exploitation, and worker protest.⁸²

For the company, ceasing to invest in older plantations seemed an economically rational policy. It was, as Wardlaw observed, “undecided and doubtful” that older diseased regions could be profitably rehabilitated.⁸³ Instead, the principal investments of capital, technology, and expertise flowed into new regions opened by United from the mid-1920s through the late 1930s. In Puerto Armuelles, Panama (1927), the upper Ulúa Valley, Honduras (late 1920s), Tiquisate, Guatemala (1936), Quepos and Golfito, Costa Rica (1938), United Fruit could put in place centralized, technically efficient operations on soils minutely surveyed for maximum disease resistance as determined by the latest agricultural research.⁸⁴ This also meant, of course, the initiation of new cycles of deforestation, monocultural production, and worker migration.

It was not coincidental that three of the new operations were located on the “comparatively arid” Pacific littoral of the Central American isthmus, and all (unlike United’s older regions) had distinct, if brief, dry seasons and required irrigation. The prolonged Panama disease-free state of irrigated plantations in Santa Marta, Colombia, and the St. Catherine district of Jamaica, along with suggestive laboratory experiments, had fostered a tentative agronomic consensus during the early 1920s that close control of soil moisture through a combination of irrigation and elaborate drainage systems—possible only in a somewhat drier environment—could inhibit *Fusarium* infection. Despite a subsequent outbreak of Panama disease in St. Catherine in 1926, banana agronomists clung for a considerable time thereafter to the hypothesis that dry seasons and irrigation prevented disease. Meanwhile, investment and planning for the company’s Pacific littoral expansion became irreversible.⁸⁵

The new regions’ revolution in control of soil-water relations went well beyond irrigation. Bad drainage had been associated with the exceptionally rapid spread of

⁸¹ Space permits only a sketch here of the famous Costa Rican strike of 1934 and its background. For early signs of disinvestment in plantation maintenance, see Wardlaw and McGuire, “Panama Disease of Bananas,” 25, 33, 83. For housing and medical conditions, see “Informe de la comisión investigadora de la industria bananera,” November 11, 1932, Congreso 16358, ANCR, 144. For wages and working conditions, see also Kepner, *Social Aspects of the Banana Industry*, 114–15. For the strike itself, see Victor H. Acuña Ortega, *La huelga bananera de 1934* (San José, 1984); Chomsky, *West Indian Workers*, 244–53.

⁸² The Honduran strikes are relatively understudied. For preliminary treatments, see O’Brien, *Revolutionary Mission*, 99–104; Mario Posas, *Luchas del movimiento obrero hondureño* (San José, 1981), 76–83.

⁸³ Wardlaw, *Diseases of the Banana*, 92–93.

⁸⁴ Although the Depression slowed the opening of some operations, soil analyses and land acquisitions began for all of them between 1922 and 1928, the same time the company initiated its aggressive Panama-disease research program.

⁸⁵ Wardlaw, *Diseases of the Banana*, 61; Stover, *Fusarial Wilt*, 61.

disease from the epidemic's earliest phases. The company's expansion zones would no longer rely on hand shovels and natural drainage; in the new Panamanian division of Chiriqui, huge diesel-powered drag-lines excavated well over three million cubic meters of earth to install a network of eighty kilometers of main drainage canals before planting.⁸⁶ North American technicians described such work as a sort of redemptive, mechanized war against tropical nature: "a drag-line . . . hissing and snorting like some huge monster, pushes its way through the jungle and digs a wide drainage canal through the swamp. It crushes in its path the luxuriant tropical vegetation and bites the black mud with huge crunching teeth—teeth of steel . . . parts of a process that will metamorphose the tropical swamplands into richly productive areas."⁸⁷ Human drain-diggers would now build only secondary systems, or clean behind the great machines—themselves operated by North Americans and Europeans.

As the 1920s wore on, United's engineers and agronomists began putting earth-moving machinery to work for an even more ambitious goal. Extensive systems of dams, canals, and levees in Chiriqui and Tela, Honduras (later in Golfito and Tiquisate), directed silt-laden runoff over plantation sites judged insufficiently endowed, in order to create artificially the rich, theoretically disease-resistant plantation sites that nature had neglected to provide. Workers in all divisions now routinely spread nitrogen and calcium fertilizers, and they "forked" (hand tilled) soil between mats. Where terrain made it practical, the company began turning the soil with heavy machinery. Although the precise links between soil deficiencies and Panama disease still eluded company researchers, United nonetheless tried to duplicate the soil ecology of resistant plantations by both large-scale and incremental measures.⁸⁸ As Thomas O'Brien and Ana Luisa Cerdas Albertazzi have shown for Honduras and Golfito respectively, the company's new operations were marked by a heightened quest for control of all aspects of life within the enclaves.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ R. Jensen, "Drainage and Diversion Work in Chiriqui," *Unifruitco* (January 1929): 3.

⁸⁷ E. R. Patterson, "Transformation," *Unifruitco* (March 1930): 481. Patterson was a company engineer in Honduras.

⁸⁸ A. J. H. Hopper, "Tropical Tractoristics," *Unifruitco* (December 1930): 249–51; Wilson Popenoe [Director, Lancetilla Laboratory, UFCo], "Banana Culture around the Caribbean part 2," *Tropical Agriculture* (Trinidad) 18 (January 1937): 34; "Agriculture: 1899–1949," *United Fruit Company Annual Report* 50 (February 20, 1950), 19–20.

⁸⁹ Ana Luisa Cerdas Albertazzi, "El surgimiento del enclave bananero en el Pacífico Sur," *Revista de historia* (San José) 28 (July–December 1993): 153; O'Brien, *Revolutionary Mission*, 86–92. Catherine LeGrand has recently challenged the totalizing nature of United's control of the regions within which it operated, and thus questioned the distinctiveness and importance of foreign business enclaves in Latin American history. Her argument, however, is based on UFCo's Magdalena, Colombia, operations, which differed from the Central American banana zones in several important ways: Magdalena was one of only two regions (along with Jamaica) in which the company consistently deferred almost all production to private planters, it was an area of minimal UFCo activity in the post-1930s era of plantation modernization, and it remained Panama disease-free until the 1950s. Thus few of the patterns of the Central American operations established between 1926 and 1938—the intensification of cultivation methods and work regimes, the marginalization of independent communities, and the declining role of private planters—apply to the Magdalena case. Her problematization of enclave theory is nonetheless well taken when applied to the banana industry's earlier decades, and its cultural dimension is probably relevant for the later era as well. See Catherine LeGrand, "Living in Macondo: Economy and Culture in a United Fruit Company Enclave in Colombia," in Gilbert M. Joseph, LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore, eds., *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Durham, N.C., 1998), 333–68.

That quest began with a drive for control of the plants, soils, and waters of the plantations.

Former critics applauded what they saw as a revolution in cultivation practices. In 1940, Wardlaw was invited to tour United's showplace operations on the Ulúa in Honduras. After describing with awe the new cultivation technologies he observed there—careful soil surveys, overhead spray irrigation systems, elaborate drainage, siltation, and diversion earthworks—as well as the new supervisory role of agronomists and the implicit subordination of “native labor,” Wardlaw hailed the end of the era of plantation abandonment. “Such innovations are of the greatest significance in the agricultural development of Central America. They mark the transition from the impermanence and rough-and-ready exploitation of other days to the rational utilization of natural resources and to . . . permanence.”⁹⁰ United's own publicists were even less restrained. The “jungle” that company discourse had long depicted as implacably hostile, chanting a “hymn of hate,” was now portrayed as a vanquished foe.⁹¹ An article published in 1948, on the occasion of United Fruit's fiftieth year of corporate life, explicitly linked the company's new “permanent” cultivation system, control of “creeping progress-consuming tropical Mother Nature,” and a supposed modern, industrial division of labor. “Virtually overnight, tens of thousands of machete swingers have become spray men, mechanics, tractor operators and technicians. This is the significant achievement of the last 20 years: control.”⁹² But deep contradictions lay behind such public-relations boasts. United's new agricultural and managerial practices had indeed fostered an increasingly elaborate labor regime, including new kinds of work, and old tasks now subdivided and technically defined. Not only were new job categories created by drag-line canal construction, earthworks excavation, overhead irrigation, fertilizer broadcast, and mechanical tillage, but old jobs now had a multiplicity of new, differential piece-rates and compliance requirements. Comparison of a plantation task-wage schedule from 1931 with the task rates over which banana workers and managers bargained twenty years later shows job and wage categories more than doubling.⁹³ Despite (or perhaps because of) the growing corporate specification and control over the plantation labor process, the post-World War II decade would see more sustained and successful labor militancy than United Fruit had ever faced. Moreover, during the same period, United's real ability to contain its Panama

⁹⁰ Claude W. Wardlaw, “The Banana in Central America,” *Tropical Agriculture* (Trinidad) 18 (August 1941): 159.

⁹¹ “The Jungle's Hymn of Hate: By an Employee of the Tela Railroad Company,” *Unifruitco* (March 1929).

⁹² “Banana Division: What Makes It Tick?” *Unifruitco* (August 1948): 3, 7. Of course, though presented here as an increase in workers' skill levels, I would argue that the new division of labor in fact represented a transferral of craft and agricultural judgment from workers to agronomists.

⁹³ Job/wage categories rose from twenty-four in 1931 to fifty-two in 1951. Perhaps even more remarkably, only one year after being instructed to bring tasks and rates in line with the advanced Tela Division, the number of farm wage categories reported by the Costa Rica Division increased by over 50 percent: “Price List Effective July 1, 1932 (in colones),” UFCo-Bourgeois Papers. See “Agricultural Department-Unit Prices Paid for Farm Work,” November 17, 1931, UFCo-Bourgeois Papers; Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria del Banano y Similares de Quepos, “Proyecto de Convención Colectiva,” March 9, 1951, Juzgado de Trabajo de Puerto Cortés, Remesa 198, Archivo 342, Archivos Judiciales de Costa Rica. It is worth noting that new cultivation technologies such as fertilizing and tillage were well under way in 1931. The task schedules of ten years earlier are not available for consultation, but would undoubtedly have been far simpler.

disease losses became more tenuous and the consequences of failure more disastrous than ever.

WHILE THE NEW TECHNOLOGIES raised yields somewhat on uninfected lands, Panama disease appeared in most of the new “agriculturally sound” operations almost immediately. As with the earlier period, detailed records of Panama disease-related abandonments are mostly unavailable, but the broad outlines of the problem demonstrate its seriousness. The most striking disease casualty was Costa Rica’s relatively new Quepos Division, where reserve banana lands ran out by 1947 and banana exports ended altogether in 1956. At its peak, the division had supported over 5,400 hectares and 5,700 workers in banana production. Tiquisate, on the Pacific coast of Guatemala, also suffered enormous losses, declining throughout the 1950s and finally closing entirely in 1964.⁹⁴ Figures on yearly abandonments are available for one of several regions that suffered but did not close operations—the Ulúa Valley in Honduras, which Wardlaw had praised in 1940 as a model of the new “permanent” cultivation. According to UFCo plant pathologist R. H. Stover, between 1940 and 1948, Panama disease destroyed between 450 and 850 hectares per year in the Ulúa. In 1949, the infection exploded, and it devastated over 1,600 hectares per year between that year and 1960.⁹⁵ Moreover, many measures such as irrigation and silting projects had apparently been more effective in spreading the fungus to uninfected areas than in building resistance to it.

The failure of the whole technical and managerial apparatus aimed at fostering plantation resistance refocused the attention of the company’s agronomists from the ecology of cultivation to *Fusarium oxysporum* f. *cubense*, the disease pathogen. The titles of scientific publications on the disease capture this shift. Between 1917 and 1940, of twenty-six Panama disease-related research papers written by scientists associated with the United Fruit Company, the name of the pathogen (or a variant of it) appears in the titles of only eight. By contrast, in twenty-seven Panama-disease titles written by UFCo researchers from 1940 to 1960, the full Latin name of the fungus appears in twenty-three. In fact, the term “Panama disease” all but disappears during this period, replaced by “Fusarium wilt.”⁹⁶

The new concentration on the fungus reflected a new paradigm for the disease. Rather than a symptom of unhealthy agro-ecological conditions, managers and technicians increasingly equated the disease with its pathogen. As a consequence, researchers again sought a chemical or mechanical means of destroying the disease organism—a cure rather than the failed project of building disease-resistant “vigor.” World War II-era advances in the agricultural and life sciences made the times propitious for such a change. Just as antibiotics had quickly replaced more

⁹⁴ Stover, *Fusarial Wilt*, 84; Ellis, *Las transnacionales del banano*, 127–28. Other divisions, like Golfito, Costa Rica, and Puerto Armuelles, Panama, suffered serious losses but remained in production.

⁹⁵ Stover, *Fusarial Wilt*, 84.

⁹⁶ For this exercise, I have used the comprehensive bibliography in UFCo scientist R. H. Stover’s summary of Panama-disease research: Stover, *Fusarial Wilt*, 107–17. His citations for non-UFCo research show the same trend, though not so markedly.

indirect means of fighting human diseases, DDT and a new generation of insecticides were proving to be remarkably effective “magic bullets” against once-devastating agricultural pests. In fact, United’s own scientists (the same corps in charge of fighting Panama disease) were flush with their recent success in using a chemical spray to turn back the potentially catastrophic leaf infection, sigatoka.⁹⁷

In the early 1940s, *Fusarium* researchers again began to experiment with chemical fungicides, including formaldehyde, despite the clear impossibility of soaking all 9,215 cubic meters of soil per hectare that potentially harbored the fungus.⁹⁸ But United’s most sustained and serious experiment in curing Panama disease involved what it called flood-fallowing: using earth-moving equipment to create meter-deep artificial lakes to drown the oxygen-loving *Fusarium* spores. The pharaonic scale of the work—flooding, draining, and reflooding thousands of hectares for many months—made it only slightly less ambitious, costly, and environmentally reckless than chemical treatment would have been. Nonetheless, Vining Dunlap’s pilot experiment at the Lancetilla Station in 1939 showed sufficient promise for the company to rush it into use after World War II, submerging over 4,000 hectares in Panama and 6,100 hectares in Honduras between 1945 and 1955. In 1951, the company’s president announced to stockholders that flood-fallowing had solved the problem of abandonments: “it is now possible to plant sizable acreages to bananas on lands formerly considered unsuitable for bananas and to recover certain acreages previously abandoned.”⁹⁹

United planned to recover the abandoned acreage of its first mainland division as well. In 1952, the company proposed, and Costa Rica’s Ulate administration accepted, an agreement for the “rehabilitation of the Province of Limón” in which United would have the right to “freely exploit waters in the public domain . . . for the flooding of lands belonging to it, or which it possesses through any title, or which belong to other persons or entities with whom it makes arrangements for that end, for the rehabilitation of the lands of that industry, and may for these purposes build and exploit channels, reservoirs, defensive dikes, levees to retain waters, dams, drains, pumps and other works of temporary or permanent character.”¹⁰⁰ But

⁹⁷ For the explosion in chemical pest-control use surrounding World War II, see Thomas R. Dunlap, *DDT: Scientists, Citizens and Public Policy* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); John H. Perkins, *Insects, Experts, and the Insecticide Crisis: The Quest for New Pest Management Strategies* (New York, 1982); Edmond Paul Russell III, “War on Insects: Warfare, Insecticides, and Environmental Change in the United States, 1870–1945” (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1993). For United’s pride in the success of anti-sigatoka fungicides, see Wardlaw, “Banana in Central America,” 344; Research Department, United Fruit Company, *Problems and Progress in Banana Disease Research* (Boston, 1958), 10–11. It is worth noting that without the research apparatus created to deal with Panama disease, it is unlikely that United would have found a sigatoka control method in time to forestall the devastation of its operations.

⁹⁸ Stover, *Fusarial Wilt*, 92.

⁹⁹ Kenneth M. Redmond, *United Fruit Company Annual Report: 1951 52* (February 18, 1952), 7. For early flood-fallow experiments, see Claude W. Wardlaw, “Control of Banana Wilt Disease,” *Nature* 4064 (September 20, 1947): 405. For total flooded hectares in the two countries, see Stover, *Fusarial Wilt*, 97. United flooded more limited areas of its Guatemalan divisions during the same period.

¹⁰⁰ “Contrato para la rehabilitación de tierras en el Atlántico, suscrito con los Ministerios de Obras Públicas, Agricultura e Industrias y Economía y Hacienda, pendiente por la Asamblea Legislativa,” April 9, 1953, in República de Costa Rica, Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica, Chiriquí Land Company, United Fruit Company, *Leyes, contratos y resoluciones relativos a las industrias de banano, abacá, cacao y palma africana oleaginosa, 1930–1953*, 92. See also *La nación* (San José) (November 18, 1952): 1, 33. Ramón Cabezas, one of United’s top drainage engineers, recalls participating in extensive

despite its very substantial investment in studies and designs, the company withdrew from the project during the Costa Rican Legislative Assembly's long deliberations on ratification.

Although political tensions with the new José Figueres administration over export taxes may have contributed, mounting evidence that flood-fallowing did not "cure" Panama disease undoubtedly played the most significant role in United's decision in 1954 to abandon (again) the Atlantic zone of Costa Rica. As "rehabilitated" plantations increasingly succumbed once more to the disease in the early 1950s, researchers found they had again underestimated the complexity of tropical soil ecology. Although flooding reduced *Fusarium* populations to very low levels, it was even more deadly to microbial competitors. The aggressive pathogen thus recolonized flood-sterilized soils with astonishing speed.¹⁰¹ Ultimately, disease rendered reinfected plantations unproductive far too quickly to justify the herculean effort and expense of the procedure, and flood-fallowing of new areas ceased after 1955. Inexorable environmental change, in the form of a lowly fungus, continued to frustrate the corporate giant's ability to produce its product wherever it wished.

Although United frantically accelerated research into new chemical treatments, cover crops, and deep-cultivation systems, a "cure" for the disease in susceptible banana varieties has yet to be found. The failure of flood-fallowing came at a moment of acute corporate crisis for the United Fruit Company. The extremely high fixed costs of the new intensive cultivation methods, along with the mounting reluctance of tropical governments to furnish United with new sections of their national territories, meant that migration from diseased areas to "virgin" lands was very costly. As the disease advanced in all of United's host countries (for it had finally appeared in Colombia), the company's control of geographic space slipped away, and its profits followed. The company's postwar financial problems were compounded as labor crisis and agro-ecological crisis converged again. Workers in Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Honduras, organized for the first time in relatively durable unions, staged repeated, division-wide strikes, primarily over rates of pay in the piecework system that had been put in place to strengthen control of cultivation.¹⁰² Net corporate earnings plummeted from \$35 million in 1950 to less than \$5 million in 1956, while the value per share of UFCo stock dropped from \$71

tests, costing "millions of dollars" throughout the abandoned Atlantic littoral of Costa Rica in the early 1950s, identifying lands that would hold water when flooded. Interview by the author with Ramón Cabezas, finca Coto 53, Costa Rica, May 11, 1996.

¹⁰¹ R. H. Stover, N. C. Thornton, and V. C. Dunlap, "Flood-fallowing for Eradication of *Fusarium oxysporum* f. *cubense*: Effect of Flooding on Fungus Flora of Clay Loam Soils in Ulúa Valley, Honduras," *Soil Science* 76 (1952): 225–38.

¹⁰² Ellis argues that rising labor costs from 1947 to 1976 were matched by rising levels of productivity, but his own evidence shows that United's labor productivity rose by only 2 percent per year from 1947 to 1961, while it achieved nearly a 10 percent per year growth rate after the end of the Gros Michel era, from 1961 to 1976. Ellis, *Las transnacionales del banano*, 160–61. For Guatemalan banana worker militancy, see Forster "Reforging National Revolution." For Costa Rica, see Carlos Abarca Vásquez, "El movimiento huelguístico en Costa Rica" (Tesis de Grado, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1978). For Honduras, see Robert MacCameron, *Bananas, Labor and Politics in Honduras, 1954–1963* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1983); Marvin Barahona, ed., *El silencio quedó atrás: Testimonios de la huelga bananera de 1954* (Tegucigalpa, 1994). Bourgeois suggests that Panama's relative labor quiescence can be explained by the greater degree of ethnic division within its banana work force: *Ethnicity at Work*, 194–212, 223–27.

in 1951 to less than \$40 in 1957.¹⁰³ Most distressing for the company's management, failure to control Panama disease precipitated the loss of United's cherished monopoly in the North American banana trade.

As the company later acknowledged, UFCo's withdrawal from the "rehabilitation" of the Atlantic zone in Costa Rica was a key decision in its loss of control over banana markets and geographic space. United's only competitor in the U.S. market, Standard Fruit, a comparatively tiny firm whose isthmian land base was confined to a limited area in Honduras, had experimented with Panama disease-resistant Cavendish varieties since World War II. Finally, in the early 1950s, Standard developed a simple boxing procedure that would allow these easily bruised fruits to survive shipping. In 1956, Standard and the Costa Rican government came to an "extraordinarily rapid" agreement to allow the firm, and other companies as well, to reopen Limón to banana production with disease-resistant bananas.¹⁰⁴ A U.S. antitrust suit prevented UFCo from flexing its political muscle to squelch the challenge, and thus Standard finally broke out of Honduras, and United faced the specter of competitive banana production throughout Central America.

Nonetheless, United's "old-line" managers continued to argue that Standard's success was "a flash in the pan." Eventually, they maintained, anything other than Gros Michel bananas ripened on large stems "would be thrown out of the markets" by the U.S. jobbers and warehouses with whom they had fostered a relationship based on predictable ripening and standardized appearance.¹⁰⁵ A high-level manager in Honduras quipped that "varieties is a dirty word in Boston."¹⁰⁶ Ready to go to almost any length to impose its will on tropical soils, workers, and states, the United Fruit Company felt itself to be helpless in the face of perceived market preferences. United's management agonized for six more years, during which its profits deteriorated and more competitors entered the market, before following suit and replacing its Gros Michel cultivations with the resistant Cavendish variety "Valery." When the company finally bowed to the inevitable in 1962, the era of Panama disease came to an end (apparently), but the era of United Fruit's absolute dominance of the banana industry was already over.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ LaBarge, "United Fruit Company Operations," 129. "Natural" disasters such as floods and windstorms also contributed to United's losses during this period.

¹⁰⁴ Ellis, *Las transnacionales del banano*, 118–19. H. H. V. Hord, "The Conversion of Standard Fruit Company Banana Plantations from the Gros Michel to the Giant Cavendish Variety," *Tropical Agriculture* (Trinidad) 43 (October 1966): 271–74; Thomas L. Karnes, *Tropical Enterprise: The Standard Fruit and Steamship Company in Latin America* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978), 282–86.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas P. McCann, *An American Company: The Tragedy of United Fruit* (New York, 1976), 72. (McCann was a high-level UFCo manager from the late 1950s through the late 1960s.)

¹⁰⁶ LaBarge, "United Fruit Company Operations," 526. See also Henry B. Arthur, James P. Houck, and George L. Beckford, *Tropical Agribusiness Structures and Adjustments: Bananas* (Boston, 1968), 149–52.

¹⁰⁷ Seventeen years later, United's principal argument against further antitrust action was based on the "dramatic decline" of its "position as a holder and cultivator of tropical lands," following Standard's success with "varieties" in Costa Rica. "Because of the commercial success of variety bananas, the development of the box method of transporting and selling bananas, and other changes in the production situation . . . United's position in the market has sharply decreased since 1958 and the position of its competitors has improved." United Brands Corporation [UFCo's name after purchase by AMK Corporation in 1969], "Memorandum of United Brands Company with Respect to Articles VIII and IX of the Consent Judgement," March 29, 1971, U.S. Department of Justice, Anti-Trust Division, *United States vs. United Fruit Co.*, Civil No. 4560, File 60–166–56, 24.

IN A SENSE, THE REAL PROTAGONIST of this narrative has been hidden throughout most of its pages. *Fusarium oxysporum* f. *cubense*, the microscopic causal organism of Panama disease, humbled a multinational corporate giant whose economic, social, and political powers remain legendary in the Western Hemisphere. The company's search for a formula to achieve plantation "resistance" to Panama disease led to fundamental change in the organization and labor processes of banana production. As we have seen, United's management shared, for a time, its detractors' belief that "backward" and "wasteful" agricultural practices (the result, managers believed, of excessive reliance on the peasant techniques of plantation workers) were responsible for the epidemic. But their effort to respond by revolutionizing the industry's systems of production did not follow the wishes of nationalist critics but, rather, the logic of corporate rationality and managerial control. The company's ultimate inability to defeat the disease indicates the ironic, ecological limits of that logic.

The story of United Fruit's confrontation with Panama disease is unique only in that the disease's slow, sixty-year progress gave the company time to elaborate a variety of responses to it. United's size and market position allow us to understand those responses in relative isolation from the pressures of competition or lack of resources: an agro-ecological crisis in slow motion, faced by an archetypal agribusiness. Interrelationships among ecological forces, corporate culture, labor process, and labor conflict may thus deserve scrutiny in other regions' intensively managed agricultural sectors, where overarching theories of "Fordist" development, according to the logic of industrial capitalism alone, often do not adequately explain change. The "radical simplification" of agricultural ecologies in the cultivation of other commodity crops, such as cotton, sugar cane, and coffee, have also led to protracted struggles with pests and diseases. Attention to changing agronomic visions, technologies, and labor systems in these agricultural sectors may provide fruitful cases for comparison.¹⁰⁸

United's struggle with the epidemic is also important for understanding the political and social history of Central America, where resistance and accommodation to the multinational corporation have helped shape class relations, the development of nationalism, and the political order of the isthmus throughout most of the twentieth century. To cite a well-known example, the resurgence of Panama disease and the failure of control measures are crucial, neglected aspects of United's infamous support for the 1954 CIA-organized coup in Guatemala that halted redistribution of the company's land reserves.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the relationship

¹⁰⁸ For the role of insect pest problems in changing structures of regional cotton production, see Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco and Rice Cultures since 1880* (Urbana, Ill., 1985), 3–22, 239–55; Robert G. Williams, *Export Agriculture and the Crisis in Central America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 13–73. For technology and crop disease in twentieth-century industrial sugar production, see Alan Dye, *Cuban Sugar in the Age of Mass Production: Technology and the Economics of the Sugar Central, 1899–1929* (Stanford, Calif., 1998), 244–45. For coffee "rust" and the Latin American coffee industry, see R. H. Fulton, *Coffee Rust in the Americas* (St. Paul, Minn., 1984).

¹⁰⁹ For studies of the Guatemalan coup emphasizing United's role, see Alfonso Bauer Paiz, *Cómo opera el capital yanqui en Centroamérica: El caso de Guatemala* (Mexico City, 1956); Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Garden City, N.Y., 1982); Richard Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of*

suggested here between agro-ecological crisis and the timing and trajectory of labor protest has important implications for the history of social movements on the isthmus, where banana workers have often been at the forefront of twentieth-century popular struggles.¹¹⁰

On this level, as on others, Panama disease exposes the links between the labor history and the environmental history of the banana industry. At least for capitalist agricultural and extractive industries, environmental history and "labor process"-influenced labor history have much to offer one another.¹¹¹ Environmental historians have insightfully examined the changing relationship of society to nature in rural transitions to capitalism, yet the new class created by that transition, wage workers unattached to the land, largely drops out of their analyses.¹¹² Labor process analysts, on the other hand, working within the Marxist tradition, often seem to follow Marx in viewing nature as "fixed" after human labor transforms it, and thus neglect serious analysis of the dynamism of ecological change in agricultural and resource-based systems.¹¹³ Approaches synthesizing the insights of the two historiographies may prove valuable wherever managers simultaneously reduce nature and workers to somewhat untrustworthy "factors of production."¹¹⁴

Fusarium oxysporum f. *cubense* is not, however, a subject of merely historiographic and scholarly interest. Although the end of Gros Michel cultivation seemed to cut short the corporate and scientific search for control of Panama disease, it is now being renewed. In the late 1980s, previously non-susceptible Cavendish banana varieties in many parts of the world (though not yet in Latin America) began to succumb to a new *Fusarium* mutation. Many plant pathologists believe that Panama disease is again a threat to the global banana industry, and this time there is no

Intervention (Austin, Tex., 1982); Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (Princeton, N.J., 1991).

¹¹⁰ In addition to the many other secondary works on banana labor struggles cited above, see the country essays in Pablo González Casanova, ed., *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina 2: Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama* (Mexico City, 1985).

¹¹¹ For an innovative non-agricultural synthesis of environmental history and labor process theory, see Richard A. Rajala, *Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest: Production, Science, and Regulation* (Vancouver, 1998).

¹¹² For a critique of environmental studies literature along these same lines, see Richard White, "Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?" in William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York, 1995), 171-85. See also the critiques in a special issue of the journal *Antipode* devoted to Cronon's environmental history classic *Nature's Metropolis*, especially the remarks of Phillip Sanders and Sallie Marston, who note that Cronon's landscape is "disturbingly empty of the people who performed the labor that enabled the transformation that occurred." "William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis*, a Symposium," *Antipode* 26 (April 1994): 127.

¹¹³ Karl Marx, *Das Kapital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Serge Levitsky, ed. (Chicago, 1965), chap. 7: 1, pp. 146-47. Grossman, *Political Ecology of Bananas*, also criticizes this tendency among theorists of agricultural labor process and rural change, primarily with reference to the role of weather in agricultural systems: 211-12, 220-22. For an influential, Braverman-influenced study of agricultural labor process that suffers from neglect of the natural and ecological processes underlying agricultural production, offering "an analysis of the social organization of lettuce production in identical fashion as, for example, the making of automobiles," see William H. Friedland, Amy E. Barton, and Robert J. Thomas, *Manufacturing Green Gold: Capital, Labor and Technology in the Lettuce Industry* (New York, 1981), 6.

¹¹⁴ The equation of labor troubles and natural disaster is particularly striking in United's *Annual Reports* of the 1950s, in which strikes, disease losses, hurricanes, and floods are often discussed within the same paragraph, as fundamentally similar factors in corporate performance.

resistant commercializable cultivar.¹¹⁵ In the 1950s, the disease's extraordinary adaptability and persistence led the writer of that decade's standard text on banana cultivation to comment, "there is a sense in which the susceptible [variety] has generated its own pathogen."¹¹⁶ In other words, Panama disease can be seen as an ecological artifact of the enormous scale and genetic uniformity of banana production. We may thus (perhaps uncomfortably) view the fungus as an unlikely environmental locus of resistance to corporate agriculture's will to power.

The consequences of that will are now more visible than ever, in a banana plantation labor process that is literally poisoned. Even though chemical treatments for Panama disease were never successful, they were much sought after by the corps of scientists and technicians created for the battle against *Fusarium*. These researchers looked increasingly to chemical cures for every potential biological setback in banana production. From the 1950s through the 1990s, banana company agronomists resorted ever-more routinely to herbicides, insecticides, nematicides, and fungicide "cocktails" in plantation maintenance. In fact, their sophistication and collective expertise ultimately made them potent spokesmen for chemical control of pests in many sectors of tropical agriculture.¹¹⁷

Banana workers have paid a physical price for the industry's search for technological cures for agro-ecological problems. From 1938 to 1962, spraying by hand for sigatoka control probably damaged the respiratory systems of many thousands of plantation workers.¹¹⁸ In more recent years, rates of both acute and chronic pesticide poisoning among banana workers in Costa Rica (the only banana-producing country with meaningful data) have outstripped those of any other agricultural sector. The mass-sterilization of banana plantation workers in five producing countries by one pesticide became a cause célèbre among labor and environmental activists. The chemical responsible, DBCP, was applied from the 1960s through the early 1980s to combat nematode pests, to which *Fusarium*-resistant banana varieties are, ironically, particularly vulnerable.¹¹⁹ These human and environmental tragedies have, I believe, deep historical roots. Some of those

¹¹⁵ See the contributions of James J. Maoris and the old *Fusarium* fighter R. H. Stover to a conference held at the University of Florida Tropical Research Center in Miami, August 27–30, 1989: Randy C. Ploetz, ed., *Fusarial Wilt of Bananas* (St. Paul, Minn., 1990).

¹¹⁶ Simmonds, *Bananas*, 372.

¹¹⁷ One sign of the prestige of UFCo scientists can be seen in their participation in plant disease conferences and publications, where, amid papers from government agencies, university professors, and chemical industry researchers, theirs are the only submissions representing any agricultural producer. See Norwood C. Thornton, "Introduction," and "Pesticides in Banana Culture," in Thornton, ed., *Pesticides in Tropical Agriculture* (Washington, D.C., 1954); R. H. Stover, "Growth and Survival of Root-Disease Fungi in Soil," in C. S. Holton, G. W. Fischer, R. W. Fulton, Helen Hart, and S. E. A. McCallan, eds., *Plant Pathology: Problems and Progress, 1908–1958* (Madison, Wis., 1959), 339–55; E. J. Wehnt and D. I. Edwards, "Radopholus Similis and Other Nematode Species on Banana," in Grover C. Smart and V. C. Perry, *Tropical Nematology* (Gainesville, Fla., 1968), 1–19. See also the 1970s standard text on neotropical phytopathology, written by a scientist whose early work for UFCo on Panama disease led to prominent work for governmental and non-governmental organizations on diseases in other Latin American agro-export sectors: Wellman, *Tropical American Plant Disease*, xix–xx.

¹¹⁸ Author's research in progress. For a contemporary appraisal of the respiratory damage suffered by sigatoka control workers, see Ramón Amaya Amador's famous novel *Prisión verde* (1949; Comayagua, Honduras, 1993), 71–72. See also "Los Trabajadores del Spray," *Correo del Sur* (Golfito, Costa Rica), August 1, 1945.

¹¹⁹ Because Costa Rica does much more than other Central American republics to monitor public health, much of the data on health effects of pesticides on banana workers comes from that country, but there is no reason to believe that workers in other producing countries are less affected. See Jorge

roots are buried in Panama disease–infected soils.

N. Jiménez, *Plaguicidas y salud en las bananeras de Costa Rica* (San José, 1995), 81, 91; Alfredo E. Vergara, "Agrichemical Injuries in Banana Plantations in Costa Rica: A Study of Neurobehavior and Other Health Effects" (PhD dissertation, University of Iowa, 1993); Lori Ann Thrupp, "The Political Ecology of Pesticide Use in Developing Countries: Dilemmas in the Banana Sector of Costa Rica" (PhD dissertation, University of Sussex, 1988); Karen Brown and Lori Ann Thrupp, "The Human Guinea Pigs of Rio Frio: Standard Fruit Keeps Its Eye on the Bottom Line," *The Progressive* (April 1991): 28–30.

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Popular Films and Colonial Audiences: The Movies in Northern Rhodesia

CHARLES AMBLER

DURING THE 1940s AND 1950s, NO VISITOR to the coppermining cities of colonial Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) in central Africa could escape the visible marks of the impact of American films.¹ In the vast company compounds that housed the African miners and their families on the Copperbelt, groups of African boys, "dressed in home-made paper 'chaps' and cowboy hats, and carrying crudely carved wooden pistols," were a ubiquitous presence running through the streets and alleys in endless games of cowboys and Indians. Others appeared "more sinister, . . . with a black mask over the eyes and a wooden dagger in the belt." As they engaged in their mock battles, they could be heard shouting, "Jeke, Jeke," a local corruption of "Jack," the universal term among urban moviegoers in the British central African colonies for the heroes of cowboy films.² In the same streets, young men affected styles of dress that plainly showed the influence of westerns and gangster films—ten-gallon hats, kerchiefs, and so forth.³

This phenomenon of "Copperbelt Cowboys" and its manifestation in urban areas across much of British-ruled Africa vividly demonstrates the rapid and pervasive penetration of mythic Hollywood screen imagery into even remote corners of the empire.⁴ In the early 1950s, the industrial development of the Copperbelt, and the concomitant creation of urban settlements, was scarcely two decades old; even those who regarded themselves as permanent town residents still had strong ties to

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¹ The British colony of Northern Rhodesia became Zambia at independence in 1964. During the 1950s, Northern Rhodesia was linked with Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi) in a Central African Federation dominated by white settler interests.

² H. Franklin, "The Central African Screen," *Colonial Cinema* 8 (December 1950): 85. "Jack" was supposedly a tribute to the actor Jack Holt. Also see "The Cinema in Northern Rhodesia," *Colonial Cinema* 2 (June 1944): 22.

³ R. J. Allanson to Director, Department of Information, Lusaka, January 27, 1956, National Archives of Zambia (hereafter, NAZ), Sec. 5/16, I, no. 88.

⁴ According to a 1956 survey, in Dar es Salaam "there has grown up, as elsewhere in East Africa, the cult of the cowboy . . . The young man . . . soon acquires the idioms of tough speech, the slouch, the walk of the 'dangerous' man of the films; the ever-popular Western films teach him." J. A. K. Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam* (London, 1963), 112; and see Rob Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond* (New York, 1994), 31–35.

the countryside.⁵ Yet, by the late 1930s, film shows, known locally as “the bioscope,” were a well-established feature of life in the copper-mining towns and company compounds. Thousands of women, men, and children crowded into enclosed open-air cinemas each week to watch film programs that mixed entertainment and current events;⁶ and many young town dwellers were avid bioscope fans, valuing films above all other forms of entertainment.⁷ For people caught up in the dramatic development of urban and industrial communities, the popularity of films clearly represented something more than the superficial appropriation of global media jetsam. The remarkable persistence of Copperbelt audiences in their affection for cowboy films and the styles derived from them draws attention not only to the apparently inexorable dispersion of elements of Western popular culture but also to the deeper processes of media globalization.⁸

This essay takes up the history of film entertainment in Northern Rhodesia in order to explore the broad question of the transmission and reception of Western mass culture in the context of colonialism. The story of moviegoing in Northern Rhodesia places in particularly sharp relief issues defining the movement and appropriation of media images as they travel across the boundaries of culture, ethnicity, and race—in this case, the profound economic and cultural chasm that separated African residents of the Copperbelt from the centers of media production in the United States and Britain. The people who eagerly attended outdoor cinemas on the Copperbelt generally had had little if any formal education; not many had traveled outside the territory; most were little educated to the symbols, customary behaviors, and settings that contextualized these films for Western audiences or even for relatively better-off and better-educated Africans across southern Africa. Certainly, few moviegoers had sufficient knowledge of colloquial spoken American or British English to comprehend the dialogue—even if it had been discernable in the noisy atmosphere that characterized these film shows.⁹ In any case, censors had cut films shown on the Copperbelt to ensure that African audiences were not exposed to images or story lines that they imagined might

⁵ For an introduction to the large literature on the history of the Copperbelt, see Jane L. Parpart, *Labor and Capital on the African Copperbelt* (Philadelphia, 1983).

⁶ Already by the early 1930s, twice-weekly film shows at the Roan Antelope Compound in Luanshya drew an average attendance of more than a thousand. Charles W. Coulter, “The Sociological Problem,” in *Modern Industry and the African*, J. Merle Davis, ed. (London, 1933), 72.

⁷ Hortense Powdermaker, *Copper Town: Changing Africa; The Human Situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt* (New York, 1962), 227. In the District Six neighborhood of Cape Town, movies were “unquestionably the most popular form of paid entertainment in the inter-war years.” Bill Nasson, “‘She Preferred Living in a Cave with Harry the Snake-catcher’: Towards an Oral History of Popular Leisure and Class Expression in District Six, Cape Town, c. 1920s–1950s,” in *Holding Their Ground: Class, Locality and Culture in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century South Africa*, Philip Bonner, Isabel Hofmeyr, Deborah James, and Tom Lodge, eds. (Johannesburg, 1989), 286.

⁸ The globalized power of the media and its role in transmitting American culture is probably more assumed than it is studied. For an exception, see Peter Manuel, *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India* (Chicago, 1993), esp. 2–18. In practice, the study of media “development” in Africa has been shaped by assumptions associated with modernization theory. See, for example, Graham Mytton, *Mass Communication in Africa* (London, 1983), 4–18; and Robert L. Stevenson, *Communication, Development, and the Third World: The Global Politics of Information* (New York, 1988). For critical evaluation of debates about media globalism, see John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (Baltimore, 1991), 34–67; and Jonathan Friedman, *Cultural Identity and Global Process* (London, 1994), 195–232.

⁹ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 259.

inspire challenge to the white supremacist colonial order—a tall order, given the violent rituals that characterize the plot of a typical western.¹⁰ The resulting celluloid butchery apparently left many movies devoid of discernable narrative. One official noted in 1956, “many films which you may have seen are sadly lacking in continuity.”¹¹ Most members of the audience could therefore make little sense of film plotlines and consequently experienced these movies in quite different ways than did moviegoers in North America. If censorship and noise obscured plots and dialogue, what was it, then, that drew African filmgoers to Hollywood westerns, and how did these filmgoers comprehend or consume these films across the sharp cultural and class divide between filmmaker and filmgoer?

Movies emerged as popular entertainment in Northern Rhodesia at the same time that social critics in the United States and Western Europe began to give serious attention to the impact of films on “impressionable” audiences—chiefly youths, immigrants, and the urban poor. Scholars linked to the Frankfurt School argued that movies constituted a kind of trivial mass deception;¹² while in more concrete terms, studies like those of the Payne Fund on “Motion Pictures and Youth” accumulated data to document charges that movies encouraged antisocial behavior among young people, sustaining debates about the impact of media that still thrive.¹³ The rise of movie attendance in the 1930s inspired many white residents of the Copperbelt and more than a few prominent Africans to express similar concerns—about what they saw as the negative and potentially dangerous effects of the products of Hollywood on the impressionable African youths who festooned themselves with cowboy gear.¹⁴ Because censors in both South Africa and Northern Rhodesia had reviewed and often cut the films that were approved for African audiences, such worries were presumably exaggerated.¹⁵ But if attempts to link filmgoing to criminality, a decline in deference, the erosion of traditional values, and sexual violence strain credulity, the popular passion for these films that persisted among urban youths for several decades was nevertheless a remarkable sign of the strong engagement of urban audiences with films. Yet scholars have largely ignored the complicated interplay between African audiences and popular films.¹⁶

Researchers have focused instead on the post-independence emergence of local filmmakers and indigenous cinema and on the representation of Africa in films, but the important body of work they have produced does not, for the most part, touch on the impact of Hollywood films, or other forms of popular media, in African

¹⁰ NAZ, Sec. 2/1121, “Censorship of Films for Natives, 1932–48,” and subsequent files.

¹¹ Response to Mr. R. J. Allanson, February 28, 1956, NAZ, Sec. 5/16, no. 88.

¹² Alan O’Shea, “What a Day for a Daydream: Modernity, Cinema and the Popular Imagination in the Late Twentieth Century,” in *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity*, Mica Nava and O’Shea, eds. (London, 1996), 243–45.

¹³ See, for example, Herbert Blumer, *Movies and Conduct* (New York, 1933). The tendency to look for sources of violence and antisocial behavior in the media is noted in a recent analysis in the *New York Times*, “Rampage Killers: A Statistical Portrait,” April 8, 2000.

¹⁴ Franklin, “Central African Screen,” 87.

¹⁵ NAZ, Sec. 2/1121, “Censorship of Films for Natives, 1932–48,” and subsequent files.

¹⁶ Although not centrally concerned with film, Debra Spitulnik, “Anthropology and Mass Media,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 293–315, provides an effective introduction to some of the theoretical assumptions shaping media studies on Africa.

communities or other societies shaped by colonialism.¹⁷ The paucity of scholarship addressing the global impact of popular films reflects a notable inattention in film studies generally to film reception across race, ethnic, national, class, generational, and gender lines.¹⁸ Standard accounts of the history of movies in the United States, for example, typically pay little attention to audience and especially to audience diversity.¹⁹ This apparent lack of serious concern among film historians and other scholars for the process of film consumption contrasts markedly to the continuing prominence in political and moral discourse—in circumstances as diverse as the United States and Northern Rhodesia—of the dangers that certain kinds of films supposedly represent to the social and moral order. Instead, scholarship on cinema in Africa, like most of film studies, concentrates on a detailed, almost textual, analysis of individual movies or movie genres as autonomous products, an approach that has tended to privilege the scholar-critic as the arbiter of film meaning and effectively dismisses the audience as irrelevant or assumes its passive reception of a film's putative message.²⁰

The traditional orientation of film scholarship toward critical analysis of individual films has sustained a substantial scholarly literature analyzing representation—typically of suppressed or marginal groups, including Africans, whose distorted image in film has been documented by Peter Davis's *In Darkest Hollywood* and a number of other important studies.²¹ Interestingly, scholars have given much less attention to how moviemakers have represented mainstream Western culture (unless one refers to the "Wild West") to groups or societies outside that mainstream, for example, immigrants in American cities or the residents of colonial southern and central Africa.²² Certainly, scholars have ignored or avoided the fascinating question of how such oppressed people interpreted the West through the prism of popular Hollywood movies.²³ Film scholarship has tended not only to dodge the issue of audience response to popular cinema but also has typically

¹⁷ A partial exception is Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*. The key critical work on African film is Manthia Diawara, *African Cinema: Politics and Culture* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992). See also Imruh Bakari and Mbye B. Cham, eds., *African Experiences of Cinema* (London, 1996). Few locally produced films have reached large audiences. As one scholar's title recently lamented, "African Films Are Foreigners in Their Own Countries." Emmanuel Sama, in Bakari and Cham, 148–56.

¹⁸ Robert Stam and Louise Spence, "Colonialism, Racism and Representation: An Introduction," *Screen* 24 (1983): 4–20.

¹⁹ For example, Douglas Gomery's recent book includes only one brief section on audiences, where he addresses the controversy that erupted over silence policies in new theaters in central Washington, D.C., in the late 1980s. The discussion includes no reference to the age, gender, or racial make-up of those audiences. Gomery, *Shared Pleasures: A History of Movie Presentation in the United States* (Madison, Wis., 1992), 117–18.

²⁰ Thus Steven J. Ross, *Working-Class Hollywood: Silent Film and the Shaping of Class in America* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), draws attention to a forgotten genre of overtly political silent films, while showing how technological change encouraged the domination of mainstream Hollywood films. See also Elizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (Cambridge, 1990), 100–57.

²¹ Peter Davis, *In Darkest Hollywood: Exploring the Jungles of Cinema's South Africa* (Athens, Ohio, 1996); and Kenneth M. Cameron, *Africa on Film: Beyond Black and White* (New York, 1994). Also see Matthew Bernstein and Gaylyn Studlar, eds., *Visions of the East: Orientalism in Film* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1997).

²² Jacquelyn Kilpatrick, *Celluloid Indians: Native Americans and Film* (Lincoln, Neb., 1999).

²³ Cynthia Erb raises some of the critical theoretical issues in *Tracking King Kong: A Hollywood Icon in World Culture* (Detroit, 1998) but does not move beyond close interpretive readings of various versions of the story.

avoided analysis of the characteristically cinematic elements of such films—the very elements that apparently drew residents of Northern Rhodesian towns to the theaters week after week.²⁴ Instead, film scholars have most often “read” films almost as conventional literary narratives—in effect, as scripts disengaged from film images and techniques.²⁵ These readings embody a contradiction that links film scholars in an ironic intellectual alliance with those who demanded movie censorship. Both scholars and censors have confidently extracted the putative narrative meanings of films, largely ignoring the visual images that convey those narratives, while at the same time investing the film medium with transcendent didactic power rooted in those same dazzling visual qualities.²⁶

Imperial propagandists likewise became convinced that films invested with appropriate narrative messages could bolster loyalty to the empire and promote colonial “development” objectives. These rather feeble efforts at propaganda films have nevertheless attracted considerably more interest from scholars than the Hollywood fare.²⁷ Like most film studies, this scholarship generally incorporates a textual determinism that effectively marginalizes the audience.²⁸ Yet, in practice, and notwithstanding the best efforts of paternalistic imperial bureaucrats, African moviegoers generally had little patience for films on postal savings banks, “Better Hides and Skins,” and proper teeth-brushing procedures.²⁹ For them, movies meant the bioscope—the high-action products of Hollywood dream factories.³⁰

²⁴ Stam and Spence, “Colonialism, Racism and Representation,” 4–20. For example, Norman K. Denzin, *The Cinematic Society: The Voyeur's Gaze* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1995), turns out not to be about the position of audiences regarding cinematic images but is instead an account of the representation of voyeurs in specific films.

²⁵ Raymond Williams criticized such textual determinism, apparently with little impact. See Philip Corrigan, “Film Entertainment as Ideology and Pleasure: A Preliminary Approach to a History of Audiences,” in *British Cinema History*, James Curran and Vincent Porter, eds. (Totowa, N.J., 1983), 24. Also see Shaun Moores, *Interpreting Audiences: The Ethnography of Media Consumption* (London, 1993), 6; Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 3–7; and David Bordwell, *Narration in Fiction Film* (Madison, Wis., 1985), esp. 29.

²⁶ This critique might be extended to the scholarship on the representation of history in film. See Robert A. Rosenstone, ed., *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); and Tony Barta, ed., *Screening the Past: Film and the Representation of History* (Westport, Conn., 1998).

²⁷ Rosaleen Smyth, “The British Colonial Film Unit and Sub-Saharan Africa, 1939–1945,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 8 (1988): 285–98; Smyth, “Movies and Mandarins: The Official Film and British Colonial Africa,” in Curran and Porter, *British Cinema History*, 129–43; Smyth, “The Development of British Colonial Film Policy, 1927–1939, with Special Reference to East and Central Africa,” *Journal of African History* 20 (1979): 437–50; Smyth, “The Central African Film Unit's Images of Empire, 1948–1963,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 3 (1983): 131–47; Smyth, “The Feature Film in Tanzania,” *African Affairs* 88 (July 1989): 389–96.

²⁸ A partial exception is Megan Vaughan, “‘Seeing Is Believing’: Colonial Health Education Films and the Question of Identity,” in Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Oxford, 1991), 180–99.

²⁹ “Films for the Colonies,” *Corona* 1 (June 1949): 20. Even the officials charged with organizing film shows for circulation in rural areas acknowledged the need to include some “suitable” commercial entertainment films to make the propaganda palatable. W. Sellers, “Mobile Cinema Shows in Africa,” *Colonial Cinema* 9 (September 1950): 77–78.

³⁰ Surprisingly, the growing literature on the social and cultural history of southern African urban communities, including studies of sports, drinking, and popular theater and music, largely ignores the bioscope, which novels and memoirs make clear formed a vibrant element of town life. See, for example, Ezekiel [Es'kia] Mphahlele, *Down Second Avenue* (London, 1959), and *Afrika My Music: An Autobiography, 1957–1983* (Johannesburg, 1984); Modikwe Dikobe, *The Marabi Dance* (London, 1973); and Godfrey Moloi, *My Life: Volume One* (Johannesburg, 1987). The social historian Bill Nasson suggests some of the possibilities in “‘She Preferred Living in a Cave,’” 285–309, esp. 287–95.

Empirical observations about the experience of watching movies in Northern Rhodesia converge persuasively with a new scholarship that argues for a radical rethinking of the complicated relationship between viewer and subject that would embed the reception of "film texts" in specific historical circumstances. Locating the history of the bioscope in this way implies shifting the perspective from the films themselves, and the objectives of those controlling their distribution and exhibition, and instead focusing attention on audiences. Such an emphasis on spectatorship requires in turn exploring the "cultures" of film viewing and extending the meanings of a film in networks of information transmission beyond the theater; cinema becomes, in other words, "a particular public sphere . . . a space where viewing communities are constructed in a way that involves both acculturation to social ideals and the affirmation of marginality."³¹ This new literature on spectatorship, rooted in feminist scholarship, is strangely silent, however, on issues of race, culture, and class.³² The work that purports to explore the racial dimensions of spectatorship is in fact mostly concerned with isolating stereotypical imagery in films whose subject matter is identifiably race rather than reading the reception of mass-audience films in race-conscious or culture-conscious terms.³³ Still, the impulse that has led scholars to feminist readings of audience engagement with horror films holds considerable promise for analysis of the often raucous outdoor film showings that were regular features of the urban landscape of Northern Rhodesia during the 1940s and 1950s.³⁴ Just as women and men may experience the apparently misogynist themes and images of horror movies in ways that confound confident assumptions, so, too, African audiences seem to have appropriated elements of westerns and other action movies in ways that subverted the narrative and racially defined principles of censorship. The recent and dramatic growth of the distribution of imported videocassettes across Africa has attracted a few scholars to the complex phenomenon of audience response to popular films.³⁵ Whether

³¹ Judith Mayne, *Cinema and Spectatorship* (London, 1993), 8–9, 17, 65. Also see Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, 3–5.

³² Linda Williams, ed., *Viewing Positions: Ways of Seeing Film* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1995). But see the essays in the section on "Black Spectatorship," in *Black American Cinema*, Manthia Diawara, ed. (New York, 1993), 211–302. Some of the work on early film audiences in North America and Europe has focused attention on perspectives of working-class and immigrant audiences. See Judith Thissen, "Jewish Immigrant Audiences in New York City (1907–1914)," in *American Movie Audiences: From the Turn of the Century to the Early Sound Era*, Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1999), 15–28; and Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870–1920* (Cambridge, 1983), 191–221.

³³ For example, E. Ann Kaplan, "Film and History: Spectatorship, Transference, and Race," in *History and Histories within the Human Sciences*, Ralph Cohen and Michael S. Roth, eds. (Charlottesville, Va., 1995), 179–208. Also see Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation," *Framework* 36 (1989): 68–81.

³⁴ For example, Carol J. Clover, *Men, Women and Chain Saws: Gender in the Modern Horror Film* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); and Barbara Creed, *The Monstrous-Feminine: Film, Feminism, Psychoanalysis* (London, 1993). The issues raised by these scholars have not yet made their way into studies of filmgoing in Africa. The special issue of *Matatu* 19 (1997) devoted to "Women and African Cinema" includes no article that explores the female film audience or interprets spectatorship in gendered terms.

³⁵ For the role of imported videos in local cultures, see Minou Fuglesang, *Veils and Videos: Female Youth Culture on the Kenyan Coast* (Stockholm, 1994); and Brian Larkin, "Indian Films and Nigerian Lovers: Media and the Creation of Parallel Modernities," *Africa* 67 (1997): 406–40. Most of the work on video concentrates on local production and distribution and on the analysis of video film content. The most important studies are Onookome Okome and Jonathan Haynes, *Cinema and Social Change in West Africa* (Jos, Nigeria, 1995); and Jonathan Haynes, ed., *Nigerian Video Films* (Jos, 1997).

exploring the popularity of Indian movies among audiences in northern Nigeria or the appeal of romance films to secluded Muslim women on the Kenya coast, this work focuses attention on the complicated processes through which films are seen across cultural divisions.³⁶ Likewise, audiences on the Copperbelt in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s were by no means passive consumers of cinema. They absorbed exotic images and discussed the actions and motivations of characters, but they also appropriated and reinterpreted film images and action in their own terms. To the young women and men who flocked to film shows on the Copperbelt, the often disjointed and exotic images of the "Wild West" that Hollywood films conveyed comprised a crucial repertoire of images through which to engage notions of modernity—a vital concern for residents of this industrial frontier.³⁷

IN THE NETWORKS OF FILM DISTRIBUTION, the Northern Rhodesian mining district lay on the extreme margins, a distant outpost for a South African distributor.³⁸ The introduction and spread of film entertainment in Northern Rhodesia followed rapidly on the development of the copper mining industry in the late 1920s, as colonial officials and mine management sought to provide "appropriate" leisure activities for an African work force that was for the most part unaccustomed to the temporal and spatial constraints of industrial employment. After the first public film showing in 1928, the bioscope spread steadily across the Copperbelt.³⁹ By the mid-1930s, tens of thousands of Africans lived in municipal African townships and mining company residential compounds in the mining district, and cinema shows had become a commonplace feature of town life.⁴⁰ Through the 1930s, British and American silent films dominated screens, but by 1935 the paucity of silents in distribution had forced the mine companies to introduce sound.⁴¹ World War II brought a rapid expansion of film showings across the British Empire under the aegis of the Colonial Film Unit, as imperial officials strove to mobilize support for

³⁶ Martin Allor, "Relocating the Site of the Audience," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 5 (1988): 217–33, traces the development of theoretical approaches to the relationship between medium and audience.

³⁷ According to Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz, "Cinema, as it developed in the late nineteenth century, became the fullest expression and combination of modernity's attributes." "Introduction," *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, Charney and Schwartz, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 1; also, 1–3. For a stimulating analysis of ideas of "the modern," see Nestor Garcia Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (Minneapolis, 1995 [Spanish edition, 1989]). The reception of film images was linked as well to the development of a mass-consumption economy. See Timothy Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (Durham, N.C., 1996).

³⁸ F. Spearpoint, Compound Manager, Roan Antelope Mine, Luanshya, to General Manager, October 2, 1935, "Films for Compound Bioscope," RACM WMA/94, 204.2, Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines, Archives, Ndola (hereafter, ZCCM); and "Film in Northern Rhodesia," *Colonial Cinema* 11 (December 1953): 81.

³⁹ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 255.

⁴⁰ Commissioner, Northern Rhodesia Civil Police, to Chief Secretary, August 22, 1932, NAZ, Sec. 2/1121, no. 1; and "Cinema in Northern Rhodesia," *Colonial Cinema* 2 (June 1944): 22. The Copperbelt became the site of intensive social scientific research carried on by scholars affiliated with the Rhodes Livingstone Institute, including A. L. Epstein, J. C. Mitchell, J. A. Barnes, and Gordon Wilson. See Epstein, *Urbanization and Kinship: The Domestic Domain on the Copperbelt of Zambia, 1950–1956* (London, 1981).

⁴¹ Spearpoint, "Films for Compound Bioscope."

the war effort.⁴² In 1942, the Northern Rhodesia Information Service began a mobile cinema service in the countryside.⁴³ In 1944, when the African population of the entire territory numbered about 1.3 million, approximately 17,000 Africans saw films each week in the established municipal and mine-company cinemas; in addition, the mobile cinema van reached about 80,000 people during the year.⁴⁴ By 1947, the film library had expanded to 650 titles, and six mobile units and fifteen outdoor theaters provided films to Africans in Northern Rhodesia; seventeen private exhibitors also showed movies from time to time.⁴⁵ Thus, by the 1950s, a large segment of the African population in Northern Rhodesia had some knowledge and experience of films, and an established audience of filmgoers had emerged in towns.⁴⁶

The government recognized the development of a local movie audience by launching "The Northern Spotlight," a 35-millimeter current events magazine series, and by permitting the establishment of film societies and film showings in clubs.⁴⁷ These efforts to reach an influential segment of the African population coincided with the emergence of bitter opposition among Africans in Northern Rhodesia to the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland into a Central African Federation dominated by white settlers, with a broader campaign by the mining companies and the state to nurture a privileged class of relatively well-paid and well-educated African workers.⁴⁸ Commercial indoor movie theaters in Northern Rhodesia, however, remained reserved for whites, and regulations thwarted even private showings of films for groups that included both whites and Africans, until all public facilities were desegregated in 1960 in anticipation of majority rule.⁴⁹

The mythology of the birth of film celebrates stories of spectators screaming and running from auditoriums in terror at the destruction of the distinction between the real and imaginary that motion pictures putatively represented. Film historian Tom Gunning has argued that vivid and exaggerated early accounts, and the persistent theoretical assumptions drawn from these stories, have typically portrayed early film showings as the dramatic confrontations of naifs with a frightening unknown force, replicating "a state usually attributed to savages in their primal encounter with the advanced technology of Western colonialists, howling and fleeing in

⁴² "The Colonial Film Unit," *Colonial Cinema* 5 (June 1947): 27–31; and African Film Library Purchasing Committee, List of Films Purchased, 1942, NAZ, Sec. 2/1122, 84/1.

⁴³ Note for Finance Committee, May 29, 1945, NAZ, Sec. 2/1121 (5), no. 245; and "Cinema in Northern Rhodesia," 22.

⁴⁴ "Cinema in Northern Rhodesia," 22.

⁴⁵ *Colonial Cinema* 6 (September 1948): 56–57.

⁴⁶ Extract, January 6, 1956, ZCCM, RACM WMA/94, 204.2 (2).

⁴⁷ "Film in Northern Rhodesia," 82. For discussion of the development of clubs generally, see Charles Ambler, "Alcohol and the Control of Labor on the Copperbelt," in *Liquor and Labor in Southern Africa*, Jonathan Crush and Ambler, eds. (Athens, Ohio, 1992), 352.

⁴⁸ District Commissioner Mufulira to Provincial Commissioner, Ndola, December 23, 1954, NAZ, Sec. 5/16 (3), no. 53/1. Frederick Cooper connects these local policies to broad questions of labor and decolonization in *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996), 336–48.

⁴⁹ Extract from *Central African Post*, November 5, 1956, NAZ, Sec. 5/16, no. 107A; Rev. George Shaw (Member, Film Censorship Board), February 23, 1960, and J. V. Savanhu (Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Race Affairs), March 18, 1960, in Enclosed File, "Film Censorship: Evidence Submitted to Federal Working Party, 1960," NAZ, Sec. 5/15, 16.

impotent terror before the power of the machine.”⁵⁰ Gunning effectively situates these early film shows as a “cinema of attractions” in a history of spectacle. He persuasively rereads the myths of reactions to moving images of onrushing trains “allegorically rather than mythically,” arguing that “screams of terror and delight were well prepared for by both showmen and audience.”⁵¹ Audiences in the mining compounds and at rural film shows experienced films in much the same way as European audiences at the turn of the century. The movies shown in Paris and New York at that time aimed to amaze—like the magic shows that preceded them—not to tell stories. By 1905, narrative films had entirely supplanted this early genre, but, exported to Northern Rhodesia and shown in censored form, mainstream movies were often perceived viscerally as a disconnected series of exotic, exciting, and frighteningly pleasurable images and special effects. At film shows on the Copperbelt, the audience members continually engaged in the action: “men, women, and children rose to their feet in excitement, bending forward and flexing their muscles with each blow the cowboys gave. The shouting could be heard several miles away.”⁵² Accounts of film showings invariably emphasize the enthusiasm of audiences, but they provide little evidence of the existence of “primitive” machine terror.⁵³ African audiences may have had no specific experience of magic attractions, but they could nevertheless locate films in an indigenous tradition of plays and other kinds of performances and enjoy them in the context of a storytelling tradition that was by no means rooted in linear narrative.⁵⁴

If audiences seem in fact to have rapidly accommodated film technology, colonial cinema policy (not to mention modern cinema scholarship) remained rooted in deeply held assumptions about the powerful, emotional effect of films on Africans. Even as late as 1960, when the colonial government was attempting, against considerable settler resistance, to engineer a transition to majority rule, many white colonial officials remained absolutely convinced of the continued need to censor films on a racial basis. When Harry Franklin, longtime director of information in Northern Rhodesia, had the temerity to argue, “the idea that the white female leg or the safe blowing crackman shown on the screen encourages Africans more than any other people to immorality or crime is outmoded,” the official reviewing the memorandum penciled in defiantly, “But it’s still true.”⁵⁵

Ironically, it was educated people, both European and African, rather than the general African audience, who were most dazzled by the medium and convinced of its powerful potential for harm and good. In 1960, an African government official could still aggressively defend racial censorship in public testimony, citing the

⁵⁰ See Tom Gunning, “An Aesthetic of Astonishment: Early Film and the (In)Credulous Spectator” [1989], rpt. in L. Williams, *Viewing Positions*, 114–33, 115.

⁵¹ Gunning, “Aesthetic of Astonishment,” 129.

⁵² Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 258.

⁵³ “Cinema in Northern Rhodesia,” 22.

⁵⁴ Harry Franklin (former Director, Northern Rhodesia Information Service), February 12, 1960, “Film Censorship: Evidence Submitted to Federal Working Party,” NAZ, Sec. 5/15, 16. Vanessa Schwartz argues in a study of early film audiences in Paris that “cinema’s spectators brought to the cinematic experience modes of viewing which were cultivated in a variety of cultural activities and practices.” “Cinematic Spectatorship before the Apparatus: The Public Taste for Reality in ‘Fin-de-Siècle’ Paris,” in Charney and Schwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, 298.

⁵⁵ Franklin, February 12, 1960, “Film Censorship: Evidence Submitted to Federal Working Party,” NAZ, Sec. 5/15, 16.

deleterious impact of "scenes of crime or violence being shown to the unsophisticated, uneducated mass of the African people." He went on to assert: "such films have an adverse effect emotionally . . . The primitive African is always being told of the advantages of assimilating Western Civilisation, but when he sees Europeans in a film indulging in sexual and criminal misbehavior doubts are raised in his mind."⁵⁶ Even if, in retrospect, it seems laughable that the state would have found it necessary to protect African audiences from *Fitness Wins the Game* or *The Lavender Hill Mob* (1951),⁵⁷ the assumptions that sustained such actions and the criticisms of them inscribe critical debates about the relationship between the nature of film media on the one hand and on the other the evolution of class and race difference. Moreover, the practice of censorship had a direct, material effect on the actual experience of film attendance, while the ideas that shaped the practice provide an essential context for reading the accounts of African filmgoing—texts that were largely the product of white officials and observers and that often took the form of ritualized encounters of "the primitive" and technology.⁵⁸ Thus a white businessman proposing the establishment of commercial cinemas for Africans in the 1950s noted casually that, "from a health point of view," it was essential such film shows be in the open air.⁵⁹ Similarly, a description of mobile cinema shows in Northern Rhodesia in 1950 contained the warning that "on no account should an attempt be made to give a demonstration in a confined space unless the attendance can be effectively controlled. The larger the space the better."⁶⁰ These concerns about space reveal plainly the imminence of danger that Europeans saw in film shows for Africans, where it was imagined that emotional surges provoked by moving images might inspire irrational, immoral, or criminal acts.⁶¹

From the very beginning of film showing in the early 1930s, government officials insisted on some form of race-defined censorship; in the late 1930s, as the number of film showings increased quickly, they created a special board to censor films for African audiences.⁶² The principles that governed the board's actions flowed from a number of sometimes contradictory formulations of the interplay between African audiences and film. Employers and many government officials held that only "action" could hold the interest of African spectators and that settings and meaningful plotlines were often irrelevant.⁶³ Such officials regarded action movies

⁵⁶ J. V. Savanhu, March 18, 1960, "Film Censorship: Evidence Submitted to Federal Working Party," NAZ, Sec. 5/15, 16.

⁵⁷ African Film Library Purchasing Committee, List of Films Purchased, 1942, NAZ, Sec. 2/1122, no. 84/1; and extract from *Northern News*, May 9, 1957, NAZ, Sec. 5/16, no. 170.

⁵⁸ Louis Nell, "The Mobile Cinema in Northern Rhodesia," *Colonial Cinema* 6 (June 1948): 44.

⁵⁹ H. Stelling, Chingola to Committee for Local Government, March 16, 1955, NAZ, Sec. 5/16 (3), no. 69/1.

⁶⁰ Sellers, "Mobile Cinema Shows in Africa," 80.

⁶¹ These concerns, of course, resemble fears inspired by immigrant, working-class, and youth audiences in the United States and Europe. See Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will*, 191–215. Recent public debates about theater location and selection of films in contemporary American cities reveal the persistence of assumptions about the effects of movies on racially and age-defined audiences. *New York Times*, December 28, 1998, and January 31, 1999.

⁶² District Commissioner Kitwe to Provincial Commissioner, November 25, 1937, NAZ, Sec. 2/1121 (2), no. 54/1.

⁶³ Letter from Interested Citizens, February 8, 1960, "Film Censorship: Evidence Submitted to Federal Working Party," NAZ, Sec. 5/15, 16; and Memorandum on Native Film Censorship, December 12, 1947, Sec. 2/1121 (7), no. 348.

as “healthy amusement” for urban workers and could be contemptuous of those who saw the entire genre as lacking in value or even as dangerous.⁶⁴ By contrast, the activities of the Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment (BECE) and subsequent experiments with educational film were rooted in an opposing perspective.⁶⁵ As early as 1932, the report of an investigation of conditions on the Copperbelt sponsored by the International Missionary Council waxed rapturous on the possibilities that Soviet media campaigns had demonstrated for Christian education and development through film. Mesmerized by the power of film, and in particular the power of film over “primitive” audiences, those involved in the BECE and its successors like the Colonial Film Unit believed deeply in the educational and development potential of film and were profoundly disturbed by what they believed to be the economic and social consequences of the popularity of commercial movies.⁶⁶ During its brief existence between 1935 and 1937, the Carnegie-funded BECE concentrated on the production of didactic “entertainment” films with local settings and actors that would be shown especially in rural areas in British East Africa and central Africa.⁶⁷

The development of programs of educational film distribution in Northern Rhodesia and other British African colonies incorporated a distinctly imperial theory of African visual cognition that surfaced repeatedly in the pages of the official periodical, *Colonial Cinema*. An article published in 1943 emphasized that, to gain and maintain the attention of the African audience, a filmmaker had to employ a “technique which is skillfully related to the psychology of the African.” That meant that images had to be “needle sharp” and subjects correspondingly straightforward. Above all, it was critical that “tricks” used in filmmaking to convey elapsed time or to shift scene be avoided:

visual continuity from scene to scene should be sustained. Every new shot without a visual link with its predecessor starts another train of thought which may exclude everything that has gone before . . . To the illiterate such a technique leads to utter confusion; their minds are not sufficiently versatile to comprehend these swift and sudden changes.⁶⁸

Similarly, films that framed a distance shot of a moving boat with a swaying tree branch closer up would supposedly confuse African filmgoers, who would focus on the moving branch rather than the boat.⁶⁹ Certainly, the BECE placed particular emphasis on the importance of using recognizable film settings and avoiding exotic locales, a perspective maintained by the officials of the Colonial Film Unit: “Fun and games in the snow do not look so funny to an audience which thinks snow is sand and wonders how it sticks together.”⁷⁰ The enormous popularity of American

⁶⁴ J. D. Cave, Native Welfare Officer (and Film Censorship Board member), to District Commissioner Kitwe, August 7, 1940, NAZ, Sec. 1/1121 (3), no. 130/4.

⁶⁵ Smyth, “British Colonial Film Unit”; “Movies and Mandarins”; and “Development of British Colonial Film Policy.” Also see Thomas August, *The Selling of the Empire: British and French Imperialist Propaganda, 1890–1940* (Westport, Conn., 1985), 101–02.

⁶⁶ J. Merle Davis, “The Problem for Missions,” in Davis, *Modern Industry and the African*, 323.

⁶⁷ Smyth, “British Colonial Film Unit”; Smyth, “Movies and Mandarins”; and L. A. Notcutt and G. C. Latham, eds., *The African and the Cinema: An Account of the Work of the Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment during the Period March 1935 to May 1937* (Edinburgh, 1937).

⁶⁸ “Films for African Audiences,” *Colonial Cinema* 1 (June 1944): 1–2.

⁶⁹ *Colonial Cinema* 1 (May 1943): 1.

⁷⁰ *Colonial Cinema* 1 (December 1942): 3.

westerns—in which such techniques were commonplace—would seem effectively to dispose of these theories.⁷¹ But perhaps not. The evaluation of the effects of film techniques invariably made narrative comprehension the measure of a movie's quality; but in a cinema of attractions, individual sequences and powerful imagery supersede questions of narrative and continuity.

If whites in Northern Rhodesia debated the dangers and entertainment value of ordinary Hollywood fare, virtually all agreed that certain categories of films and film images were inappropriate for Africans to view. No statutory guidelines governed censorship decisions, but the definition of what was suitable for African audiences remained consistent over time, although political concerns seem to have become more prominent after 1945.⁷² Scenes "invariably cut from films" in 1946 included women in swimsuits or other scanty attire, "women of easy virtue, manhandling of women, prolonged embraces, fights between women, crimes readily understood by Africans [and] scenes of drunkenness."⁷³ A list dating from 1951 used those same categories but stressed the censorship of scenes involving violence, laying special emphasis on those ritual scenes in which American Indians captured and tied up white pioneers. Objections were also raised to films that included scenes of war atrocities, violent battles, arson, masked men, or rioting and demonstrations.⁷⁴ A 1956 summary of the Censorship Board's criteria for cutting or banning films added "deliberate murder, wanton killing, and knife scenes," as well as any films "with religious references which might be misunderstood and thereby reflect poorly on any church."⁷⁵ By the mid-1950s, the board reviewed as many as 200 films a year and cut scenes from perhaps half. A number of films were banned outright for African audiences.⁷⁶

The public discourse on censorship imputed a powerful relationship between moving images of violence and sexuality and impulsive, aggressive, and violent forms of behavior on the part of male, working-class Africans. This preoccupation expressed itself especially in terms of the repression of black male sexuality and a defense of white womanhood. Any kind of display of white women's bodies or of female sexuality, it was argued, undermined Africans' respect for (white) morality. A defender of tight censorship maintained that "the safety of the [white] women and girls in Northern Rhodesia hangs upon their being respected by the Africans."⁷⁷ Perhaps more to the point, the security of white male authority required that respect. Censorship was in fact defined essentially as a male domain. White women were included on the Censorship Board beginning in the 1930s, but only reluctantly, because it was difficult to find men with the spare time to devote to a task that, despite the rhetoric, was regarded as essentially frivolous. Moreover, officials privately argued that the presence of a woman member would "disarm criticism" if

⁷¹ "Films for African Audiences," 1–2.

⁷² See Corrigan, "Film Entertainment as Ideology," 29.

⁷³ Acting Chief Secretary to Government Secretary, Mafeking, March 8, 1946, NAZ, Sec. 2/1121 (6), no. 297.

⁷⁴ Minutes of a Meeting of the Native Film Censorship Board, August 31, 1951, NAZ, Sec. 5/16, no. 12A.

⁷⁵ Memorandum on Film Censorship, n.d. [1956], NAZ, Sec. 5/16, no. 121.

⁷⁶ Memorandum on Film Censorship, no. 121.

⁷⁷ Mr. Shaw, Lusaka, July 28, 1959, "Film Censorship: Evidence Submitted to Federal Working Party," NAZ, Sec. 5/15.

any "unpleasant crime by natives in this area should be attributed to anything seen on the films."⁷⁸ The message was clear: this (male) official did not really believe that any such connection was likely to exist. The token female members of the Censorship Board were meanwhile tolerated as ineffectual observers of base imagery, as it was argued that they did not recognize scenes of "rank indecency" readily identified by their male counterparts.⁷⁹ The all-white board was very eager, however, to include male African members, arguing that such men would bring a special insight into what was for many whites an unfathomable world of African taste.⁸⁰ By 1945, two of the ten unofficial board members were Africans, whose perspectives differed little from "moderate" white members in their concentration on the impact of film on urban youth.⁸¹ Interestingly, none of the series of commissions appointed to investigate urban discontent and labor activism on the Copperbelt made mention of movies as a source of urban criminality or aspirations.⁸²

Actions taken on which films to pass or ban often struck perplexed observers as arbitrary or even ludicrous. In the late 1950s, a letter to the governor on the subject questioned permitting the distribution of a film on the Indian Ocean slave trade, *West of Zanzibar* (1954), which included a scene of African slaves throwing overboard "slick Indian lawyers and a villainous Arab dhow captain," while at the same time the board banned *Frontier Trail* (1928), a silent western that followed a "half caste American Indian sneaking through the snows and conifers of Canada to ambush a posse of 'Mounties.'" ⁸³ If the proposition that African audiences would be more likely to identify with a slave mutiny than American Indians defending their land seems obvious, the banning of *Frontier Trail* possessed a certain tortured logic in the provincial and racially charged context of Northern Rhodesian censorship: the Mounties were, after all, British Empire policemen, and they were white; the slavers were Arabs, and they were represented as criminals.⁸⁴

White residents of the colony often emphasized the dangers they saw in exposing Africans to typical cowboy movies with their scenes of lawlessness and violence, including violence that pitted "one bunch of Europeans against another."⁸⁵ Some censors were even uneasy about films depicting combat during World War II or resistance to the Nazis.⁸⁶ A film like *Town Meeting of the World* might be banned for the dangerous democratic and internationalist sentiments it was likely to convey, but much more threatening was the American western that included a train

⁷⁸ District Commissioner Kitwe to J. D. Cave, Native Welfare Officer, August 6, 1940, NAZ, Sec. 2/1121 (3), no. 130/3.

⁷⁹ Cave to Kitwe, Nkana, August 7, 1940, NAZ, Sec. 2/1121, no. 130/2.

⁸⁰ Censorship Board, Lusaka, minute, June 20, 1945, NAZ, Sec. 2/1121, no. 246.

⁸¹ General Notice 596 of 1945, September 16, 1945, NAZ, Sec. 2/1121, no. 269.

⁸² Notably, Great Britain, Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Disturbances in the Copperbelt [Russell Commission] (Lusaka, 1935).

⁸³ H. A. Fosbrooke, Rhodes Livingstone Institute to Governor Arthur Benson, March 5, 1957, NAZ, Sec. 5/16, no. 147.

⁸⁴ Similarly, the director of information argued in clear racial terms for banning the movie *Huckleberry Finn*. Director of Information to Chief Secretary, December 8, 1940, NAZ, Sec. 2/1125, no. 19.

⁸⁵ R. J. Allanson to Director, Department of Information, Lusaka, January 27, 1956, NAZ, Sec. 5/16, no. 88.

⁸⁶ "Guiding Principles for the Use of Native Film Censorship Board," n.d., NAZ, Sec. 5/16, no. 121.

hijacking and seizure of weapons, “poisonous stuff” in Northern Rhodesia when increasingly bitter conflict over political power challenged the race hierarchy and threatened order.⁸⁷ Many whites saw all popular films as intrinsically dangerous—they eroded the fundamental culture of deference by encouraging “the idea that to stand and speak to anyone with hands in pockets, lounging, and possibly giving the hat—firmly on the head—an insolent backward tilt is to show a high degree of sophistication.”⁸⁸

IN AN INTERVIEW CONDUCTED IN 1990, the South African actor John Kani described his childhood encounter with Hollywood films: “Just to sit in this dark place, and magic takes place on the wall. For a moment, we forgot apartheid, we forgot there was another world that wasn’t good, we sat there and were carried away by the dream of these American movies.”⁸⁹ As the actor Djimon Hounsou, from Benin, has very recently recalled, going to the movies in African cities differed strikingly from the experience in the United States or Europe. The film was usually a dated western, but “it was amazing . . . We’d climb the walls to get in, and you’d see people packed in . . . Here, people refuse to sit in the first row of the theater. In Cotenou [Benin’s capital] there were kids pressed up against the screen.”⁹⁰ Children in Ghanaian cities would pool their change to raise enough money to buy a single movie ticket for the one boy or girl who could be counted on to absorb the film and describe in detail the hero’s dress and gait and repeat his memorable phrases.⁹¹ Elderly Zambian city-dwellers hold similar memories of escapist pleasure in their recollections of the bioscope. One African woman became particularly animated as she recounted hours spent watching westerns. She did not care for the other important diversions that town life had offered her; she did not drink or attend dances: “I only liked the bioscope. Horses, cowboys, big hats, America.”⁹²

Film attendance in Northern Rhodesia grew rapidly during the 1940s—the same time that the movies reached their peak as an attraction in North America and Britain. Many thousands of Africans were paying a small admission to see films each week, and with “African cinemas well equipped and supervised, especially in the Copperbelt, a generation of regular ‘film fans’ is in the making.”⁹³ The campaign of the various information arms of the imperial state to develop a base of support for the war effort brought film to a much wider area of the country at the same time that the intensifying movement between rural home areas and urban industrial employment spread knowledge about the character of urban life and its amenities, such as the cinema.⁹⁴ This was by no means, however, the same cinema that attracted many millions of patrons in Europe and the United States. Simple

⁸⁷ Rev. George Shaw, February 23, 1960, “Film Censorship: Evidence Submitted to Federal Working Party,” NAZ, Sec. 5/15, 16.

⁸⁸ Allanson to Director, January 27, 1956.

⁸⁹ Quoted in P. Davis, *In Darkest Hollywood*, 23.

⁹⁰ *New York Times*, December 7, 1997.

⁹¹ Emmanuel Akyeampong, personal communication with the author, January 1998.

⁹² Interview by the author, Mrs. W., Kamwala, Lusaka, July 5, 1988.

⁹³ “Cinema in Northern Rhodesia,” 22.

⁹⁴ Capt. A. G. Dickson, “Effective Propaganda,” *Colonial Cinema* 3 (December 1945): 82–85.

outdoor amphitheaters or mobile cinema vans or barges stood in for luxuriously appointed movie palaces. And whereas marquees and posters attracted spectators in North America and Britain from shopping streets in urban business districts into an enclosed world, in Northern Rhodesia it was the setting up of apparatus and the gradual transition from dusk to dark that drew people into the film world. In both urban and rural areas until well into the 1950s, Africans saw movies almost exclusively out of doors. At the Roan Antelope Mine in the mid-1950s, two thousand or more would gather for weekly film shows that were social events as much as entertainment.⁹⁵

At seven o'clock on a clear evening, adults and children lined up for their tickets—"thruppence" (three pennies) for adults and a penny for children—at the large, unroofed white stone amphitheatre connected with the mine Welfare Hall . . . As the theater began to fill up, friends greeted each other, some young men attempted to make assignations with young women, children jostled and pushed each other and were told to be quiet and to make way for their elders. There was a continuous hubbub. The large audience spilled over into the center aisle, sitting on the steps of the inclined floor. Late-comers stood by the walls. Talk, laughter, and a sense of expectation pervaded the theater.⁹⁶

Cinema shows attracted mainly children and young adults, although older people were certainly found among the audiences. A survey of film attendance conducted on the Copperbelt in the 1950s suggests that a majority of town dwellers attended movies at least occasionally and that a sizable minority went to film shows on a weekly basis. Males clearly predominated, but substantial numbers of young women were also dedicated moviegoers. Copperbelt residents with more education and better jobs were more likely to go to movies than their less educated counterparts and probably more likely to be dedicated fans, but it was still working-class male youths with relatively little education who made up the core of film audiences.⁹⁷

The program typically began with "The African Mirror," a magazine series that showed elements of African life such as first-aid teams at a mine, traditional dancing, and commercial agriculture. This was followed by "The Northern Spotlight," the government-sponsored newsreel, and then British news. Animal cartoons, called *kadoli*, favored by small children, preceded the main feature, usually a dated or "B" cowboy film or occasionally a *Superman* film. Although each week brought a new feature, the cheap westerns that dominated film shows for three decades were generally instantly recognizable to audiences. In film after film, cowboy heroes faced brutish outlaws and badmen in a series of confrontations. Sometimes, the hero himself was disguised as an outlaw, or the villain was a supposedly respectable citizen, or stereotypically bloodthirsty Indians were called upon to take to the warpath in opposition to the heroes. Although major Hollywood westerns became increasingly complex and sophisticated during the 1940s, the "B" movies that dominated the Copperbelt outdoor cinemas remained remarkably consistent, offering uninterrupted series of vignettes of fights, chases, and horse-

⁹⁵ Roan Antelope Mine Welfare Office, Annual Report, 1952–1953, September 26, 1953, ZCCM, RACM 1.3.1C.

⁹⁶ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 255–56.

⁹⁷ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 337–38.

back stunts.⁹⁸ By the time the chase was over and the hero victorious, it was 9:30, the show was over, and the audience drifted home on foot and bicycles.⁹⁹

Even as African audiences became more accustomed to film entertainment and some became regular moviegoers, the film experience in Northern Rhodesia still involved aspects of the wonder and amazement that were characteristic of first encounters with motion-picture technology. The imperial mythologies of natives struck dumb by moving images and disembodied voices emanating from black boxes may have been largely products of Europeans in the thrall of the medium, but film shows did provide novel and sometimes thrilling experiences as darkness fell and the images and sounds brought familiar scenes to the screens or exposed audiences to exotic, incomprehensible settings. Europeans argued that the lack of understanding of the technologies that produced these films meant that Africans regarded movies in the "same category with the miracle of an airplane."¹⁰⁰ But audience behavior reveals no more sense of such mystery and alienation than that of Americans today confronting baffling cyber technologies.

In the Roan Antelope mine compound in the early 1950s, "going to the movies was a social experience . . . There was an excitement in being part of a movie audience of more than a thousand people, constantly commenting to each other, shouting their pleasure and booing their displeasure."¹⁰¹ In place of the regimented and reverential silence imposed on filmgoers in North America and Europe, African film shows were characterized by the noise, commentary, and engagement typical of spectacles.¹⁰² Scenes of mine workers produced loud commentaries on the quality and energy of the workers; portrayals of "traditional" dances led to debates on changing mores; a newsreel on Kenya produced discussion of mountains in the tropics and memories of war service; but the greatest and most enthusiastic involvement was reserved for the featured western.¹⁰³ The dynamic of these film shows underscores Lawrence Levine's argument that, in nascent industrial communities, "people enjoyed popular culture not as atomized beings vulnerable to an overpowering external force but as part of social groups in which they experienced the performance or with which they shared it after the fact."¹⁰⁴ Although the characters and plots varied, Northern Rhodesian audiences always called the hero "Jack."¹⁰⁵ This convention, at odds with American and British preoccupations with particular characters and the actors who portrayed them, symbolizes a deeper divide in film spectatorship.

African audiences in Northern Rhodesia for the most part seem to have ignored or dismissed plots, made murky in any case by the unfamiliar language or accents,

⁹⁸ George Fenin and William K. Everson, *The Western, from Silents to the Seventies*, rev. edn. (New York, 1977), 31–42, 199.

⁹⁹ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 258.

¹⁰⁰ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 228–29.

¹⁰¹ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 256; also see Michael O'Shea, *Missionaries and Miners: A History of the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Zambia with Particular Reference to the Copperbelt* (Ndola, Zambia, 1986), 246.

¹⁰² J.H.G., "My First Visit to the Cinema," *Colonial Cinema* 8 (September 1950): 60–61.

¹⁰³ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 256–58.

¹⁰⁴ Lawrence W. Levine, "The Folklore of Industrial Society: Popular Culture and Its Audiences," *AHR* 97 (October 1992): 1396.

¹⁰⁵ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 261; "Cinema in Northern Rhodesia," 22; and Franklin, "Central African Screen," 85.

the crowd noise, and the censor's shears.¹⁰⁶ Moviegoers watched the films for the stock scenes that amused and delighted, in one form or another, in film after film: the characteristic stride, the fighting style, the memorable phrase. These elements were observed and appreciated according to well-defined standards of action taste, at least according to young male viewers. As one satisfied patron noted when a film came to an end, "this is the kind of Jack we want."¹⁰⁷ Although whites were often dismayed by films that portrayed holdups and murders, descriptions of film shows suggest that audiences viewed and appropriated elements of these in isolation from the narrative or plot. In a protest to the Northern Rhodesian Department of Information during the mid-1950s, one employer charged that showing cowboy action films was "nothing less than criminal folly." The concern was well placed in the sense that audiences focused on the scenes of stagecoach holdups and various murders in isolation, paying little attention to the fact that the heroes eventually brought the villains to justice: "With two thirds of the cast galloping all over the place at breakneck speed . . . , I can promise you," this critic wrote, "that the plot was not understood by the audience. I have taken the trouble to make quite sure of this fact by questioning the one more intelligent individual, a bricklayer, who did attend. What *was understood*, was the fact that the film portrayed utter lawlessness and indiscriminate use of revolvers and rifles."¹⁰⁸ But it is equally clear from audience response that these scenes conveyed general styles of masculine bravado, rather than literal models of behavior.¹⁰⁹

Fight scenes drew especially favorable responses, with one man describing how he liked "to see cowboys run after one another on horses, and the fighting. Jack beats his friends skillfully, and it pleases me to see him plant blows on other men's faces." Another liked "best the cowboy films, because they teach us how to fight others and how to win lovers." A young, educated man explained that he felt "as if I am fighting. I always want to see how strong Jack is and whether he can be knocked out early. But I expect the hero, Jack, to beat everyone and to win every time."¹¹⁰ Such reactions often perplexed whites. To a researcher in the 1950s, the connection that a group of teenagers made between the appearance of Superman with his cape and a Roman official in a toga in a movie about the Crucifixion demonstrated an inability on the part of African viewers to understand the representational nature of film.¹¹¹ But to audiences who watched films as a disconnected series of scenes, with close attention paid to styles of clothing and action, such comparisons made perfect sense. Similarly, such an appreciation of movies as intrinsically disconnected from the linear and the real partly explains the apparent overwhelming preference of African audiences for black and white films when color films were initially introduced.¹¹² The first color movies shown tended

¹⁰⁶ M. O'Shea, *Missionaries and Miners*, 245–46; and Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 259.

¹⁰⁷ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 258.

¹⁰⁸ Allanson to Director, January 27, 1956, italics in original.

¹⁰⁹ See Yvonne Tasker, "Dumb Movies for Dumb People: Masculinity, the Body, and the Voice in Contemporary Action Cinema," in *Screening the Male: Exploring Masculinities in Hollywood Cinema*, Steven Cohan and Ina Rae Hark, eds. (London, 1993), 230–44.

¹¹⁰ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 260–61.

¹¹¹ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 264.

¹¹² Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 260. In contrast, George Pearson, director of the Colonial Film Unit, claimed it was evident that "coloured films help tremendously in getting a story across to Colonial

to be locally made and didactic, but the preference apparently went beyond that to an assertion that color films were not "natural-looking." The conjunction of the use of color and the introduction of local settings also took films in the direction of the mundane, where plainly they did not belong. The anthropologist Hortense Powdermaker reported a deep reluctance among schoolchildren and some adults to accept that films were staged, and claimed that audiences reacted with irritation when an actor, shot dead in a previous film, turned up alive in another.¹¹³ But the very conventions of naming the hero Jack and analyzing and comparing the stock sequences argues for a fine appreciation of films as fantasy.

Audiences invariably responded insistently and angrily to the occasional attempts of paternalistic officials to vary programs and broaden local film taste.¹¹⁴ In 1953, the white managers at the Luanshya municipal residential compound experimented with a showing of *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1951). Shown on a program that included a *Superman* movie, the film drew a very large audience. The screening was preceded by a synopsis in a local language, Chibemba, and three educated African men were asked to mingle with patrons and collect reactions. The audience engaged with the film in typical fashion, making general comments and holding open discussion, rather than sitting in the reverential silence that Europeans expected for serious movies. People in the audience continually complained about the film and demanded "cowboys." Uproarious laughter greeted the scene in which the wealthy white landowner Mr. Jarvis is informed of the murder of his son, and audience members were "visibly delighted when Mrs. Jarvis was grief-stricken at the news of the death of her son." The appearance of the murderer's father, Reverend Kumalo, elicited loud and derisive comments like "church," "Christianity," and "we want cowboys."¹¹⁵ Such seemingly callous responses might be represented in part as "oppositional" statements. Certainly, the reaction to Kumalo conveyed some of the resentment that working-class African men felt toward the church leaders and other "respectable" men in their community; but it is unlikely that antipathy to white domination, however bitter, would translate into derision of the emotional grief of a white mother and father over the loss of their son. Unable or unwilling to comprehend the dialogue, audience members largely ignored character development and plot, and probably in this case reacted to extreme facial expressions. They experienced or "read" the film as they would have the cowboy movie they had anticipated seeing—as a series of action scenes. In a slow-moving and rather pretentious film like *Cry, the Beloved Country*, there was little "action," and audiences reacted viscerally to the few scenes that stood out. As the report of the

peoples ... We know from the reactions of the audiences there that these films are greatly appreciated." Quoted in David R. Giltrow, "Young Tanzanians and the Cinema: A Study of the Effects of Selected Basic Motion Picture Elements and Population Characteristics on Filmic Comprehension of Tanzanian Adolescent Primary School Children" (PhD dissertation, Syracuse University, 1973), 17. Giltrow's own study showed audience preference for color but no real difference in didactic terms, p. 15.

¹¹³ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 263–64. In the 1960s, Tanzanian schoolchildren who had rarely attended films had little trouble identifying objects and actions represented on screen. Giltrow, "Young Tanzanians and the Cinema," 132.

¹¹⁴ Roan Antelope Mine Welfare Office, Annual Report, 1952–1953.

¹¹⁵ Welfare Officer, Luanshya Municipal Board to Chairman, African Film Censorship Board, November 6, 1953, NAZ, Sec. 5/16, no. 44/1.

showing makes clear, a substantial proportion of the audience demonstrated their boredom simply by walking out.¹¹⁶

The world of films, and especially cowboy films, spilled out into the popular culture of Northern Rhodesian urban communities and followed filmgoers into the streets and their homes and eventually back to their rural home villages. When members of the audience got back to their rooms or houses or met friends at work or at other social occasions, films were often the subject of discussion.¹¹⁷ As in Ghana, youths talked over the films in the days that followed, paying particular attention to the styles of dress and fighting techniques that were central to the appeal of westerns. Oral recollections reveal the same flow of Hollywood imagery into Cape Town's District Six community. There, people waiting in line for tickets could be overheard sprinkling their conversation with terms like "pardner" and "howdee," and motifs drawn from films often surfaced in the costumes of the annual New Year carnivals.¹¹⁸ Certainly, in rural areas of Northern Rhodesia, the mobile cinemas left a great many images in their wake for audiences to savor and rehearse before the van returned, even if many of the residents had in fact spent considerable time in towns and would have been somewhat familiar with film shows.¹¹⁹

A film show in a remote rural area was, of course, much more of a special event, since mobile cinemas did not reach a given village or town much more often than once or twice a year in the 1940s or once a month in the 1950s. The entertainment began with the arrival of the van, and crowds began to assemble in the afternoon to watch and assist in setting up the projector and screen, eventually numbering from one hundred to three thousand people. Before the film show itself, members of the mobile cinema staff gave educational talks illustrated with film strips on topics like malaria eradication; they tuned in the national radio station and piped it out to the crowd on loudspeakers; and they sold various books and newspapers.¹²⁰

Consistent with the noncommercial, educational mission of the mobile cinema, the main program did not include "unsuitable" westerns or other adventure movies. But the staff was careful to alternate "entertainment" films with more didactic ones. The program usually began with "one or two amusing films, followed by an instructional film. The next film is usually something else of particular interest, not necessarily comedy. It might be a short film on game or a 'musical' with catchy tunes." If ten reels were shown, half would be solely for entertainment, three "really educational," and the remaining two general interest films and regionally oriented newsreels.¹²¹ By the 1950s, rural audiences had become substantially more sophisticated in their film tastes, as the mobile cinema program expanded and more people spent time in the urban areas. Local, "respectable" men and women shared

¹¹⁶ South African black intellectuals had criticized the book on which the movie was based for its negative view of urban life and the "religiosity, deference, and the urban incompetence" of the central character, Reverend Kumalo. Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, 27.

¹¹⁷ J.H.G., "My First Visit to the Cinema," 61.

¹¹⁸ Nasson, "She Preferred Living in a Cave," 289.

¹¹⁹ Tony Lawman, "Information Research: An Experiment in Northern Rhodesia," *Colonial Cinema* 10 (September 1952): 59–61.

¹²⁰ *Colonial Cinema* 4 (September 1946): 64–65; and Nell, "Mobile Cinema in Northern Rhodesia," 43–46.

¹²¹ Nell, "Mobile Cinema in Northern Rhodesia," 45.

the distaste of the mobile cinema staff for cowboy films, regarding them as a dangerous influence; but younger people who had visited the towns were increasingly caught up in cowboy craze that had taken root in the Copperbelt, even though westerns were still not usually shown by the mobile cinema that served remote rural areas.¹²²

African audiences often disturbed European officials by the ways they used material from films to make judgments about the outside world, the nature of imperialism, and the character of European culture. Seemingly innocuous footage of healthy cattle in Southern Rhodesia, for example, inspired commentary from Northern Rhodesian moviegoers in the 1950s on racial segregation and the inferiority of the diet of Africans in comparison to whites. A Northern Rhodesian newsreel showing the dedication of a home for the aged elicited comments in the crowd that these had to be for whites: "do you think they can build houses for Africans like that?"¹²³ Depictions of whites engaged in manual labor invariably inspired sarcastic, critical commentary.¹²⁴ Although the white settlers who actively promoted censorship often advanced the shibboleth of black sexuality to defend the need to subject films to close scrutiny, colonial officials were much more concerned—and quite correctly so—that scenes of half-dressed and philandering white women would become the evidence for critical judgments on white morality.¹²⁵ Scenes of kissing or scantily clad women were more offensive than sexually provocative. A discussion of a scene of courtship in a European café led one man to ask, "are these proper ladies or are they clowns?" Another responded, "It is the behavior of white ladies. They are not ashamed." Men and women swimming together was denounced: "I do not like it. It encourages immorality." But at the same time, movie patrons paid careful and detailed attention to a distinctively modern style of dancing that might be reproduced later at a local party.¹²⁶

As the cowboy phenomenon makes plain, film made its most distinctive impact on local youth culture. During the 1930s and 1940s, when primary schooling was not yet entrenched in urban areas, young boys often were at loose ends. They roamed around in gangs, whose leaders gave themselves names like "Jeke," after the cowboy hero, and "Popeye." Among the main occupations of these gangs were "cowboy games" where rivals pretended to shoot each other. By the early 1950s, all children were expected to attend school, and many more organized activities had become available.¹²⁷ But filmgoing was still very popular, and that popularity was reflected in the styles of dress of school-age boys as well as young men.¹²⁸ "Respectable" Africans along with whites generally found these styles reprehensible, associating them in their minds with insolent attitudes if not outright

¹²² Lawman, "Information Research," 56–61.

¹²³ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 257.

¹²⁴ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 269.

¹²⁵ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 168, 267; Rev. George Shaw, February 23, 1960, "Film Censorship: Evidence Submitted to Federal Working Party," NAZ, Sec. 5/15; and Lawman, "Information Research," 59.

¹²⁶ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 267.

¹²⁷ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 196–97.

¹²⁸ Franklin, "Central African Screen," 85; "Cinema in Northern Rhodesia," 22; and Allanson to Director, January 27, 1956.

criminality.¹²⁹ In the industrial areas of South Africa, local hoodlums often appropriated the names of film stars or notorious characters from westerns or gangster movies.¹³⁰ In 1947, a prominent member of the Northern Rhodesian African Representative Council demanded to know in debate whether the government was aware that “the films shown to African children in bioscopes at present are harmful to their characters?”¹³¹ In Dar es Salaam, it was claimed that “the cult of cowboy clothes is the safety-valve of the dangerous mob element.”¹³² Fear of the spread of such behavior certainly motivated many of the paternalistic believers in educational cinema. Indeed, it was almost an article of faith that if good films could be effective tools of education and development, bad ones would produce the juvenile delinquents that many saw as a growing Copperbelt problem.¹³³ What whites and others in positions of authority feared, of course, was that African town-dwellers would appropriate immoral and criminal behavior from cowboy and gangster movies. Official files on film censorship contain a report from the late 1940s that appeared to justify such fears. A group of six young African men, convicted of robbing and beating a man in the mining town of Mufulira, claimed in their defense that they had seen similar acts in films and wanted to copy them. Whether or not exposure to cowboy movies inspired criminal activities, these young hoodlums were resourceful enough to play on stereotypes by rationalizing their actions in terms of film allusions. It is possible, too, that they hoped paternalistic officials might go easy on unsophisticated youths who were believed to be highly susceptible to the power of film imagery.¹³⁴

For young crooks, as for the mass of Copperbelt youth, film offered a repertoire of images, characters, and behaviors that could be drawn on to define and navigate modern urban life. Descriptions of audience behavior draw attention not only to the enthusiasm that filmgoers showed for fights and other action sequences but also to the close attention the people paid to the material content of films. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Colonial Film Unit, audiences showed little patience for films that depicted rural life and the potential for the development of agriculture. Movies represented an escape from the harsh realities of urban life, especially in an increasingly repressive South Africa; despite the exotic locales of gunfighter epics, film also provided a kind of guide to urban modernity and sophistication. Published memoirs of urban black South Africans reveal the powerful and romantic appeal of Hollywood products, yet it is clear as well that audiences drew the characters into urban southern Africa, weaving their own practices of witchcraft and kinship politics into discussions of the meanings of particular sequences. As one filmgoer from the Copperbelt noted, “the cowboy has medicines to make him invisible . . . Cowboys show respect. And Jack is also the son of a big man.”¹³⁵

¹²⁹ Lawman, “Information Research,” 56–61.

¹³⁰ Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, 12, 31–35; and Don Mattera, *Sophiatown: Coming of Age in South Africa* (1987; Boston, 1989), 75.

¹³¹ Nelson Namulango, African Representative Council Debates, July 1, 1948, excerpted in NAZ, Sec. 2/1121, no. 346.

¹³² Leslie, *Survey of Dar es Salaam*, 112–13.

¹³³ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 198.

¹³⁴ Extract from Mufulira Monthly Police Report, 1947, *Rex vs. John Kandu and Five Other Africans*, NAZ, Sec. 2/1121, no. 346/1. In the end, however, each received a punishment of twelve strokes.

¹³⁵ Film spectators quoted in Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 263; also see 256–59. Among a number of

Those men and women who regarded themselves as mature often dismissed the bioscope as a trivial pastime appropriate only to children. One Copperbelt woman in her thirties defined films as a distinctly urban phenomenon only appealing to those who had been raised in the city: "Cinema shows and radio are there to entertain youth. We people of old age cannot attend such things where small boys go. Our form of entertainment is beer . . . How can I develop the habit of going to cinema now? The people who enjoy it are those who have been born here."¹³⁶ In the urban areas of central and southern Africa, the divide between those who self-consciously remained oriented toward their rural homes and those who took up a distinctively modern worldview surfaced visibly in leisure activities: people who conceived of themselves as "modern" participated in church activities and organized sports and were bioscope enthusiasts, while those who rejected modernity dismissed such pastimes and generally preferred to spend their leisure time in informal socializing and drinking.¹³⁷

IN THE LAST, BITTER YEARS of colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia, some Africans and their liberal white allies directly challenged the censorship of films on racial lines, as part of a broader assault on the color bar.¹³⁸ Some of the younger and better educated town residents, in particular, found the bioscope unappealing and were eager to see more sophisticated and varied movies in more sedate surroundings.¹³⁹ In 1957, the chairman of the interracial Capricorn Africa Society drew attention "to the fact that large numbers of educated Africans are profoundly dissatisfied with the programs being shown on the African locations. They wish to see the films that Europeans, Indians and Coloureds are seeing but the decisions of the Board are preventing them from doing so."¹⁴⁰ When the board chose to ban for African viewing newsreels that depicted the resistance of Hungarians to the Soviet invasion and the demonstrations that followed in various European cities, the controversy reached the floor of the British House of Commons. There, a government spokesman vigorously defended censorship with the assertion that "Africans were more likely to be impressed by moving pictures."¹⁴¹

The opening of a multi-racial cinema in 1957 in Lusaka provided an opportunity for Africans to see a wider range of films in the more genteel atmosphere of an

memoirs, see, for example, Bloke Modisane, *Blame Me on History* (1963; New York, 1986), which refers repeatedly to the allure of cinema and its importance in constructing elements of cosmopolitanism.

¹³⁶ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 298.

¹³⁷ Philip Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanization in a South African City* (Cape Town, 1961), esp. 111–17.

¹³⁸ Film censorship had a parallel in the regulations that restricted African consumption of European-type alcohol. Africans were forbidden to consume spirits until late in the colonial period. See Michael O. West, "'Equal Rights for All Civilized Men': Elite Africans and the Quest for 'European' Liquor in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1924–1961," *International Review of Social History* 37 (1992): 376–97.

¹³⁹ A few private clubs sponsored by mining companies provided relatively privileged Africans the opportunities to see films not approved for African audiences. Memorandum on Film Censorship, Cinema Officer, n.d. [c. 1956], NZA, Sec. 5/16, no. 121.

¹⁴⁰ Mr. Kemple, Chairman, Capricorn Africa Society, to Native Film Censorship Board, Lusaka, March 10, 1957, NAZ, Sec. 5/16.

¹⁴¹ Extract, *Central African Post*, May 10, 1957, NAZ, Sec. 5/16, no. 171a.

indoor theater, but the continued application of censorship rules meant that educated African patrons still risked being turned away at the door if a particular film had not been passed for African audiences.¹⁴² For this small but highly influential group, the humiliation of being forbidden to see films that had been approved for viewing by whites, including children, was a stark reminder of the continued ascendancy of racial hierarchy and made a mockery of promises of "racial partnership" and non-racialism.¹⁴³ Yet, as late as 1960, on the eve of the legislated desegregation of public facilities in Northern Rhodesia, Roman Catholic bishops still vigorously defended racial censorship: "Material reasons like uniformity of treatment, economy, convenience and such ought not be allowed to weigh against the need to safeguard from evils of the moral order of the African people, the vast majority of whom have . . . primitive ideas of morality affecting public order and decency."¹⁴⁴

This tenacious devotion among whites in Northern Rhodesia to the specter of film's power over Africans reveals not only a deeply entrenched racial order but an unquestioning confidence as well in the powerful force of the medium of film as an instrument of cultural subversion. The claims advanced in colonial Northern Rhodesia and across colonial Africa that movies, and popular culture generally, undermined traditional authority and custom belongs to a powerful intellectual tradition of modern imperialism enshrined in administrative terms by the British in the form of the doctrine of indirect rule and more broadly in the ideal of trusteeship.¹⁴⁵ The strong attraction of African audiences to a vision of Europe and North America inscribed in Hollywood westerns and other action movies subverted cherished colonial notions of Africa as Britain's "Wild West."¹⁴⁶ This colonial antipathy to the global consumerism of urban Africans, decried as evidence of dangerous "detribalization" or "westernization," has survived in postcolonial discourse in the context of debates over cultural imperialism. Ranging across the ideological and disciplinary spectra, scholars and critics lament the disruption of societies, characterized variously as traditional or backward, and in particular stress the role of mass media in projecting the ideological messages of international capitalism and demand for global consumer commodities at the expense of traditional values and practices.¹⁴⁷

Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart's influential study of Disney cartoons in the Third World, *How to Read Donald Duck*, drew on dependency theory to argue that such hugely popular but seemingly innocent media products in fact have extended American global hegemony by conveying to unsophisticated readers principles that bolster capitalist values and thus restrict the emergence of genuine consciousness.¹⁴⁸ In their confident analysis of the meanings of mass-media

¹⁴² H. A. Fosbrooke to Governor, March 5, 1957, NAZ, Sec. 5/16.

¹⁴³ Kemple to Native Film Censorship Board, March 10, 1957.

¹⁴⁴ Northern Rhodesia Bishops Conference, Secretary General, March 9, 1960, "Film Censorship: Evidence Submitted to Federal Working Party," NAZ, Sec. 5/15.

¹⁴⁵ Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 62–90.

¹⁴⁶ Barbara Bush, *Imperialism, Race and Resistance: Africa and Britain, 1919–1945* (London, 1999), 28–38.

¹⁴⁷ Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*, 1–33.

¹⁴⁸ Ariel Dorfman and A. Mattelart, *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialism Ideology in the Disney*

products and assumptions of the power of those products to persuade, Dorfman and Mattelart and other critics of global information flows not only share common ground with liberal critics of global cultural homogenization but also betray a perverse intellectual debt to alarmist imperial rantings against the nefarious influence of Hollywood films. In each case, "Third World" peoples or audiences are assumed to lack the sophistication to resist popular media images or to engage them critically.

The moviegoing experiences of Africans in Northern Rhodesia challenge such assumptions, suggesting that the meanings of films and other pieces of mass media are elusive and contested, and that audiences continually appropriate and reappropriate such media and subject them to various and fluid readings. The cowboys who populated westerns emerged from screens on the Copperbelt as characters rooted as much in urban Northern Rhodesian communities as in the American West, and the ways that audiences drew on and referred to film images varied as widely as confident official and scholarly pronouncements on their meaning. Seemingly bizarre audience responses to a film like *Cry, the Beloved Country* made perfect sense in terms of local expectations for film shows and constructions of film character behavior. Certainly, highly politicized informal audience commentaries on film depictions of life in African colonies demonstrated a keen appreciation on the part of African moviegoers of the manipulative power of film. Although very little research has directly addressed the global appeal of popular media, the work that has been done, especially that exploring the seemingly inexplicable universal popularity of the American television program "Dallas" (1978–91) and its supposed glorification of wealth, has suggested how "naïve and improbable is the simple notion of an immediate ideological effect arising from exposure to the imperialist text."¹⁴⁹ Like movie patrons in colonial Northern Rhodesia, viewers of "Dallas" sometimes drew on the program to criticize American excess, or saw in the program a guide to style, or simply responded to the basic morality plays that drove the series. But reliance on immediate reactions in controlled circumstances very much limits the validity of this kind of audience research, no matter how stimulating the findings.¹⁵⁰ The Copperbelt audiences who filled the seats of noisy outdoor cinemas analyzed and debated the elements of films while they watched them, adopted and modified film modes of dress, speech, and behavior, and then took those sensibilities back to the theaters in a process that was difficult to capture at the time and now, in the age of video, resembles in popular memory a kind of quaint nostalgic relic. Yet, as the fragmentary evidence of audience response suggests, moviegoers sought in films not only entertainment and sources of style but also an opportunity to engage and critique the colonial order they inhabited and to appropriate and synthesize notions of modernity that they believed would facilitate urban life.

Comic, David Kunzle, trans. ([1972]; New York, 1975). See also Dorfman, *The Empire's Old Clothes: What the Lone Ranger, Babar, and Other Innocent Heroes Do to Our Minds* (New York, 1983). This critique is drawn from Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*, 35–45.

¹⁴⁹ Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*, 47. Note especially Ien Ang, *Watching Dallas: Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination* (London, 1985).

¹⁵⁰ Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*, 50–57.

The process of decolonization that culminated in 1964 in an independent Zambia swept aside any open assertion of racial discrimination and merged race-based claims of the impact of movies into broader debates about the effect of popular culture on children. In postcolonial Zambia, the introduction of television and more recently the proliferation of small video dens and individually owned videocassette recorders has effectively pushed the bioscope—formal film showings—to the margins of entertainment. The current popularity of martial arts and other contemporary action movies has overshadowed the deep affection for the cowboy genre exhibited by several generations of viewers in the industrial towns of the Copperbelt and elsewhere in east, central, and southern Africa. But if the encounter of African audiences with film during the 1940s and 1950s lacked the complexity of the diverse and fragmented circulation of media that is characteristic of Zambia and the rest of southern Africa today, it is apparent that the critical process through which audiences consume visual media developed on a diet of horse operas.¹⁵¹ As Hortense Powdermaker observed of Copperbelt film shows in the 1950s, “whatever was seen was commented on, interpreted, criticized. Questions were asked.”¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Debra Spitulnik, “The Social Circulation of Media Discourse and the Mediation of Communities,” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 6 (1997): 161–87.

¹⁵² Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 270.

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Review Essays

Seeing Like a State

*The following essays address the issues raised in Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed, a recent book by **James C. Scott**, a scholar who holds a joint appointment in anthropology and political science at Yale University and who has written extensively on issues of power and resistance in Southeast Asia. His departmental affiliations notwithstanding, Scott is a scholar whose work has frequently had considerable influence in several disciplines other than his own, including history. And in spite of his longstanding concern with Southeast Asia, his works have helped shape the agendas of many researchers working on other parts of the world. To cite but two examples, within Chinese studies his comments on the "moral economy of the peasant" have generated considerable debate, while within Latin American studies his arguments about "everyday forms of resistance" have been taken up and applied by a variety of specialists. Scott's work on the "hidden transcripts" that protesters in varied contexts follow when challenging the power of elites has similarly proved inspiring—or provoked criticism—among humanists and social scientists. Seeing Like a State is his latest and in some ways most ambitiously wide-ranging work, which seeks to do nothing less than provide us with a new way of thinking about the political dimensions of "high modernity," especially the tendency for regimes of this period to try to remold society in particular ways. Scott argues that there are more similarities than has sometimes been admitted between the activities of modern states associated with disparate ideologies. His claim is that there were important homologies between many twentieth-century government systems, especially in the high value placed on utopian projects and the low value accorded to local knowledge. The three scholars who comment on Scott's book combine an appreciation for some of its insights with attention to aspects of its argument that they see as either undeveloped or problematic. **Jane Caplan** is a specialist in German history, **Morton Keller** specializes in the history of the United States, and **Fernando Coronil** is an anthropologist and specialist in Latin American history.*

Review Essays
The State in the Field:
Official Knowledge and Truant Practices

JANE CAPLAN

ONE OF THE MORE HOPELESS TARGETS of Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian zeal was the "nominal confusion" that prevailed in eighteenth-century England. "It is to be regretted," he wrote in his *Principles of Penal Law*, "that the proper names of individuals are upon so irregular a footing. Those distinctions, invented in the infancy of society to provide for the wants of a hamlet, only imperfectly accomplish their object in a great nation."¹ His remedy was to propose "a new nomenclature . . . so arranged, that, in a whole nation, every individual should have a proper name, which should belong to him alone." Bentham recognized that it would be more trouble than it was worth to try to impose such a rationalized system of uniquely proper names on England. Still, he recommended it to new states, offered them a standardized three-part nominal system (in which he incorporated an anticipation of the ID number), and even speculated on the advantages of adopting the "common custom among English sailors, of printing their family and christian names upon their wrists, in well-formed and indelible characters."² In other words, Bentham wanted us to tattoo our names on our bodies as the ultimate identity card, ensuring that we would never leave home without it.

If no great nations or new states have in fact adopted such a scrupulous system, it may not be for want of motive or effort, and indeed some have come pretty close, as James C. Scott explains in his deeply absorbing and imaginative new book, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. For some two hundred years after the revolution, for example, the French state limited its citizens' choices of officially recognized names and made it extraordinarily difficult for people to change their names once registered.³ Similar systems have prevailed in many German states since the nineteenth century. In Sachsen-Weimar, for example, the tidy official mind took a first step in the Benthamite direction in 1876 by declaring that no one could be registered with the same name as anyone else in the district—a rule that might well impugn local family naming

Thanks to the editor of the *American Historical Review* and to its anonymous readers for suggestions to improve this essay.

¹ Jeremy Bentham, "Principles of Penal Law," *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, John Bowring, ed., 11 vols. (Edinburgh, 1843), 1: 557.

² Bentham, "Principles of Penal Law," 1: 557.

³ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 64–71.

practices.⁴ But rules that offend against such deep cultural sensibilities tend to be evaded, even if they cannot always be openly flouted. In the French village studied by Françoise Zonabend in the 1970s, the plastic regime of “real” names long remained impervious to the imposed regularities of the civil system based on the immutable truths of alphabet and filing cabinet. In the phlegmatic words of one father, “For my children, I give them one forename at the *mairie*, and some other ones at the church.”⁵ Even baptismal names were not sacrosanct, since people could be known by different first names at different times of their lives. So a wife might give her husband a new name at marriage, or a man take a new name upon inheriting the family farm. This local regime of names may have been baffling to the state, but it made sense to the villagers. Its intricacies served their own culture of relationships, identification, and meaning, and until very recently the state’s system was simply laid alongside it rather than superseding it altogether.

This clash of nomenclatures is but one example of the contradiction that is the subject of Scott’s book. On the one hand, there is the modern state’s project of rendering society “legible” through enforced programs of registration, standardization, and simplification; on the other, the resistant “practical skills” and concrete knowledges nurtured in the practices of everyday life. For this kind of knowledge, Scott uses the Greek term *metis*, a word situated in the same field of meaning as Michel de Certeau’s concept of tactical “making do” or *bricolage*, or for that matter the quotidian struggles surveyed by Scott in his own earlier work, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*.⁶ The present study is in part the history of the state’s covert expropriations of these weapons of the weak. Since the eighteenth century, the state has labored, through means varying from the land survey to the census to the rationalization of languages and city planning, to “appropriate, control, and manipulate” the cultural diversity of its inhabitants: “to make . . . society legible [by] rationalizing and standardizing what was a social hieroglyph into a legible and administratively more convenient format”—convenient, that is, for the state’s own purposes.⁷ Historically, these were “the classic state functions of taxation, conscription, and the prevention of rebellion,” which were soon extended to the maximization of the state’s resources, initially for the purposes of war. Thus the state began to cover society with a grid of description that enabled its expanding projects of planning and control.

Scott’s presiding metaphor for these modern projects of legibility and rationalization is the image of the map. The map is a two-dimensional abstraction, prepared by experts, that renders a complex landscape of features and people into a form usable for specific purposes. In Scott’s metaphor, the mapmaker is the state, and the landscape is civil society. The mapping of the world in this sense made enormous

⁴ See Hermann von Sicherer, “Namengebung,” in K. von Stengel, ed., *Wörterbuch des Deutschen Verwaltungsrechts* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1890), 2: 159. For further discussion of the European laws on naming in the nineteenth century, see Jane Caplan, “‘This or That Particular Person’: Protocols of Identification in 19th-Century Europe,” in Caplan and John Torpey, eds., *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices since the French Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., forthcoming).

⁵ Françoise Zonabend, “Pourquoi nommer? Les noms de personnes dans un village français: Minot-en-Châtillonnais,” in *L’identité: Séminaire interdisciplinaire* (Paris, 1997), 265.

⁶ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven Rendall, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1984); James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990).

⁷ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 2–3.

strides in the nineteenth century, but the potential of its power/knowledge nexus remained limited both “by the state’s modest ambitions and its limited capacity.”⁸ But in our own time, Scott argues, some states have been able and willing, under certain circumstances, to deploy this grid of power in the service of unprecedentedly ambitious and coercive projects of natural and human development, utopian both in their scale and their optimism. (The planning and conduct of war slip into the background as Scott’s vision is drawn to these more well-intentioned and improving projects, although one might argue that modern wars have had perversely improving effects on belligerent populations, not to mention the expansive economic effects of certain projects to deter war.)

The animating impulse here is what Scott calls the ideology of authoritarian “high modernism”: specific neither to the right nor the left, this is defined essentially as “envisioning a sweeping, rational engineering of all aspects of social life in order to improve the human condition.”⁹ High-modernist improvement schemes have characteristically been launched by postrevolutionary and postcolonial states that can plausibly legitimate their vast projects of refoundation and development. Thus Scott’s case studies put the familiar example of Stalinist Russia into the company of Julius Nyerere’s “villagization” of Tanzanian agriculture, and include smaller-scale projects like the modernist city-planning endeavors of Brasilia and Chandigarh. For Scott, these attempts at rational planning have all been spectacular failures. Their horrifying cost in human lives and happiness is made all the more poignant by the fact that the projects he chooses to discuss were motivated not by tyrannical malevolence but by good intentions. The question he poses is, why have such noble aspirations gone so disastrously awry?

Politically, as Scott points out, the attempts to enact these projects have rested on the coexistence of an authoritarian state and a prostrated civil society, and he faults the high-modernist improvers (perhaps too gently) for their neglect of “democracy [and] civil rights.”¹⁰ However, for Scott, these familiar themes of political and historical analysis are the contingent conditions of possibility rather than his own explanatory focus. He pays little attention to their dynamics (thus neatly sidestepping revived debates about the character of totalitarianism), and remains content with an unexamined and essentially static state/society polarity. The core of his own analysis is the story I have just summarized: the state’s historical drive to render society intelligible, its attempts to systematically order and rationalize its citizens and their social relations, to render them transparent and permeable to the state’s purposes. To adapt Karl Marx’s comment on capitalist accumulation, the watchword and downfall of the modern state in this analysis is, “Enumerate, enumerate! That is Moses and the prophets!”¹¹ Just as accumulation drives the capitalist both upward but also headlong toward disaster, so enumeration and its attendant manipulations carry not only the promise of mastery but the threat of a kind of willed ignorance. Projects of classifying and standardizing require that you simplify and abstract, that you ignore all the details and peculiarities and, above all, the local

⁸ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 88.

⁹ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 88.

¹⁰ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 89.

¹¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, 1: chap. 24, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, 50 vols. (New York, 1996), 35: 591.

knowledges that cannot be rendered visible on the big scale required by this level of social cartography. This is the historical motor of the grand improvers, yet equally it is the obstacle over which they ultimately stumble. For the knowledge produced by the state, the knowledge on which it launches its vast reformatory projects, is, Scott argues, thin and treacherous, its power and reach purchased at the price of a catastrophic loss of the situated wisdom in which real life flourishes.

A fundamental cause of difficulty here is the fact that mapping is not simply a descriptive practice but a transformative one. The modern state, argues Scott, “attempts . . . to *create* a terrain and a population with precisely those standardized characteristics that will be easiest to monitor, count, assess, and manage . . . to shape a people and a landscape that will fit their techniques of observation [to create] closed systems that offer no surprises and that can best be observed and controlled.”¹² In so doing, it rides roughshod over whatever does not fit its universalizing standards of observation; it cannot take into account the concrete, the local, the hybrid. I am reminded (reading Scott’s generous compendium of data and references has the pleasing effect of sending you diving into your own bag of idiosyncratic memories) of Gerard Manley Hopkins’ praise of:

All things counter, original, spare, strange;
Whatever is fickle, freckled (who knows how?)¹³

“Who knows how?” It’s that combination—not just the loss of the fickle and freckled but also the claim to a kind of pansophic mastery—that Scott deplores and that he sees as the secret of the improvers’ failures. Pursuing the agricultural thread that is one of the themes of the book, he traces this fatal combination from the eighteenth-century Prussian state forester’s concept of the *Normalbaum*—the standardized tree, managed solely as a maximum unit of usable timber in a forest of identical units—to the failed projects of mass agricultural development that litter our own era. He tracks the concomitant destruction of the local habitats, knowledges, and cultivation practices that used to dapple the landscape before the planners set to work. The state’s commitment to uniformity means that it either stamps out or is blind to what Luce Giard has called “the truant freedom of practices”¹⁴—life not as a legible system or structure but as loose articulation and muddled site of unpredictable everyday creativity.

Scott’s high-modernist ideologue is very like Karl Popper’s “utopian engineer,” who “aims at remodelling the ‘whole of society’ in accordance with a definite plan or blueprint [and] at controlling the historical forces that mould the future of the developing society either by arresting this development, or else by foreseeing its course and adjusting to it.”¹⁵ The utopian engineer, rejecting the kind of caution in planning that Scott, too, recommends, ends up by repeatedly having “to do things which he did not intend to do”—he is forced into improvisation, or what Popper

¹² Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 81–82, my emphasis.

¹³ “Dappled Beauty,” *Poems and Prose of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, W. H. Gardner, ed. (Harmondsworth, 1953), 31.

¹⁴ Luce Giard, “History of a Research Project,” in Michel de Certeau, Giard, and Pierre Mayol, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, vol. 2 (Minneapolis, 1998), xxii.

¹⁵ Karl Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (London, 1961), 67.

calls “the notorious phenomenon of *unplanned planning*.”¹⁶ Meanwhile, his counterpart the “piecemeal engineer knows, like Socrates, how little he knows” and ends up getting more done at less human cost. Popper’s piecemeal engineer, in other words, obeys the injunctions Scott finally addresses to the planners: take small steps; expect surprises; plan for reversibility; engage human inventiveness.¹⁷

My reference to Popper is not intended to criticize Scott for revisiting old ground. Scott himself acknowledges that his assault on utopian modernism is hardly novel as such, and it does no disservice to his achievement to say that it is grounded in a now familiar postmodern critique of totalizing rationality. But to this he has added his own ingenious angle of vision, a suggestive juxtaposition of the political projects of planned progress on the one hand and of intelligibility on the other. It is fascinating to track precisely this shift of perspective, the changing terrain of metaphor that animates these inevitably repeated debates about the best way to meet human needs. Scott’s “high-modernist ideologue” is shadowed by a lineage that includes the utilitarian, the Fabian socialist, the totalitarian bureaucrat, the rational subject. A generation ago, writers like Popper or Sidney Pollard fell naturally into the language of “social engineering” to describe the planner’s projects, and the arguments raged around the extent to which the tasks of human history, so to speak, could be left to the market.¹⁸ Now, Scott redirects the subject onto the ground of ecology and taxonomy, and he attacks high modernism for its fixity in every sense: the high-modernist ideologue is the enemy not just of pluralism but of everything that is mobile, nomadic, local, provisional, and hybrid.

In some ways, I think this book is two texts coexisting in a single volume. One is a familiar critique of monopolistic, closed political systems, but it is pitched in terms of epistemological and ecological pluralism rather than political pluralism. Thus *metis* is figured here as a kind of epistemological snail-darter or spotted owl, endangered by the incursion of more powerful monocultural knowledge-species into its local social habitats; and Scott’s salvationist hopes are pinned on our ability to cultivate and sustain epistemological diversity—civil society’s mixed forest contrasted with the state’s sterile ranks of *Normalbäume*. This imaginative attention to diversity is beautifully drawn, and Scott’s great originality is that he entwines this account with a second text that engages the directly political and less often posed question of how the minutiae of official knowledge are compiled and used by the state. This question dominates in the early chapters, but some of the issues it throws up about the relationship between state and civil society are not as fully developed as one might hope. The state is presented as the actor, civil society as its object, and that’s pretty much that. Yet if one looked beyond the kinds of states Scott anatomizes, one might find examples of enterprises that complicate this one-way vision. A historian of twentieth-century Western Europe, for example, might look at post-1945 planning for economic and political reconstruction as attempts to “improve the human condition” by moderating the anarchy of capitalism, but without substituting the state for the market or civil society. Two other major projects of state/society collaboration rather than subsumption—public health and

¹⁶ Popper, *Poverty of Historicism*, 69.

¹⁷ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 345.

¹⁸ Sidney Pollard, *The Idea of Progress: History and Society* (London, 1968).

universal education—are also strikingly absent here, and so, too, the emancipation of women with which they are closely entangled. These campaigns entail a kind of emancipatory mobilization alongside the production of transparency, and shadow the statistics of official progress with innumerable stories of individual lives achieved and enriched through such programs, not despite them.

In this sense, the book seems to me to offer two parallel rather than fully integrated texts. I end by offering two modest examples of how one might develop the relationship between epistemic and metic knowledge to open up Scott's rather closed state/society construct, though with contrasting implications. On the one hand, there is a familiar dynamic in systems of classification that *produces* anomalies, which then have to be somehow annulled in a hopeless attempt to preserve the integrity of the system. It is surely this, and not just the original ambition of the high-modernist ideologue, that helps to account for the dynamism and ruthlessness of certain utopian schemes. Even well-intentioned classifications are exclusionary in this sense, and it is odd not to see this fundamental problem addressed more directly here. On the other hand, might there not be a more optimistic dialectic in the large-scale mappings that are so suspect to Scott, but that might, so to speak, convert "epistemic knowledge" back into *metis*? The electoral register is a reductive kind of mapping; yet as I was reading Scott, I watched a friend who was running for election to the local school board using the register to pinpoint not just the names and party registrations but also the recent voting records of his potential electorate; this allowed him to concentrate his limited campaigning energies on that small percentage of his neighbors who might both cast a vote and cast it for him. In this homely, local example, one can see a "thin" system being put to an eminently local and thickly layered use.

Scott is not unaware of this dialectic, of course, and he is careful to direct his severest criticisms at authoritarian rather than democratic exploitations of legibility. Indeed, his book concludes with a touching example of the entanglements of epistemic and metic knowledge, although I confess I cannot quite work out whether this is a conscious move on the author's part. Contrasting Maya Lin's Vietnam War Memorial with the figurative memorial to Iwo Jima, Scott points out that, despite depicting naturalistic human forms, the Iwo Jima sculpture has become a closed icon that forces spectators into a position of receptive passivity: they stand, they look, they walk away. By contrast, Lin's wall of names "virtually requires participation in order to complete its meaning": it incites people to touch and trace the names of those they lost.¹⁹ No doubt there is a specific aesthetic and historical background to this,²⁰ but it also discloses the universal surname as more than merely a document of official identity, the inscription as more than a military register. Meaning—and this is really the heart of the matter—manages to insinuate its "truant freedom" into even the most orderly of systems.

¹⁹ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 355.

²⁰ See Daniel J. Sherman, "Bodies and Names: The Emergence of Commemoration in Interwar France," *AHR* 103 (April 1998): 443–66.

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Review Essays
Looking at the State: An American Perspective

MORTON KELLER

JAMES C. SCOTT'S *Seeing Like a State* is in essence a post-Cold War book. That is to say, it is not caught up in the which-side-are-you-on, Free World versus Communist World, capitalism versus socialism divisions that for so long colored social science scholarship. His thesis is simple, significant, substantial. He holds that, from earliest historical times—though for his purposes, the eighteenth century is a sufficient starting place—those in authority have tried to organize society through centralized, from-the-top-down plans, and that, with the leaden consistency of dum-dum bullets, their plans have failed. What lies behind these schemes, and why their record of achievement has been so dismal, is the theme of Scott's book. His interest in the subject grew out of his work on rural life in Southeast Asia, an area rich in failed settlement and rural improvement projects. While *Seeing Like a State* discusses non-arboreal topics such as urban planning and industrial Taylorism, its primary concern is with centralized agricultural and village planning, and how and why it so inexorably goes awry.¹

Scott takes note of a dizzying variety of devices that over the course of time have been enlisted to serve top-down control. These include the creation of permanent last names (in the late medieval West), standardized units of weight and measurement, cadastral surveys and population registers, freehold tenure, public health, political surveillance, poor relief, taxation, the standardization of language and law, the design of cities, and the organization of transportation. What do these "state simplifications" have in common? They seek, above all, to make people's activities and relationships more uniform and more "legible," and thus more readily controlled from the center. Scott deals with these devices in familiar contexts: social control, state autonomy, a managed economy. With more originality, he also explores their cultural meaning. Top-down planning, he argues, has its own aesthetic. Central planners seek "legibility": that is, the capacity to "read" the units that they seek to organize and control. Hence the regularized names, numbers, maps, lists, language, law, and other "state simplifications."²

There is a philosophy as well as a structure and a language to state planning. Scott calls it "high modernism," a faith (often disguised as a science) in the aesthetic and social superiority of well-ordered forests, farms, and cities. Nature and society alike

¹ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 1.

² Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 3.

become canvases on which high modernist planning is imposed. The state has been the major source of centralized planning, although corporate capitalism also is attracted to it. (Scott makes clear his ideological distance from Friedrich Hayek's and Milton Friedman's unleashed market.) And while big projects crop up through much of recorded history (the pyramids, the water systems of Babylon or ancient China), it is in modern times that large-scale, state-run schemes have come into their own. Only then do the instruments of public control, the ability to render civil society incapable of strong resistance, and the belief that the state is responsible for all that goes on in society attain the authority necessary for these worst-laid plans to come into effect.³

His first case study in "state projects of legibility and simplification" is the effort in eighteenth-century Prussia to subject its forests to scientific exploitation. That meant straight rows, cleared undergrowth, a single type (or a few types) of trees: more systematic, more efficient, more easily farmed, more profitable. Then that omnipresent social fact, the law of unforeseen consequences, kicked in. The denizens (human and animal) of the forests, who relied on them in their natural state for food, fuel, medicine, and building material, were badly harmed by the cleanup. And stands of one breed of tree turned out to be more vulnerable to pests and diseases that could wipe out larger numbers than before, when the creative chaos of diversity kept these destructive forces contained.⁴

The Prussian experiment was not an isolated one. Scientific forestry would have a continuing life around the world. And the mechanisms of centralized planning and control steadily grew. The mapping of territory became an accepted instrument of territorial control: in Napoleonic France, in Great Britain's colonies and the Torrens system of land registration that began in late nineteenth-century Australia and New Zealand, in Thomas Jefferson's vision of an American West divided into ten-mile-square "hundreds."⁵

The city was another major setting for these planning-and-control (im)morality plays. Medieval towns were notably disordered places. Scott sees method in their mixup. Spatial "illegibility" offered insulation from the onslaught of armies, tax collectors, higher authorities of any and every sort. From the late seventeenth century on, cities (like forests) came under the sway of an aesthetic of straight lines and visual order. Nor was the linear baroque city limited to Europe. It crossed over to the New World in the form of William Penn's late seventeenth-century plan for Philadelphia, Pierre-Charles L'Enfant's late eighteenth-century blueprint for Washington, D.C., and in the grid system of streets that became the norm for so many nineteenth-century American cities.⁶

Notable applications of top-down urban planning in the twentieth century are the capital cities of Brasilia in Brazil and Chandigarh in India. Starkly modernist buildings, districts carefully segregated by use, massive (and massively dehumanizing) plazas: these are the hallmarks of plans hatched *de haut en bas* with little or no regard for the reality of the lives of the inhabitants. Scott sees the work of

³ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, chap. 3, pp. 7–8.

⁴ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 11–22.

⁵ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 49–50.

⁶ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, chap. 2.

Chandigarh's architect Le Corbusier as the embodiment of the high modernist aesthetic. (That aesthetic bridged the ideological gulf between right and left. Corbusier's politics, insofar as he had any, tended to the right, but he was as ready to lend his talents to Lenin's and Stalin's USSR as to Marshal Petain's Vichy France. The Brazilian Communist Oscar Niemeyer was chiefly responsible for Brasilia.)⁷

Similar in concept and consequences were major land and village consolidation schemes of the twentieth century: most notably, Stalin's collectivization of Russian agriculture during the 1920s and 1930s, Mao's Great Leap Forward in China, and Julius Nyerere's *ujamaa* scheme of compulsory villagization in Tanzania. Now we're on Scott's home turf, and he dwells at length on the conflict between these top-down agricultural schemes, brutally overriding local customs and conditions, and the accumulated folk wisdom of local farmers whose seeming inefficiency was in fact a set of painfully learned, highly applicable adaptations to local needs.⁸

SCOTT'S SPREADER drops a lot of grass seed on a lot of territory. Much of what he says about state planning and local wisdom makes sense (though his disclaimer of a belief in small-is-beautiful, tradition-is-good romanticism is not very convincing). His anthropological perspective frequently results in illuminating insights. What remains is to consider the degree to which his observations apply to the United States. To do so requires taking on a question that at present commands substantial attention in American historiography: the extent to which it is still possible, in this relativistic, multicultural time, for the idea of American exceptionalism to have historical meaning.⁹

Scott tells us that in an early draft of his book he included a case study of the Tennessee Valley Authority as the American equivalent to Prussian state forestry, Soviet collectivization, and Tanzanian villagization. One can understand the appeal of the TVA as a case study in high modernist planning. The widely reproduced photographs of TVA dams—paeans to a brutalist modernism—are reminiscent of the Soviets' celebrations of the Dnepropetrovsk dam and other massive construction projects. Indeed, the utopian visions of the TVA as an exercise in full-service regional planning had more than a dollop of the hubris that Scott detects, and decries, in his other large-scale state projects.¹⁰

But, he says, a superabundance of material and a shortage of space led him to drop the TVA from his book. This omission is as intriguing as the initial linkage. It is difficult to think that only considerations of space led to his decision. Surely, the history of the TVA bears no meaningful relation to Stalinist collectivization or Tanzanian and Ethiopian resettlement schemes. The Authority was a reasonably successful effort to pump some money into a benighted American region during the

⁷ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, chap. 4.

⁸ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, chaps. 6–8.

⁹ Michael Kammen, "The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration," *American Quarterly* 45 (1993): 1–43; Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), prologue; Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York, 1996).

¹⁰ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 6.

Depression, provide electricity to a population woefully short of it, and do some proselytizing for better agricultural techniques. True, some of its originators had larger regional planning ambitions. But grass-roots politics and a profoundly weak American state put paid to that. Fifty years after its 1933 origins, the TVA was little more than a public corporation generating and selling electricity.¹¹

If anything, the dog-that-didn't-bark history of the TVA suggests how unfriendly an environment the United States has been to government-led, high modernist schemes. The history of American agricultural policy—the distribution of the public lands in the nineteenth century, the agricultural support programs of the twentieth century—is not so much a tale of Grand Designs as of Great Barbecues.

Top-down planning on a large scale did, of course, occur during World Wars I and II. But the postwar reaction to the distended wartime state made it clear that Seeing Like a State Scott-style was an anomaly born of emergency conditions, and it found little nourishment in American cultural soil. Aside from wartime, the American state-led programs that come closest to Scott's high modernist model are the Interstate Highway System and NASA. But, for all their scale and cost, it is difficult to see either as an oppressive instance of top-down state planning. Other metaphors—grass roots, pork barrels—come more readily to mind. The Interstate was—to put it mildly—hardly unresponsive to local interests (as long as they weren't poor or black), nor can it be accounted in the large a disaster (outside of the larger cities). Much the same can be said of NASA: at worst, it cost a lot of money and was of limited utility.¹²

Then there are the American instances of planning that Scott does discuss: L'Enfant's Washington, the organization of western land into uniform sections, the grid system of American city streets. He takes note as well of large-scale agribusiness: the Bonanza farms of the late nineteenth century, "industrial farming" schemes such as Thomas Campbell's Montana Farming Corporation in 1918. (Perhaps the most substantial instance of American agricultural organization on a large scale is the giant-type California fruit farming cooperative, such as Sunkist. But while the exemption of agricultural coops from antitrust law helped make them possible, these commercial enterprises were hardly instruments of state policy.)¹³

Neither Penn's Philadelphia nor L'Enfant's Washington became the model for American cities. Instead, the nation's urban areas emerged from a plethora of local plans, or no plan at all. The pervasive grid system of streets was not so much imposed from above as it was fostered by real estate interests seeking maximum land use for commercial purposes, and it was popularly supported in the belief (or at least with the excuse) that this was a democratic and egalitarian pattern of urban development. Nor will it do to try to bring Disneyland or McDonald's (as Scott glancingly does) into a discussion of top-down planning. Mass production can, but

¹¹ Paul Keith Conkin and Erwin C. Hargrove, *TVA: Fifty Years of Grass-Roots Bureaucracy* (Urbana, Ill., 1983), x-xi; Walter L. Creese, *TVA's Public Planning: The Vision, the Reality* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1990), xvi.

¹² Aaron L. Friedberg, *In the Shadow of the Garrison State* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Mark Rose, *Interstate: Express Highway Politics, 1939-1989* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1990); Walter M. McDougall, *The Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Race* (New York, 1985).

¹³ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 196-201; on agricultural coops, see Morton Keller, *Regulating a New Economy: Public Policy and Economic Change in America, 1900-1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 153-57.

does not inevitably have to be, a product of the high modernist mindset. (Sometimes, as Freud observed, a cigar is just a cigar.) And while large corporations have often tried, statelike, to micromanage their components, harsh experience and new managerial theory have greatly strengthened decentralization and grass-roots innovation.¹⁴

Scott's book turns out to be an argument more for American exceptionalism than otherwise. That Americans have made contributions to the twentieth-century cult of central planning is unquestionable: Henry Ford and Frederick W. Taylor had honored places in the Soviet pantheon. But the idea that high modernist, top-down state schemes had a part in modern American life in any way comparable to those of the Soviet Union, China, parts of Africa, or elsewhere is an absurdity of the sort George Orwell had in mind when he observed that some things are so ridiculous only an intellectual would believe them.

¹⁴ John U. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton, N.J., 1965); on street grids, John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *American Space: The Centennial Years 1865–1876* (New York, 1972), 75, 194–95; Witold Rybczynski, *City Life* (New York, 1995), 44–46.

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Review Essays
Smelling Like a Market

FERNANDO CORONIL

I REMEMBER SOME MARKETS AS WORLDLY CELEBRATIONS of labor and sociality, their busy exchanges and careful presentation of goods and crafts a feast of abundance, colors, and smells. One of my favorite markets in the United States is Philadelphia's Italian market, which combines the buzz of a major city with the intimate feel of certain regional markets in Latin America, where goods have to do with local production and uses. Of course, there are also less appealing markets, like some in the *barrios* of Latin American cities, where no effort can dispel a sense of disorder and lack, the stink of abjection. In some markets, one can "smell" fear: one has to be careful not to be robbed by either the vendors or the clients. Others communicate calm, like my local farmer's market, a place for socializing and shopping in an atmosphere of cordial and safe exchange. There are also markets, alien to me, like the New York Stock Exchange, defined by the high-energy movements of betting on the shifting risks of corporate values, transacted in anonymous exchanges. The chain supermarket where I shop, homogenizing and impersonal, also qualifies as a market, as do the West's new temples, the malls, those commodity shrines whose excess, social control, and rarefied air so quickly disorient my senses. The markets of socialist Cuba have an estranging atmosphere all their own, one that smells of desires and social divisions defined by the boundaries of the dollar's circulation. While ordinary stores carry but a limited array of inexpensive local goods sold for Cuban pesos, new supermarkets and malls offer diverse imported goods at inflated state-set prices for U.S. dollars.

Markets not only have smells, they are also apparently able to smell. Advocates of the capitalist market tell us that it can smell a successful product, a crisis, or a consumer need. For those who imagine it as an invisible hand that turns selfish individual choices into harmonious collective ends, the market seems to operate as a hidden nervous system: it senses people's desires, monitors their private decisions, and directs their conduct toward the production and consumption of goods that satisfy ever more differentiated needs. For its critics, the capitalist market is an all-too-earthly invention, rather than a benevolent transcendent force, blind to human needs and aimlessly propelled by the short-sighted pursuit of filthy money.

Clearly, markets vary immensely in their purposes, organization, state relations, and social norms. Given not only its widely varying historical forms and attributes but also the divergent theories directed at explaining it, is there such a thing as smelling like a market?

These thoughts came to my mind as I read James C. Scott's thought-provoking book *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, which proposes that the modern state has a distinctive way of "seeing" that constitutes a form of political power. In order to control and establish its authority over society through plans to improve it, Scott argues, the modern state strives to make society "legible" by means of homogenizing operations such as censuses and maps. It is these "simplifying" systems of representation, measurement, and naming that define the modern state's short-sighted way of seeing. The flatness of the modern state's vision concerns Scott not only because of its epistemic shortcomings but also because of its political effects: it shapes flawed and costly plans and molds the subjects it seeks to control. Critical of the belief that society can be improved through overarching rational designs—which he calls "high modernism"—Scott centers his discussion on large-scale state plans that embody this dangerous conceit. "Seeing like a state," the suggestive title of this book, refers to a simplifying mode of vision Scott attributes to the state that has been instrumental in effecting sweeping social transformations at considerable human cost since the end of the eighteenth century.

According to Scott, high modernist plans to improve the human condition tend to go awry independently of the intentions or skills of planners, for they are based on "thin simplifications" that misrepresent society's dense interplay of interdependencies and ignore people's practical knowledge. While Scott recognizes that the state is not the exclusive agent of grand schemes of social engineering and that these plans have on occasion been successful, this recognition does not alter his sole focus on the state and his critique of its blinding vision. His concern with failed high modernist plans to change society is limited to a critique of the state and its utopian designs.

Scott presents this general argument by means of an imaginative but problematic selection of failed schemes of large-scale state engineering. His cases proceed from state-led attempts to reorder "nature" through scientific forestry in order to increase productivity to efforts to reorganize "society" through state planning in capitalist and socialist societies with the goal of improving life and even human nature. The cases cover over two hundred years, advance chronologically from the second half of the eighteenth century to the late twentieth century, and move from a critique of designs to transform specific areas of capitalist societies to a sustained censure of attempts to reshape society under socialist rule. The main target of his critique is the radical utopian vision. He contrasts the top-down totalizing views of progressive reformers such as Le Corbusier and revolutionaries such as V. I. Lenin to the more practical perspectives of radical thinkers such as Rosa Luxemburg and critics of modern urbanism such as Jane Jacobs. He attributes Jacobs's sensitivity to the microsociology of urban orders to her "woman's eye," an eye trained to observe ordinary activities such as taking a walk or window shopping that "have no single purpose or that have no conscious purpose in the narrow sense."¹

His first case concerns the rise of state-directed projects of scientific forestry in Prussia and Saxony in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a

¹ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 138.

fascinating study of the unintended effects of large-scale plans. The effort to maximize timber production and revenues by creating stripped-down, timber-producing forests led instead to the destruction of the complex ecosystem on which the very growth of timber depends. Rather than maximizing long-term production, this state-led plan resulted in the destruction of the social and natural fabric of the forests and to a sharp decline in production after the first generation of rationalized tree planting.

Scott presents this case as paradigmatic of the processes he critiques, frequently evoking the "forest" as a metaphor for "society." He shows how the same mode of vision associated with state "simplifications" designed to make the forest more productive has informed a number of efforts to improve society, leading to the violent disruption of the historical fabric of society like that inflicted on the natural fabric of the forest. While the object of planning is significantly different from that of scientific forestry, the planning logic and its devastating effects are similar. The progression of his narrative, as it spirals from state-led plans to reorder nature to the ever more ambitious designs to reshape society, makes clear that his central target is "authoritarian high modernism," that is, the "aspiration to the administrative ordering of nature and society," which he presents as an extension of scientific forestry to the social domain.

His main case studies include the construction of Brasilia, the Brazilian state's modernization project inspired by Le Corbusier's vision of a total urban environment; the Soviet collectivization of agriculture, an expression of Lenin's centralized bureaucratic aim to build socialism in one country; and the forced "villagization" of Tanzania from 1973 to 1976, an instance of Julius Nyerere's effort to settle a largely nomadic population in administrative villages and create a modern and productive peasantry. All these plans "failed" because they were based on "state simplifications" that did not reflect the actual complexity of society but rather a will to render it manageable and to redesign it according to the state's utopian vision. Making an explicit analogy with scientific forestry, he argues that the "modern state, through its officials, attempts with varying success to create a terrain and a population with precisely those standardized characteristics that will be easiest to monitor, count, assess, and manage."²

To the possible objection that some plans failed not just because they were grand but because they were ill-conceived or because of unpredictable changes in political or environmental conditions, Scott's book seems to provide a ready reply: it is precisely because no plan can account for life's contingencies that any plan aspiring to more than cautious reforms is doomed to failure. His suggestions make a reasoned argument for gradualism (but I see no reason why they could not orient the implementation of large-scale plans as well): "take small steps," "favor reversibility," "plan on surprises," and "plan on human inventiveness."³ While it is evident that his position reinforces both the conservative and liberal opposition to radical plans for societal change, it is less obvious that it may undermine the political ground of reformism itself. On the basis of his discussion of the unintended effects of high modernist designs, Scott proposes that thin simplifications cannot

² Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 81–82.

³ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 345.

apprehend the dense complexity of social interdependencies—the removal of unsightly scrubs may thwart the growth of useful pine trees. But what of the possibility that without the threat of radical movements, as the historical evidence suggests, moderate reforms would find a less propitious political terrain? Scott would probably agree that utopian visions sometimes provide a necessary sense of direction for social reforms; he does not object to radical visions per se but to top-down grand designs that seek to change society without taking into account local particularities and practical knowledge. But since it is not always possible to separate utopian visions from the designs they inspire, the political feasibility of Scott's "thin" recipe for gradual reform may well depend, ironically, on the existence of the utopian schemes he warns against.

Scott's often brilliant insights concerning the individual cases contribute to our understanding of specific state practices and warn against the modernist hubris that rational schemes are capable of redesigning society. Yet as a study of the unplanned consequences of high modernist plans, his book makes a limited contribution to the growing body of scholarship on the effects of partial interventions in complex systems. Since it examines only cases of failure, it provides thin support for his general argument about high modernism. His sample does not help us understand the conditions that lead to the failure or success of high modernist designs or to the outcome of plans by non-state actors that also use "simplifications" to reorder society and that, if we accept his categories, "see like a state." Why did Oscar Niemeyer's Brasilia "fail" rather miserably while Baron Haussmann's redesign of Paris famously succeeded? Why did the Marshall Plan work while the "villagization" of Tanzania did not? How to compare the public health systems of England or Spain to the health services available in the United States? Scott's limited sample supports only the rather obvious point that some ill-conceived modernist plans indeed had ill consequences, or the more general but truistic claim that bad plans generally lead to bad results. But even these assertions assume a number of unexamined premises about standards for evaluating historical outcomes and for isolating the factors that determined them.

Any book necessarily focuses on certain problems and cannot be faulted for excluding other questions. Yet Scott's general claims about high modernism require a consideration, however partial, of a number of issues. Among these, I would list the following: the criteria used to judge historical outcomes in terms of "failure" or "success"; the factors external to planning that affect its results; "successful" instances of modernist designs, of which there are examples in a range of countries and fields; non-state designs to transform society, particularly by market institutions; "simplifications" that have enabled the development of complex social formations in the modern world; the interplay of "realism" and "utopia" in political struggles and in defining the horizon of social expectations; the existence within modernism of philosophical, aesthetic, and political currents of thought that questioned the flat vision of formalized "normal" science (which Scott identifies with modernism) and provided a more dynamic view of modernity; and the appropriateness of a reflectionist or scopic framework for analyzing the state's sign-systems, instead of a dialogic or performative model that examines representational systems as processual practices within fields of power.

Scott's focus on the state grows out of his conviction that the state has been responsible for the failure of the major twentieth-century designs to improve the human condition. The tragic failure of these plans can be explained, according to him, by a combination of four conditions: the state's efforts to order nature and society by administrative means, a high modernist ideology according to which science is capable of improving both society and human beings, the deployment of authoritarian state power to implement large-scale transformations, and a weak civil society unable to resist these measures of control. In this set of conditions, Scott presents the state as the only actor that incarnates high modernist ideology. In contrast, he portrays civil society not as a terrain where this ideology could be produced or take root but only as a potential site of resistance against it, particularly when it is "strong" and can repel state interventionism.

His lack of attention to the designs of non-state actors that have also had tragic effects is remarkable, particularly since Scott acknowledges that market institutions have been fundamental bearers of high modernism and are today perhaps one of its principal agents. Scott recognizes this lack in his book's introduction:

As I finished this book, I realized that its critique of certain forms of state action might seem, from the post-1989 perspective of capitalist triumphalism, like a kind of quaint archeology. States, with the pretensions and power that I criticize, have for the most part vanished or have drastically curbed their ambitions. And yet, as I make clear in examining scientific farming, industrial agriculture, and capitalist markets in general, large-scale capitalism is just as much an agency of homogenization, uniformity, grids, and heroic simplification as the state is, with the difference being that, for capitalists, simplification must pay. A market necessarily reduces quality to quantity via the price mechanism and promotes standardization; in markets, money talks, not people. Today, global capitalism is perhaps the most powerful force for homogenization, whereas the state may in some instances be the defender of local difference and variety.⁴

It is striking that Scott's awareness of the role of the capitalist market in high modernism did not oblige him to modify his focus on the state, except by stating that his book is also a critique of the market through his examination of "scientific farming, industrial agriculture, and capitalist markets in general." His discussion of scientific forestry, however, did not lead him to develop an argument about the role of the market as an agent of high modernist designs but instead to build a paradigmatic model of state planning for the rest of the book. If Scott's argument is that high modernism entails a simplifying, abstracting, and homogenizing mode of vision that can be deployed by state and non-state social actors (since "large-scale capitalism is just as much an agency of homogenization, uniformity, grids, and heroic simplification as the state"), then why attribute this way of seeing to the state and restrict analysis to state designs without justifying this partial focus? If the claim is that abstractions and simplifications of the state, given its political power, are unlike those of the market or have different effects, why not develop this argument? Nowhere in the book is there a sustained discussion of the capitalist market as an institution that has redesigned societies through no less costly modalities of social engineering than the ones Scott examines in this book. The

⁴ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 7–8.

current faith in the free market and the impact of neo-liberal policies throughout the world only make it more urgent to examine the role of the market in intensifying ecological destruction and worldwide social inequalities amidst unprecedented plenty. One is left to wonder about the role of a clarification that does not modify the overall narrative that required making it in the first place.

As I see it, the issue is not that the capitalist market should be included solely because it has been a major agent of high modernism, or because it plays an even larger role as a homogenizing force now that many socialist states have collapsed, but because the opposition between state and market that structures the book is itself a thin simplification that obscures the mutual historical constitution of "state" and "market," their close interaction, and their ongoing transformation. The modes of objectification, homogenization, and abstraction that Scott attributes to the state are inseparable from conceptual, technological, and social transformations linked not just to the constitution of modern state bureaucracies but to the development of global capitalism and the generalized commodification of social life. That Scott sees scientific forestry as an example not only of state planning but also of market rationality shows that the opposition between state and market may be misleading and that some designs are best seen as the joint result of a high modernist vision shared by states and markets. In this century, states that sought to build socialism often relied on conceptual schemes generated within capitalist society, such as the notion of "scientific management" or conceptions of industrialization as the motor of progress. If after 1989, "global capitalism is the most powerful force for homogenization," it is not just in opposition to some states that resist it, as Scott says, but in alliance with major states that help define the shifting legal, cultural, and political parameters that shape capitalism. While Weberian and Marxist discussions of the state have been premised on a separation between the state and society (or the economy), new approaches suggest the inseparability of the political and the social, particularly now that it is easier to see how the capitalist market has imposed its logic on society and become a "political" force of its own.

SCOTT'S TREATMENT OF THE STATE AND SOCIETY as separate entities is reinforced by his discussion of two different modalities of knowledge: abstract and practical. He poses a stark contrast between scientific planning from above, based on fixed designs geared to grand transformations, and practical knowledge from below, stored in habits and traditions attuned to the complexity of reality and open to the play of contingency. While restricting his critique of high modernist knowledge to state-led exercises in social engineering, Scott turns to civil society as the locus of an alternative mode of knowledge: the practical knowledge the ancient Greeks called *metis*, exemplified by the flexible intelligence that guided Odysseus's quest through unexpected situations. This binary contrast between abstract and practical knowledge, treated not so much as different modalities of knowledge that any social actor or institution can deploy but as rooted in the state and society as separate social domains, helps consolidate the opposition between state and society that underwrites his argument about the way the modern state sees.

Scott's critique of the abstract knowledge informing large-scale state designs and his celebration of the practical knowledge stored in civil society resonates with liberal rejections of state planning and endorsement of the free market. Although Scott clarifies that "his bill of particulars against a certain kind of state is not a case for politically unfettered market coordination as urged by Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman," he endorses Hayek's critique of state planning, approvingly citing his claim that a "command economy, however sophisticated and legible, cannot begin to replace the myriad, rapid, mutual adjustments of functioning markets and the price system."⁵ Like Scott, but with more theoretical rigor, Hayek forcefully argued against what he called the "constructivist fallacy," by which he meant the notion that social institutions can be the object of successful rational design. Similarly, Michael Oakeshott, Karl Polanyi, and Gilbert Ryle warned against institutions that seek to make decisions for their intended beneficiaries, the bearers of the practical knowledge that these institutions cannot systematize or control. While he shares the liberal critique of the state, Scott warns that market designs, just as much as state planning, may deny the practical knowledge of common people, but he does not show how this may be the case.

Scott's generous desire to empower the individual against external constraints is flawed by his murky treatment of the source of these constraints. His insistence that his critique of the state as an agent of high modernism is not a "case for the invisible hand of market coordination as opposed to centralized economies" is cast in terms that show that, in effect, it is a limited critique of the market that upholds its basic principle. He objects to the market because it "is itself an instituted, formal system of coordination, despite the elbow room that it provides to its participants, and it is therefore dependent on a larger system of social relations which its own calculus does not acknowledge and which it can neither create nor maintain."⁶ Yet any complex social institution is constituted through processes of formalization and is dependent on larger fields of social relations; the market is not unique in this respect. As Emile Durkheim showed, social facts constrain and empower; as Karl Marx argued, the issue is to discern the particular manner in which specific social facts alienate or enable differentially distinct sectors of society. While on the one hand Scott objects to the market as a coercive formal structure, on the other he endorses Thomas Jefferson's celebration of yeomanry, which he calls a "training ground of democratic citizenship."⁷ This combined focus helps cast the institution of private ownership of the means of production, the material foundation of Jeffersonian yeomanry as well as of the capitalist market, not as a source of profound inequalities in the real world but as the foundation of an implausible democracy of small property owners in an ideal world.

Given his slippery treatment of capitalism, it is hard not to smell something fishy in Scott's exclusive focus on the state and his inattention to the market and its ways of seeing, a partial view all the more odd given his criticism of the capitalist market in this and previous books. Would a book critical of modernist visions titled "Seeing Like a Market" be likely to be produced or to gain wide acceptance at this time? It

⁵ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 8, 256.

⁶ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 351.

⁷ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 355.

is as if neo-liberal hegemony had worked in this text to present capitalism's complex contradictions as a Manichean opposition between the state and society. Authorial intentions aside, *Seeing Like a State* turns the state into the leading agent of ill-conceived modernist fantasies and construes society as the potential site of a Panglossian vision of capitalism (or pre-capitalism)—a bucolic community of small property owners without dispossessed proletarians or giant conglomerates, unhampered by institutional constraints, where everyone freely cultivates his or her own capital garden.

A similar tension between abstract critique and concrete celebration appears in his discussion of language as an example of both rigid simplification and fluid *metis*. In his early discussion of the relationship between language and the state, Scott states that "of all state institutions, then, the imposition of a single, official language may be the most powerful, and it is the precondition of many other simplifications." Yet in the concluding pages of the book, he treats language as the "best model" of a *metis*-friendly institution; the book's last sentence refers to language as "a structure of meaning and continuity that is never still and ever open to the improvisation of all its speakers."⁸ This tension between language as an instrument of the powerful and language as an empowering institution for all speakers remains unresolved; it is difficult to see how language is "open to the improvisation of all its speakers" when some speakers (through institutions they control) not only have more say than others but can define the language in which everyone must speak. Juan Marinello, the Cuban essayist, incisively captured the dilemma of colonized populations condemned to use the colonizer's language: "The American writer is a prisoner. Firstly of his language." Arguing that colonial language has been "the most powerful obstacle to a vernacular idiom," Marinello explains why it has made it difficult for the (Latin) American writer to improvise: "language has a life of its own. We struggle to secrete creolisms onto the mother tongue, and when we make a serious effort to innovate our speech, we come up with forms that lived a youthful existence centuries ago in Andalusia or Extremadura. Or that could have had such an existence."⁹

Just as the "democratic" figure of yeomanry serves to occlude the presence of power in the market, the homogenizing trope of "all speakers" evacuates power from language. As power vanishes from our sight, we are left with a vision of a world of property owners and speakers with equal shares of material and symbolic capital. Independently of Scott's intentions, his abstract critique of the market as a formal institution and endorsement of the myth of individual ownership of the means of production ends up lending support to the really existing market.

Since Scott restricts his attention to state designs, his pair of binary oppositions between state/society and abstract knowledge/*metis* unfolds as a compound opposition between state-abstract knowledge/society-*metis*. This opposition has the unintended effect of confirming current neo-liberal prejudices against the state. The contemporary religion of the free market transforms the market into society's best organizational form. It also turns the market into the locus of individuality and

⁸ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 72, 357.

⁹ Juan Marinello, "Americanismo y cubanismo literarios" [1932], in *Ensayos* (Havana, 1977), 48–49.

common sense in opposition to the state as the domain of authoritarian practices and impractical designs. Within this charged ideological landscape, it is difficult not to smell the hegemonic presence of the market behind Scott's critique of the state and celebration of *metis*.

It is also difficult not to see the state as the embodiment of a threat against society's "normal" functioning, despite the fact that any such "normality" presupposes power relations mediated by specific states. States, like societies, come in many forms, and their changing configurations reflect ongoing social struggles over different conceptions of the normal and the desirable. While Scott says a great deal about the way some state plans work, nowhere does he offer a conceptualization of the state. The modern state emerges from his narrative as a unified actor endowed with a single mode of vision. The immense variety of states and their no less varied internal heterogeneity and complexity is flattened into a unique type that stands in opposition to society.

From a Latin American perspective, the conception of the state as a unified actor having a single mode of vision is particularly problematic. States in Latin America have been formed within complex hierarchical processes of institutionalization and codification. During colonial times, local state officials knew that imperial orders were to be obeyed but also violated. "Obedezco pero no cumplo" (I obey, but I do not comply) expressed the conventional response of state officials in the Americas to commands from imperial Spain, a veiled effort to adjust plans to local conditions and power relations. Colonial officials learned when to apply, ignore, or flexibly interpret laws and designs.

In this ability to combine abstract and practical knowledge, "modern" states are not significantly different. In my own study of state planning in twentieth-century Venezuela, I showed how plans are formulated by the state but are not plans of the state, for they are produced in conjunction with other powerful actors that shape the state and are modified by the ongoing play of politics.¹⁰ Diverse state institutions, as well as individuals within the same institution, play different roles with respect to state planning. Plans to create "the Great Venezuela" after the 1974 oil boom were devised by state technocrats but were typically transgressed by upper-level state officials less concerned with the coherence of the plans than with their political effects. States embody both the abstract logic Scott associates with high modernism and also the practical knowledge he identifies with *metis*. No state in Latin America—or anywhere for that matter—would be able to function without being adept at combining multiple modalities of knowledge. As a form of "practical" knowledge, *metis* is a term that aptly describes a required mode of operation of any complex social institution. Modern states, like markets, "see" and "smell" in many ways. Instead of using maps that reproduce common illusions, in order to orient ourselves within the labyrinthine boardrooms and halls of mirrors of modern states we need to develop a critical cartography of modernity.

Maps have often been used as a trope to reflect on the relationship between representations and reality and on the uses of knowledge. Scott opens his discussion of state simplifications in the area of urban planning in Chapter 2 with the following

¹⁰ Fernando Coronil, *The Magical State: Money, Nature and Modernity in Venezuela* (Chicago, 1997).

epigraph about a map: "And the Colleges of the Cartographers set up a Map of the Empire which had the size of the Empire itself and coincided with it point by point . . . Succeeding generations understood that this Widespread Map was Useless, and not without Impiety they abandoned it to the Inclemencies of the Sun and the Winters." He attributes this text to Suárez Miranda's *Viajes de varones prudentes* (1658). As far as I know, however, this book was never written and its author did not exist. Nevertheless, the text Scott quotes does exist but only as part of a slightly longer fictional story written by Jorge Luis Borges titled "On Exactitude in Science." (A footnote in the following chapter reveals that Scott has not read this story, but he knows through a colleague that Borges wrote one about maps.) Borges's story is written as a citation that he attributes to Suárez Miranda's *Viajes de varones prudentes* (1658); he gives a fuller reference: Fourth Book, Chapter XLV, Lérída. Borges's story at once tells a tale about maps that exposes the imperial conceit that the empire's cartographers can represent the empire as a geographical and historical reality "point by point," and enacts a related conceit by creating a replica of a text written in the literary style of seventeenth-century Spain.

Borges's story is immensely suggestive. I have interpreted it as Borges's attempt to problematize the relationship between reality, representation, and power.¹¹ I see it as an allegory not just of science but of power, or, rather, of the connection between knowledge and power. As a story about the power to determine the terms in which the empire should be represented, it addresses the relationship between imperial power and imperial knowledge. It is therefore a story not just about the truth of scientific representations but about the representation of truth, about power's representations and the power to represent, about the truth of power. Through it, Borges calls our attention to the conditions of production of knowledge, its politics and uses.

By seeing Borges's literary replica as a literary original, Scott adds an unexpected but corroborating wrinkle to Borges's concern with the limits and (mis)uses of knowledge. Following a longstanding Latin American concern with the relation between image and reality, Borges tricks us, but his trick is a playful invitation to think about the belief that as scientists we are free to reproduce or interpret the world as it is, rather than under specific cultural constraints and political conditions. He also invites us to think of a map, or any interpretation, as an inexact model, which reveals not just its inevitable partiality as an incomplete representation but also its inescapable partiality as a design of power. As such, any representation must be evaluated by its uses and effects.

Seeing Like a State is in this sense an imperial map of the modern world. From a lofty position, it gazes on a wide geographical and historical terrain, recounts imaginatively a number of themes and problems, and offers a set of recommendations for social reform. Like most maps, this book helps us see some things and occludes others from view. At the end, one is left with a striking irony. Scott's map of what he calls high modernism seems to be produced from the same all-seeing standpoint he identifies with high modernism—an imperial way of seeing for which

¹¹ Fernando Coronil, "Beyond Occidentalism: Towards Non-Imperial Geohistorical Categories," *Cultural Anthropology* 11 (1996): 51–87.

Mary Louise Pratt has persuasively established a longer, colonial genealogy.¹² As a high modernist critique of high modernism, it reinscribes the hubris he has so aptly discerned, and ends up producing a simplified account of high modernism and of the state and its way of seeing.

My concern is not that this map does not show us all of reality, for no map can do this. Rather, it is that its significant but one-sided illumination of a complex social landscape leaves obscured much of the terrain we have traversed, directs us to an impoverished destiny, and blocks alternative pathways. Scott invites us to keep our eyes so close to the ground, to take such small steps, that we may become blind to the violence of familiar paths and never risk to step out of the capitalist dystopia that surrounds us. I wish to have a map that would ask us to proceed with caution, as Scott does, but that would recognize the marks of human daring, a map that would dare our imagination, that would show new vistas and make us desire to mold the existing order into a different, dignified landscape for humankind. As Borges's story suggests, the truth of a map lies in its use. A map of history is not simply its model but its figuration. Our journey's desired destiny also defines the way we depict its trajectory.

¹² Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992).

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

MARION GIBSON. *Reading Witchcraft: Stories of Early English Witches*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. 242. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.95.

Marion Gibson's title indicates precisely the scope of her book. Its primary focus is the pamphlet accounts of witchcraft trials in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, the problems they pose, and how scholars may profitably engage with this material. English witches were tried before the Assize Courts, many of whose records have not survived or survive only as indictments without supporting depositions. Pamphlet accounts offer far more circumstantial detail, but scholars have always been acutely aware of the problems of reliability they present. Gibson wrestles more fully than any previous scholar with the issues of how these texts were constructed, who wrote them and why, and what we can hope to derive from them. She sees the pamphlets as primarily representations of witchcraft, no more reliable as factual accounts than oral history or a Mills and Boon novel (a curious and alarming parallel she draws twice). She insists that these accounts remain valuable, however, as rich evidence of contemporary understandings of witchcraft, a tool for cultural rather than social analysis.

Gibson offers a cogent analysis of the pamphlet narrative, asking whose voice we are hearing, and whose story is being told. The narrative may be shaped by victims and magistrates, who establish a broad shape to the episode and press the witch to confess its truth; it may be shaped by the witch herself, telling a story under pressure that may nonetheless diverge considerably from the preferred models; or it may be a hybrid. Gibson establishes that the witchcraft pamphlet was itself a genre, with its own subgenres and evolution; the most important development she dates, following Barbara Rosen, to the 1590s, with pamphlets based on transcribed legal documents henceforth replaced by more literary accounts shaped by the pamphleteer. She gives full weight to the prefaces, too, some of which offer their own overviews and identify their purpose as instructive, polemical, or even escapist. Gibson is good on the multiple cultural roles of witchcraft, perceived both as tragedy and black comedy and (a point not developed here) pirated in

general discourse in such constructions as being bewitched by a lover's eyes.

By the end of James I's reign, the genre was losing momentum; no new witchcraft pamphlets appeared between 1621 and 1643. Gibson argues that the prefaces themselves reveal a loss of confidence, with authors increasingly aware of the complex and disputed nature of their subject. This book makes a major contribution to our understanding of the witchcraft pamphlets and provides a valuable checklist of the questions scholars should use to interrogate them. But there seems an unresolved tension between the message that, thus armed, we can arrive at something approximating the probable "facts" and an alternative message that this material is of value only as a representation of witchcraft, telling us about perceptions and understandings.

That tension may help to explain the short and rather disappointing conclusion, "Where do we go from here?," in which Gibson sets out another checklist of questions to be applied with an assurance that much can be learned by applying them. That suggests an uncharacteristic loss of confidence. Gibson herself has skillfully interrogated the pamphlets in precisely this way, and it would be good to have her conclusions on how she thinks this exercise has modified our general understanding of the dynamics of belief, accusation, and prosecution. She would probably accept that pamphlets alone can never be a sufficient basis for research: scholars need to employ court records; explore (when possible) the social context of particular episodes, as Annabel Gregory and J. A. Sharpe have recently done in England; and be fully aware of the enormous hinterland of beliefs and practices involving white witchcraft and "cunning folk" which was of limited interest to the courts and of none to the pamphleteers. Gibson's achievement is to show both the complexity and the potential riches of the multi-layered pamphlet material. Future scholars will be indebted to her book, an invaluable manual and *vade mecum* as well as an original, important, and stimulating monograph.

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S. IRFAN HABIB and DHURUV RAINA, editors. *Situating the History of Science: Dialogues with Joseph Needham*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 358. \$35.00.

Not many of the people who have dipped into the voluminous writings of Joseph Needham (1900–1995) and his collaborators on science, technology, and medicine in China before modern times are aware of his many other careers: his eminence in English biochemistry, philosophy, and history before World War II; his wartime years in the Chinese hinterland helping displaced scientists continue their research; his decade in Paris during which, as the cliché has it, he put the S in UNESCO; his seventy years as fellow, with a term as master, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; the transformation, in his last years, of his working library into a well-used international research institute; and his lifelong international political activism.

The dozen essays in this volume explore themes, large and small, in Needham's work: the applicability of his methods and insights to non-European cultures other than China; the prospects for a world history of science, or at least one freed from European ethnocentrism; and the universality and unity of modern science itself. The subtitle claims that the papers are dialogues with Needham, and several are that. They derive from a memorial conference held at New Delhi in 1996 that brought together academics and career researchers in a wide variety of fields. The diversity of the essays reflects Needham's endless efforts toward "the promotion of human solidarity, social justice, scientific progress, intellectual tolerance and creativity and peace," even when some of these were distinctly unfashionable stands (p. 64).

The volume, although inspired by Needham, is not about him. None of the essays gives a sense of his character or presence. Gregory Blue, a historian of China and former collaborator of Needham's, provides a detailed and accurate overview of his most important intellectual positions, ranging from the universality of science and the social responsibility of the scientist to diffusion vs. independent invention as the norm in the worldwide history of technology. Blue's assessments are always judicious, sometimes painfully so.

Aant Elzinga, Shiv Visvanathan, and Steve Fuller are less reluctant to press their views. With considerable panache, they discuss "the social epistemology of Needhamian historiography," taking up, among other things, the implications of Needham's fixation on why modern science did not develop earlier in China than in Europe. A good deal of what they and other contributors say will seem familiar to those who have read their publications of the past decade. But it is only fair to say that those who have not encountered the work of these scholars before will find their arguments in this book worth taking seriously.

Other chips off well-known workbenches provide little but elegantly phrased bromides or promise revelations that they do not get round to delivering. A

particularly erudite instance promises to throw light on "the radically different aspects of ancient Indian culture that most resemble modern laboratory science" (p. 327) but concludes only that alchemy is not one of them.

The editing of this volume by S. Irfan Habib and Dhruv Raina is exceptionally careless. The introduction summarizes each essay but provides no synthesis; the volume gives no account of the discussions—if any—that followed the papers at the meeting; and unresolved dissonances suggest that few authors revised their contributions to reflect give and take.

Let me give one example. The editors' own study of "The Non-Emergence of a Needhamian History of Sciences of India" reveals that the writings of J. D. Bernal and Needham provided the main stimuli for and "acquired canonical status amongst a section of the Nehruvian scientific community and decision-makers." They point out that this influence was abortive for the history of Indian science but nevertheless assert that "it will not be an exaggeration to suggest that *Science and Civilisation [in China]* provided the master narrative, to be elaborated or subverted, for subsequent research on the history of science of the non-Western nations" (pp. 287–88). In drawing this generalization, Habib and Raina ignore Catherine Jami's "Joseph Needham and the Historiography of Chinese Mathematics," more workmanlike than many essays in this volume and more original than most. Jami concludes that the relation of Needham's work to "the Chinese historiography of mathematics in the past forty years appears to be more a convergence of interests and methods than a direct influence" (p. 275). To put it less circumspectly, Chinese scholars made remarkably little use of it.

There is enough food for thought in this volume to tempt readers already fascinated by Needham's books to begin exploring larger questions, but more ambition on the part of the authors and editors could have made it considerably more nutritious.

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DAVID A. LAKE. *Entangling Relations: American Foreign Policy in Its Century*. (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 332. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$17.95.

"This book is an exercise in theory driven history" (p. 71), says David A. Lake. Employing an economic theory of "relational contracting" that was first applied to analyses of business firm behavior, Lake looks at the ways in which "polities" structure their security relationships. He argues that security cooperation, in particular, has been woefully neglected in a social science literature obsessed with conflict. To shift the emphasis away from threats and violence, he wants to show that "policy was shaped in important ways by the

benefits and costs for the United States of alternative security relationships with its partners" (p. 4).

As Lake conceives of them, security relations cover a spectrum from unilateralism at one extreme to various kinds of "cooperative" relationships, ranging from the anarchical (traditional alliances) to progressively more hierarchical relations like spheres of influence, protectorates, informal empire, and outright imperialism. The kind of security relationship selected depends on the weighing of three interrelated factors: joint production economies available from cooperation (economies of scale, positive externalities, and a more efficient division of labor); the likelihood of opportunism (abandonment, entrapment, or exploitation) by one's partners under varying conditions of hierarchy; and governance costs under different circumstances.

To illustrate his theory, Lake draws upon three different periods from the history of U.S. foreign relations. In a reinterpretation of the post-World War I rejection of the peace treaty, he argues that the decision can be explained by the absence of joint military benefits deriving from membership in the League of Nations, a strong likelihood of European opportunism dragging the United States into peripheral controversies, and the high cost of imposing a hierarchical settlement upon the allies. In Lake's view, the debate was chiefly between different kinds of cooperationists. Those who sided with Henry Cabot Lodge favored anarchical cooperation with the League, whereas the Wilsonians were amenable to a more hierarchical solution, notwithstanding its higher governance costs, as a way of limiting European opportunism. The inability to agree resulted in a reversion to the unilateralism (*not* isolationism) of the Irreconcilables, which Lake calls the "default position."

After World War II, the interplay of these three factors combined to produce security cooperation of an anarchical character in Europe, as the security dividends of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) were satisfactorily balanced against opportunism and governance costs. But "cooperation" took an extremely hierarchical form in Micronesia, which, as an American-controlled United Nations (UN) "security trusteeship" was "an empire in all but name" (p. 14). By the 1990s, new kinds of cooperation emerged. Lake uses American intervention in the Gulf War of 1991 and in Somalia to illustrate his theses.

Only a few disagreements can be mentioned here. For one thing, it seems curious to define imperialism as a security relationship when, at times, as in the Philippines, empire was the product of identity concerns that actually decreased national security. Nor does it seem appropriate to take the threat out of the equation by insisting that "analytically, the origin and level of threat cannot explain the nature of the security relationship" (p. 43). In the aftermath of World War I, the absence of a palpable threat, more than anything else, doomed America's entry into the League. Also,

setting empires and alliances side-by-side suggests alternatives that make more sense as abstractions than as real-world options. And his suggestion that American isolationism in the 1930s was the result chiefly of Depression-era stinginess seems a stretch.

Lake's preoccupation with the maximization of utility, although oftentimes helpful, can also be rather one-sided. Security debates were not simply about quantifiable trade-offs but also about fundamental issues of national identity, shaped by pre-existing values of the kind recently described by Michael Hogan, among others. The problem here is how far one can extend economic logic. Lake says that the theory of relational contracting explains not only the behavior of politics but economic behavior as well. Why stop there? Why not use it to explain joining a religion, a special interest group, a street gang, marriage, or any goal-oriented associational activity? Taken too far, the attempt to introduce a retrospective calculability into situations that were fundamentally indeterminate may well distort our understanding of them.

Nevertheless, it is clear that Lake skillfully investigates an important dimension of international behavior unduly neglected by traditional theory, and his analysis of the early Cold War is particularly insightful. This is, on balance, an innovative and challenging work that deepens our understanding of American internationalism in the twentieth century.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

PATRICIA RANFT. *Women and Spiritual Equality in Christian Tradition*. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. xii, 307. \$39.95.

This is not an easy book to review. On the one hand, its main thesis is incontrovertible. "Within Christianity," Patricia Ranft writes, "there is a strong and enduring tradition that maintains the spiritual equality of women" (p. x). Ranft is aware, of course, that the history of Christianity is replete with evidence of misogyny and antifemale rhetoric. Her point, however, is that the negative portrayal and treatment of women is not all there is to the Christian tradition. Assuming that the very presence of holy women in every age of church history "had an effect on society and therefore is evidence of a positive tradition," Ranft proposes to give expression to these positive "muted voices" in the tradition by documenting "incidences of woman's presence in Christianity" (p. xi).

It is incontestable that Christian tradition has been diverse and ambiguous in its apprehension of the nature and roles of women. To undertake to document even one strand of the tradition over such a span of time (from the early church to the Enlightenment), as Ranft has done, is a formidable task. For a nonspecialist or someone interested in the broad sweep of the

Christian tradition and approaching the subject of women in Christianity for the first time, Ranft's book provides a helpful survey of the many ways in which women have functioned (and, occasionally, even flourished) in that tradition.

In this reviewer's opinion, however, there are problems with Ranft's execution of her task that seriously undermine the value of this book, at least for the academic historian. One of its defects is the lack of any sustained discussion or definition of what exactly constitutes "spiritual equality." Does it mean that women and men were viewed as having the same spiritual faculties (e.g. identical human souls)? Does it mean that men and women were both seen as equally possessing or reflecting the "image of God"? Does it mean that women and men were both considered capable of accomplishing the same spiritual works on earth, such as prayer, fasting, charitable activities, pilgrimage, and spiritual direction? Does it mean that women and men were both understood to be capable of mystical union with God and beatitude in heaven?

As Ranft proceeds, it becomes clear that "spiritual equality" means all of the above and more. Ranft presents any positive comment about women that can be gleaned from "orthodox" Christian sources as straightforward and unproblematic evidence of the "spiritual equality" of women in Christian tradition. (She declines to discuss apocryphal or "heretical" texts, although without saying why and without indicating how one might tell the difference between "orthodoxy" and "heresy," especially in the early church when such categories were under construction.) The problem with such an approach should be plain: if "spiritual equality" can mean just about anything, as long as it is "positive" about women, the term loses its usefulness as a tool of historical analysis. Ranft has presented a marvelous mosaic of passages from Christian texts indicating that women were valued at many times and places, but the resultant portrait remains rather imprecise.

Perhaps the greatest deficiency from the point of view of historical method is Ranft's reluctance to subject the texts to any sort of criticism or even analysis. Such an omission is deliberate: "I am more interested in documenting incidences of woman's presence in Christianity than in analyzing the modes of her presence . . . I do not run away from analysis or from secondary sources, but I do use them sparingly" (p. xi). While attention to primary sources is always laudable, Ranft fails to acknowledge the myriad ways in which male discourse about women is always problematic. For example, Ranft tends to assume that the highly rhetorical comments of the Church Fathers, such as Jerome or Gregory of Nyssa, can be taken at face value as describing the actual experience of real women (see her treatment of Gregory's *The Life of St. Macrina* [pp. 74–75]). One does not have to embrace radical scepticism or endorse deconstruction to acknowledge the highly rhetorical character of much Christian discourse, especially the representations of women by

men. (For a helpful introduction to this problem see Elizabeth A. Clark, "The Lady Vanishes: Dilemmas of a Feminist Historian after the 'Linguistic Turn,'" *Church History* 67 [1998]: 1–31.)

But even rather traditional historians will be concerned by Ranft's lack of historical nuance. Most of the documents are cited according to English translations, not original texts; for the early church Ranft usually relies on the nineteenth-century Ante-Nicene and Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers series. At times this leads her astray, as, for example, when she erroneously cites the Council of Carthage of 419 as "one of the seven ecumenical councils" (p. 124). The New Testament letter of Paul to Timothy is cited without discussion as a letter of Paul (pp. 5–6), although few New Testament scholars would maintain this. Ranft notes that Augustine's opinions on women "underwent development as his theology matured" (p. 44), but she proceeds to discuss his views by citing texts without any attention to their place in Augustine's development. Perhaps these comments are pedantic quibbles, but they suggest that further analysis of texts, as well as attention to secondary sources, might have strengthened, rather than weakened, Ranft's case for the "spiritual equality" of women in Christian tradition.

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SHIGEHISA KURIYAMA. *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine*. New York: Zone Books; distributed by MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1999. Pp. 340. \$29.50.

Shigehisa Kuriyama's wonderful reflection on the varieties of bodily experience begins with two drawings. One is very familiar: a plate from Andreas Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543), showing a man with no skin, his muscles bulging, striding through a classical landscape. The other comes from a work on acupuncture tracts by Hua Shou, published in 1341. The tract is inscribed on the body of a middle-aged scholar. A generous belly swells over his loincloth; not a single muscle ripples his skin. In over two thousand years of elaboration, Chinese medicine failed to produce a word for muscles; and to Western medicine acupuncture is still an enigma. How did such different perceptions and practices of the body arise, and what might they tell us about ideals of the self?

To appreciate the nature of Kuriyama's enterprise, we must return for a moment to his title. Why does he call the body expressive? Why does he speak of divergence and not of difference? Kuriyama writes sparsely and poetically. The book contains no jargon and no pompous disquisitions on current theory. It is instantly clear, however, that the author challenges many prevailing orthodoxies of cultural studies. Kuriyama does not treat language as primary. The body is not inscribed with discourse; it secretes it—but how?

Kuriyama lays out for us the roughly contempora-

neous emergence, about two thousand years ago, of two distinct languages of the body, rooted in distinct "haptic styles" ("the manner in which doctors felt the expressions of the body under the fingers" [p. 13]). By rooting these languages in sensation, Kuriyama founds his study on a common human body: hence "divergence." But the differences in perception do not spring from the fingertips alone, and here more conventional analysis comes into play.

Kuriyama reminds us that the Greek aesthetic preference for definitions and articulations was linguistic, intellectual, and also physical. The ideal of the defined, articulated body can be traced back into antiquity, when sinews and muscularity were taken as the physical signs of mature, intelligent virility. In the classical age, dissection revealed that arteries and nerves were distinct: the ground was laid to portray the brain as the body's ruler, the site of intelligence, soul, and will. Muscles, said Galen, were the instruments of voluntary action. The muscular body, argues Kuriyama, became the embodiment of the Western autonomous self.

Greek pulse theory sought to segregate facts from perception. Earlier descriptive terms for the pulse, "anting" or "worming," were rejected as impossible to define; rate and rhythm constituted the vital signs. The Chinese pulses, *mo*, spoke a different language from the metered rhythms of systole and diastole. Each charted the circulation of a vital substance that was both blood and breath, as it flowed through one of a system of twelve organs. Each organ "controlled" a cluster of corresponding tissues, substances, and processes, including a specific kind of understanding and emotion. Glossy hair indicated a flourishing kidney and reproductive vitality; excessive anger signalled liver malfunction. The internal state of the body could thus be read from its surface, including visual observation (the sovereign diagnostic, Kuriyama tells us, in early times) and pulse-taking. The pulses the physician observed might be rough, smooth, weak, or rushing; the categories were subtly different, the definitions poetic ("like a breeze ruffling the down on a duck's neck"). In Chinese epistemics, such terms effectively communicated what was significant: namely, qualities of flow and the shifting patterns of difference between them.

In the Galenic tradition, the main cause of disease was plethora, a putrefying buildup of blood and heat within the body. The sovereign remedy for sickness in Europe, well into the nineteenth century, was blood-letting. In Chinese thought, most disease was caused externally, by "winds" penetrating and invading a body weakened by loss of vital energies. Loss of blood was debilitating, not therapeutic. The healthy body retained and nourished all vital substances to resist external pathogens and the predations of time.

It is difficult to imagine two more different traditions or trajectories of the body, and indeed on some points Kuriyama might be said to oversimplify for the sake of contrast. But no matter. This is comparative history of the highest order: a captivating reflection on

different ideals of bodily life and on the place of language in communication.

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SANDER GILMAN. *Making the Body Beautiful: A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xxii, 396. \$29.95.

Sander Gilman presents a richly illustrated, delightfully crafted cultural history of aesthetic surgery. Taking examples from ancient Alexandria to present-day Argentina, Gilman focuses his attention on Europe and America from the last decades of the nineteenth century to the present, when anesthesia and antiseptics made voluntary surgeries practical. Aesthetic surgery, better known as cosmetic surgery, is defined as elective surgery undertaken with the sole purpose of improving a patient's outward bodily appearance (at least in her, or increasingly his, own eyes). Such surgeries can include any of the twenty some procedures Gilman discusses, ranging from cheek implants to penial enlargement to transgender surgery or the more pedestrian tummy tuck.

As might be expected, the nose figures large in Gilman's history. We are familiar with procedures to fix what are perceived as overly large, "racially" embarrassing noses but less familiar with the heroic efforts Gilman details to replace noses eaten off by syphilis. With the onset of syphilis in Europe in the sixteenth century came efforts to mask its outward "stigmata." The French surgeon Ambroise Paré fashioned prostheses formed and tied to the face out of silver, but this did little to remove the stigma of a nose collapsed and infected by what was seen as sexual misbehavior and moral corruption. To better mask the adulterer's guilt, Italian physicians introduced the grizzly flap graft. In early procedures, a flap of skin taken from the cheek was used to rebuild the nose. Later techniques joined a flap of skin from the upper arm to the stump of the nose *while the skin was still attached to the arm*. (The physician Gaspare Tagliacozzi fashioned a special halter to hold the arm in place during the lengthy procedure.) This rudimentary nose replacement took over a month, required six surgeries, was excruciatingly painful, and was vulnerable to life-threatening infections.

Prostheses were also available for the penises of syphilitics. But the remarkable tale Gilman tells concerning penises is that of foreskin reconstruction. As much as the ancient ritual of circumcision aimed to set male Jews apart—to mark difference physically in the body—so foreskin reconstruction was to hide that difference and allow for their assimilation into anti-Semitic societies. Decircumcision was practiced in ancient Greece, where circumcised males were not allowed to participate in athletic games, and increased in popularity in the course of the nineteenth century in efforts to make Jewish males marriageable outside

their own communities. Foreskin reconstruction became crucial for survival in Nazi Germany, where it was said that Arab specialists within the SS could distinguish Jews from Muslims by inspecting their penises: the marks of circumcision done eight days after birth (for Jews) apparently differed from those made twenty-eight days after birth (for Muslims).

Female breasts, too, receive attention in this book on surgically beautifying the body. North Americans are overly familiar with breast enlargements. Gilman discusses that story but also looks at breast reduction. In Brazil today, breast reduction is common among the upper-middle classes precisely to distinguish their daughters from the lower classes and especially the black populations. What remains unexplained in this interesting story is why the same dynamics do not function in the United States, where middle-class women frequently enlarge their breasts. Are racial dynamics different in the two countries? Or are the relative proportions of the white and the black populations in these different countries part of the explanation?

Gilman presents deceptively simply analytics in this book: "passing" and "happiness." Emphasizing the agency of patients, he explains their willingness to undergo sometimes dangerous and almost always painful surgeries in efforts to "fit in," to overcome being marked out as different in societies that locate power and privilege in the physical body. People, he affirms, are willing to pay a high price simply to be "happy." Gilman takes to task various feminists who have emphasized the economic greed of physicians and the cosmetic industry. In 1994, he argues, sixty-five percent of cosmetic surgeries were done on people with family incomes less than \$50,000 per year. Gilman's simple explanatory categories work because they are supported by his deft Foucauldian analysis of how power structures individual desire. It is this deeper analysis that we have come to expect and delight in in Gilman's work. Although I think economics play a greater role that Gilman wishes to discuss, this book nonetheless provides an informative and captivating history of our attempts to make our bodies beautiful.

LONDA SCHIEBINGER
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J. A. MANGAN, editor. *Shaping the Superman: Fascist Body as Political Icon—Aryan Fascism*. (Sport in the Global Society.) Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass. 1999. Pp. xiii, 215. \$62.00.

Study of the relationship between sexuality and nationalism promises to deepen our understanding of historical causation. Historians have long suspected that the sexual dimension had been overlooked in favor of traditional methods of analysis, and the late George L. Mosse and Peter Gay, among others, have made signal contributions to this development. Sadly, J. A. Mangan's edited work could serve as a case study of the dangers inherent in mixing sport history with critical

theory. Begin with trendy Foucauldian analysis of the place of the body in modern power networks, add half-baked theories on sex and fascism with little grounding in historical documentation, find a publisher eager to expand revenues but not to employ proper editors, and one has a book ready for market.

Mangan's conceptual framework itself is suspect and is based on the idea that the body serves the state as an aggressive and violent metaphor. Achilles, Siegfried, Lancelot, and even Rambo are tied together willy-nilly to demonstrate that the state uses naked heroes as symbols to further its goals of power and control. We learn that nudity on the Greek model was the school for fascism, and that this search for "Prometheus Unbound" reached its apogee in the propaganda image of the SS man. If the thesis is unsupportable, the mode of analysis is disturbing as well. Definitions of historical problems taken from the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* and other reference books are joined with long quotations from authors; in one section there are fifty attributions to Mosse alone. A largely derivative narrative commentary thus substitutes for original thought in the fifty percent of the book the editor reserves for himself.

The result is a bewildering array of questionable speculations. It is claimed that the warrior was a "cultural icon with a formalized muscular body of the perfect man, honed by hard exercise, the supreme symbol of brutal belief," indeed an "icon of sado-masochism celebrating conflagration not copulation" (p. xi.). Readers following this breathless description are offered a hopeless misreading of Friedrich Nietzsche and even misspelling of the philosopher's name. Mangan is correct in declaring that the importance of the sculptor Arno Breker in the Third Reich has been underestimated (p. xii), but he proceeds to focus almost exclusively on Breker's nude sculptures as a total explanation of the National Socialist militaristic impulse. Here a reading of Jonathan Petropoulos's *The Faustian Bargain: The Art World in Nazi Germany* (2000) would have provided a more solid grounding in the conceptual world of Breker. If one were to follow Mangan's line of reasoning, the great sculptures of Praxiteles—nude as they are—were prefascist.

Disturbing conclusions can be drawn from Mangan's narrative. It is simply incorrect to declare that Nazi propaganda centered on the nude. The *Völkischer Beobachter*, organ of the Nazi Party, featured much more art devoted to field-gray, helmeted warriors of Verdun and the Somme and to fully clothed Brown Shirts doing battle against Communists in the Weimar period, not to mention bucolic scenes of field, farm, and peasant families in organic union with nature. Illustrations reflect timelessness and order, joy in work, and eternal German virtue. One would search in vain for nude heroes in *Ewiges Deutschland*, a book distributed annually to millions of families each year by the regime. The beauty of the body has been central to the sculpture of many epochs. Why, then, should its importance be exaggerated in studies of the fascist

era? Third Reich nudes—and they were often to be seen in official state spaces—must be seen as part of a larger propaganda tapestry, not the alpha and omega of the movement.

Desite these weaknesses, several participating authors offer challenging ideas in this work. Arnd Krüger's contribution is outstanding, placing Nazi eugenics within its proper international framework for the period. Heinz-Georg Martin analyzes the importance of Social Darwinism, anti-Semitism, and the theory of Aryan supremacy, all of which, he submits, offered a defense of the bourgeoisie. John M. Hoberman's balanced article makes it clear that sport in the Third Reich played a secondary role in Adolf Hitler's race-centered world view. Graham McFee and Alan Tomlinson's amateurish article on the Berlin Olympics of 1936, however, could have been summarized in two paragraphs. Leni Riefenstahl's sinister genius deserves more informed analysis. Peter Reichel is to be commended for offering a synopsis in English of a central component of his outstanding book, *Der Schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches* (1992), illuminating the propagandistic use of festival, cult, and the arts to buttress the National Socialist regime. Finally, Allen Guttman tests the patience of the reader with his quirky "D.H. Lawrence and the Fascist Body." What is a reviewer to do when confronted with the claim that "Lawrence has escaped much of the obloquy heaped on Hitler, Mussolini and Franco because he never attempted to turn his vision of authoritarian irrationality into political actuality" (p. 178)?

Mangan concludes his work with a coda entitled "Continuities." The fascist body, one is informed, lives on in Sylvester Stallone's Rambo, whereby "the dominance of American force destroyed in reality was created in fantasy" (p. 182). Finally, "the Malign Fascist Superman has been replaced by the Benign Superman and Superwoman of the Free World" (p. 194). Mangan would be well advised to return to his area of competence.

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FRED ANDERSON. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America 1754–1766*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2000. Pp. xxv, 862. \$40.00.

Fred Anderson's book is an astonishing piece of historical synthesis and a magisterial account of the Seven Years War, which created a "seismic shift in Europe's alliance system and balance of power" (p. 11). The center shifted because of events on the periphery. The war, and the crises that followed, were in large measure the result of ambitions and enmities of a small group of colonials far removed from centers of power. Beginning in the woods of North America, the book's narrative stretches across eastern North America, Europe, and, briefly, West Africa and India.

It is, not surprisingly given Anderson's earlier work, a brilliant military history and a compelling social history, but it also threads its way through the complicated dynastic politics of Europe, the parliamentary politics of Great Britain, and the factional politics of North America. North American Indian peoples were critical to this decisive conflict between the French and British empires in North America, and Anderson gives them full attention. The war was, as Anderson claims, "a theater of intercultural interaction" (p. xx). Befitting the "epic" history that Anderson aspired to write, it is a large book, but by the standards Lawrence Henry Gipson set for the Seven Years War, the book's heft is modest.

Anderson's story is a complicated one detailing the ways in which the victorious British Empire under William Pitt overcame early disasters, partially the result of the British failure to accommodate the necessities of American politics and conditions, and secured the colonial cooperation—both financial and military—necessary for victory. Equally critical were the successful British efforts, aided by their control of the seas and more critically the diplomatic mistakes of the French General Montcalm, to win over western Indians. Pitt's strategy was to subsidize Prussia in Europe in order to hold the line against the French and their allies, control the seas, and then strike at the French weak point: their colonies. Pitt, unlike his predecessors, treated the colonies "as allies rather than subordinates" (p. 454). After early resistance to British demands, the war engendered widespread pride and patriotism in the British colonies, particularly in New England.

The British proved better at conquering an empire than governing it, at least in North America. Their troubles arose from their victory. With Pitt out of power, the British reverted to seeing colonials as subjects defined by their duty to pay taxes rather than by their bearing of arms or representation. They squandered the good will of both colonists and Indians—although as Anderson admits it would have been virtually impossible to retain over the long term. Both colonists and Indians came to see the empire as existing at the price of their own freedom.

Anderson aspires to do much more than to retell the story of a war that, as he says, "figures in most Americans' consciousness of the past as a kind of hazy backdrop to the Revolution" (p. xv). He wants to escape the shadow of the Revolution, the debate over whose causes has become, he thinks, increasingly sterile. He tries to do so by attaching the Stamp Act clearly to the Seven Years War instead of using it as the beginning of a narrative that leads to the Revolution. He devotes considerable attention to the war's aftermath from Pontiac's Rebellion through the resistance to the Stamp Act and tries to make the colonial crisis into a puzzling—at least to the participants—postscript to an imperial triumph of the Seven Years War instead of the beginning of the road to revolution. The war neither "foretold nor necessitated" the Rev-

olution (p. xx) but it was its "indispensable precursor" (p. 745).

Anderson's attempt to reassert the importance of the Seven Years War, the contingency of the American Revolution, and the larger imperial context of colonial politics are all salutary, but they remain, ironically, arguments about the Revolution. Even the larger narrative contains nuggets of text that act as omens of the Revolution. "Something larger was indeed afoot in America, but he (Lord Loudon) did not know what to call it" (p. 146). New England saw the basis of social relations as contractual; the British based it on status and coercion. The Seven Years War created "a generation capable, on the basis of shared experience, of forming a common view of the world, of the empire, and of the men who had once been their masters" (p. 414). All of these seem signs of the continued gravitational pull of the Revolution on a book seeking to escape it. Anderson's attempt to replace the Revolution with the Seven Years War as the critical event of the eighteenth century in North America yields a full, brilliant, and imaginative account of that war and the world that created it, but even in his story the Revolution still seems the sun around which North American historiography will continue to revolve.

RICHARD WHITE
Stanford University

STUART ANDREWS. *The Rediscovery of America: Transatlantic Crosscurrents in an Age of Revolution*. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. xii, 257. \$69.95.

Stuart Andrews writes well, can tell an engaging story, and tells many here. His vivid style brings to life an important slice of elite transatlantic culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This story, told in sixteen chapters of ten or eleven pages each, is about various American, English, and French authors who lived during the years surrounding the American and French Revolutions. Andrews weaves together twenty or so short biographies to create a tapestry depicting the lives of some of those who, during these years migrated back and forth between their homelands and the new American nation.

Andrews breaks his account into five sections: an introduction, "Founding Fathers in Europe," "Transatlantic Citizens," "Frenchmen in America," and "Images and Visions." The first two sections, unlike those that follow, are disappointing and fail to reflect the strengths of this work. Rather, they expose its weaknesses. In them, Andrews writes about Americans (Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams) and, in the briefest of terms, about the ideological background that colored America's rupture with England. Here Andrews explains that the ideology of the American Revolution and the thinking of the Founding Fathers were both products of the Enlightenment. This, however, he declares without credible evidence and seemingly without an awareness that in

the past quarter century such claims have been powerfully and, according to many, successfully contested.

Moreover, his remarks here lack the accepted hallmarks of original scholarship. Accordingly, they are issued without differentiation between the various moments of the Enlightenment, without attention to changes that may have occurred in the time frame within which he works (1760–1830), and without concern that people in different social and economic classes and members of diverse religious denominations may have had different motivations and world-views from those he attributes to the rather atypical Franklin and Jefferson. And when these initial flaws continue unabated and are compounded by a wholesale lack of textual exegesis, analytic distinctions, and historical precision, it becomes evident that this is not a work of scholarship.

But the introduction and first section also highlight another difficulty, which is that Andrews, despite claims to the contrary (p. ix), never really writes about eighteenth-century America and its inhabitants and only briefly explores, in the following section, eighteenth-century English authors who influenced American thought. What ideas and concepts may have been influential in their work is left a mystery. This, then, is not a book about how European currents of thought influenced Americans (p. 16) nor about how American thought influenced European thinkers (p. 13). Rather, it is a book about how certain ideas about America, shaped by currents of Enlightenment and Romantic thought, influenced the lives of a fascinating group of poets, radicals, and dreamers.

In the three remaining sections, Andrews turns to what he does well and tells entertaining stories about the ideas and the culture of the English and French visionaries, mostly second-tier Enlightenment figures who are more often read about than read, but about whom Andrews writes with confidence. Thus, in the third section, he explores the busy and brilliant lives of Thomas Paine, Richard Price, Joseph Priestley, and Thomas Cooper. In the section that directly follows, we are introduced to Jean-Pierre Brissot, the Marquis de Lafayette, the Comte de Segur, the Duc de Lauzun, and François Jean Chastellux, all men of considerable accomplishment. In the final section, Andrews allows us to peek into the world of the Abbé Raynal, Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, Mary Wollstonecraft and her lover, Gilbert Imlay, and the Lake Poets Robert Southey and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. In one of the most absorbing chapters, we follow the travails and final success of John James Audubon (and more briefly, those of William Bartram). In each instance, Andrews has read widely and offers insight into the lives he is describing along with invariably informative anecdotes.

This book, then, is not a work of scholarship that offers the reader a sustained or original thesis for which evidence has been marshalled and careful analysis has been provided. But it is one that will inform almost all readers and will give them a fine sense of the

interconnectedness of a world of mostly English and French intellectuals and the role that Enlightenment and Romantic visions of America played within it.

BARRY ALAN SHAIN
Colgate University

ALAN HUNT. *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation*. (Cambridge Studies in Law and Society.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 273. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$22.95.

Alan Hunt has written the first comparative historical sociology of moral regulation, the form of voluntary and state politics "in which some people act to problematise the conduct, values or culture of others and seek to impose regulation upon them" (p. 1). While part of the author's purpose is to test and refine this concept, his case-studies consist of the most important British and American movements for social purity. This is a theoretically ambitious cross-temporal and transatlantic study of the late seventeenth-century Societies for the Reformation of Manners, the early nineteenth-century Vice Society, the late nineteenth-century social purity movements in Britain and America, and the "sexual victim movements" of our own day.

Hunt is concerned with the "general form or impact" of these movements, one part of the historical sociologists's brief, but adds that any contribution "to the understanding of any particular movement is an added bonus" (pp. 22–23). This should not alarm historians who rightly expect that their comparative historical sociology will illuminate the unique case. In fact, the author's analysis of the discourses of moral regulation enhances our understanding of these movements in their cultural and temporal settings. Hunt is especially good on the organization, work, politics, and ideology of Societies for the Reformation of Manners, the phase to which he devotes most primary research and recounts in most detail. He has uncovered as many of the sermons of the societies as are likely to be identified. Hunt shows that while this movement was driven by anxiety over urban disorder in a modernizing society with weakened traditional controls—a familiar cause of all such movements—the societies did not seek to harness the underclasses to "their own transformation through projects of self-improvement, where the governance of others is supplemented by the governance of the self" (p. 32).

The emergence of governing through the self, with its focus on choice, emphasized by Michel Foucault, is central to this study. While the Vice Society continued to pursue suppression, subsequent movements are shown to have shifted their emphasis to the governance of the self, meaning usually the character formation of the respectable working classes or the self-control of middle-class men.

Hunt's multilayered discussion of social purity defies ready summary. The chapter on America is explicitly comparative and usefully delineates the importance of

differences in timing for the trajectory of the two movements, the greater importance of purity for British feminism, and the role of temperance and municipal reform in diverting purity in the United States. Hunt employs the term "paternalistic maternal feminism" (p. 148) to dramatize the limitations of first-wave British feminism, with its emphasis on class over gender and the consequent repression of working-class prostitutes. This treatment has several virtues: it demonstrates again that, by maintaining the ideology of separate spheres and female moral guardianship, late Victorian feminists partly vitiated their attack on the double standard of sexual behavior. The discussion also illuminates the widely regretted transition from the nonrepressive campaign to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts to coercive social purity, social hygiene, and eugenics.

The treatment also has costs, resulting especially from the Foucauldian claim that "tensions within moral reform projects are internal in the sense that the governance of the self and the governance of others are not two alternative strategies, but always exist in combination" (p. 170). It follows that differences among the coalition partners constituting social purity are not meaningful and all will resort to repression when public persuasion fails. This particular resort to theory elides real differences among feminists like Josephine Butler and Laura Chant, and the degree of conflict between feminists and social conservatives like William Coote. The related claim that anti-masturbatory and pro-chastity purity propaganda was primarily aimed at the public schools and middle classes as part of a feminist attempt to domesticate their men is suggestive but unproven. Working and lower-middle-class males continued to be the target for much of this material.

The historical background nicely frames contemporary developments discussed in a brief but rich final chapter. Sexual pluralism means that traditional moral reform is now contested. The predominant present-day form of moral self-regulation is the self-governance embodied in the many movements for self-help. Vice and sin have yielded to addiction and abuse. The radical feminist attack on sexual violence and pornography repudiates sexual liberation in a way analogous to the limitations of the first wave. Abortion is not mentioned in this discussion, and Christian fundamentalism barely plays a part. There is another study here waiting to be written.

EDWARD BRISTOW
Fordham University

JOHN SPRINGHALL. *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics: Penny Gaffs to Gangsta-Rap, 1830–1996*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. ix, 218. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

It hardly needs saying that the behavior and leisure pursuits of young people have always been a source of concern to adult society. In this relatively short but

clearly written and informative book, John Springhall charts the history of some of these anxieties in Britain and America. After a useful introduction, in which "Moral Panic" is defined as occurring when "official or press reaction to a deviant social or cultural phenomenon is 'out of all proportion' to the actual threat offered" (pp. 4–5). Springhall recounts, chapter by chapter, the panics in Britain over nineteenth-century penny theaters and penny dreadfuls (in America arising from gangster films in the 1930s and horror comics in the 1940s and 1950s) and the mass media panics during the 1980s and 1990s. Given such a full and wide-ranging menu, it is hardly surprising that some courses are better served than others.

The bulk of the book is devoted to the penny theater or "gaff" and the penny dreadful, about both of which Springhall has written fairly extensively in essays and articles. "Gaffs" were unlicensed theaters, usually set up in a vacated shop or warehouse and offering "innocuous forms of dancing, singing, pantomime and melodrama" (p. 12) to children and adolescents. Although subject to police raids, the "gaffs," far from undermining the established order, through their melodramas reinforced concepts of patriotism, domesticity, duty, and inequality. Only in the sense that they represented an autonomous, working-class youth subculture could they be said to have been a threat to that orthodoxy. Likewise with penny dreadfuls (a generic term for a range of publications, "melodramatic and exciting, but otherwise harmless serial fiction"). After a detailed study of the publishers, their content, and how they were made into scapegoats for late Victorian juvenile crime, Springhall concludes that the dreadfuls were anything but subversive, offering for the most part dramas that extolled the consensual values of bourgeois Victorian morality. They did not, he says, "reflect or create a dissentient working-class culture . . . at most they were read in unwitting rebellion against middle-class moralizing and polite standards of taste" (p. 69). One may balk a little at the passivity implied in the word "unwitting," but the thrust of the judgment is surely correct.

The chapter on gangster films and censorship in Hollywood in the 1930s is briskly written and should serve as a good descriptive summary of the issue, but it is not much more than that. Although the impact of movies was overwhelming, in Springhall's view, "little credence can be attached to the 'behavioral effects' argument" of contemporary film censors and moralists (p. 119). He seems to have nothing else to add beyond quoting a film historian's suggestion that crime films should be studied as "neither a producer nor a controller of crime, but rather as the expression of America's changing attitudes towards crime" (p. 120). It is hard to see where the relationship between youth, popular culture, and moral panic has been elucidated. Similarly, the account of the horror comic panic concentrates on describing the mainly American campaign against them and, although rich in detail, has little to say about youth as such. However, it is useful

to be reminded that labels like "horror comic" signify the struggle among middle-class moralism, mass culture, and youthful demand. Unfortunately, this insight is not followed up.

The final chapter, on the mass media in the 1980s and 1990s, covers video nasties, Gangsta-Rap, television violence, computer and video games, and violence in the media. Although pointedly written, it is too compressed to do justice to the topic. Can the panics of these decades be explained simply in terms of "deviant categories" (in this case, violent crime or action movies) "refurbished over time"? Moreover, there is too much of a focus on media campaigns for censorship and too little on youth as consumers. One can see what Springhall is trying to do here, namely to foreground the creation of panic. But the role of youth as a social construct, and the presence of the young as historical actors, tend to be overshadowed in the process. It could be that the chapters are too discrete to allow for an overarching interpretation that pays due attention to all concerned. In this respect, the book is only partially successful in providing a coherent, integrated account whereby the different contexts within which anxiety and fear arise (including historically variable adult perceptions of youth) are explained and explored.

Springhall is probably correct to argue that over many generations there are continuities in the moral panics "induced by fears of new technology interacting with revised forms of popular culture" (p. 156). But whether we should give "more emphasis to the continuity of the apprehension and loathing of 'modernity'" is another matter (p. 159). Clearly, it is undeniable that commercial entertainment for young people that appears not to elevate "good taste" (or public taste) will find itself heavily criticized by a consortium of adult moral and cultural bigots of all political persuasions. It is also important to remember that such panics usually tell us more about adult pessimism than about juvenile misbehavior. Springhall is eminently qualified to examine these and other aspects of what is in effect the age relationship, and he has begun the task here. Generally speaking, however, aside from sporadic paragraphs and his incisive but brief conclusion, he eschews discursive analysis in favor of a descriptive account of largely middle-class opposition to the commercial media.

There are several tantalizing references to the writings of cultural sociologists, such as Kirsten Drotner on modernity and media panics and Martin Barker's work on horror comics and video nasties, and more should have been made of their arguments and conclusions. Surprisingly, there is no consideration of the sociology of "youth culture" (with which Springhall is certainly familiar) as it has been unravelled by the "Birmingham School" and their critics over the last twenty years or so, including the feminist response. The inclusion of these perspectives, given their commitment to coming to terms with the mix of age, class, and gender, would have shed light on a number of

questions embedded in the substance of this book. For example, how does "youth" relate to popular culture? Does the latter help to define and shape the former, or is it the other way around, and what are the casual connections? Is a moral panic primarily a reflection of an adult anxiety about the nature of society, or is it about the particular fear that the balance of power in the age relationship may shift away from adults? And what about the economics of "youth" as a category of consumers in relation to an evolving popular culture: how is the relationship forged and with what consequences? Finally, it would also be worthwhile looking closely at the nature of the continuity involved in moral panics over time as they draw on childhood and youth for their potency. The similarities may disguise marked discontinuities, the most likely causes being the development of democracy, the end of empire, the age of affluence, feminism, post-1960s permissiveness, and the coming of a kind of multiracial society.

There is little doubt that this book will be used extensively for courses on youth history and on popular culture, and deservedly so. It fills a gap in the literature and, therefore, is to be welcomed. If its weaknesses rather outweigh its strengths, this is in part because Springhall is something of a pioneer in trying to bring together three very different historical and sociological topics in order to draw from them answers to questions relating to age, culture, and morality. With this in mind, it is worth quoting his conclusion: "Western societies which refuse self-knowledge by succumbing to more or less continuous 'moral panics' over mass entertainment are hardly well-equipped to withstand the upheavals of the end of the century" (p. 162).

HARRY HENDRICK
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MARGARET H. MCFADDEN. *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1999. Pp. xiv, 270. \$29.95.

Alli Trigg-Helenius of Finland spoke in 1888 at the first meeting of the International Council of Women in Washington of the "golden cable of sympathy" that bound together North American and European feminists. In this study, Margaret H. McFadden traces a history of international connections that constituted a "pre-organizational matrix," a basis on which an international and autonomous feminist movement was to be constructed. Such "cables" and "matrices" are to be understood through the analysis of transatlantic networks and webs of friendship developing from the 1820s to the 1880s, primarily between the United States, the United Kingdom, and Scandinavia, although a range of connections with other European countries is also described here. McFadden draws on the sociological approach of network analysis, which provides a conceptual framework and vocabulary with

which to map the growth of transatlantic communications between women.

The book develops thematically, through a discussion of the ways in which evangelical movements spanned national boundaries, through the international significance of literary celebrities Harriet Beecher Stowe and George Sand, through international utopian projects, and through the importance of international connections for the women and men activists of the revolutionary generation of 1848, in their exile. These networks also have as their foci key women, or "mothers of the matrix," like Lucretia Mott, Barbara Bodichon, and Alexandra Gripenberg. The study concludes in the 1880s, with the foundation of the International Council of Women, although McFadden also illustrates the strength and maturity of the connections established in retelling the histories of some of those women who both exemplified and survived them, including Gripenberg, Maggie Walz, and Ida Wells-Barnett.

This book has a number of strengths. One, at least for readers less familiar with the history of Scandinavian than of Anglo-American feminisms, is the close attention paid to Scandinavian and especially Finnish internationalism. And, through casting her net widely, McFadden does identify unexpected connections, as for instance in the paragraphs that trace the links between Stowe on her first European tour and Mary Clark Mohl, Louise Belloc, and Fredrika Bremer; most historians of nineteenth-century feminism will find some suggestive associations in this volume. Other connections, however, are well established, as are the international careers of women such as Frances Wright, Mott, and Frances Power Cobbe, here retold again. Sometimes links are perhaps too easily assumed, as when we learn that Mott "probably met Marion Kirkland (Mrs. Hugo) Reid" in London in 1840, a "proximate relationship" if not an established one (p. 20). And this study includes also those who were "unwitting allies" (p. 67) of the movement, like Stowe and Sand, who furthered intellectual exchanges without themselves supporting the women's movement.

The danger of the breadth of the approach taken here is that such a history of networks can extract participants too far from their immediate political and religious contexts, potentially overriding the extent of their differences over politics, religion, and the condition of women. McFadden writes of the "contradictory and haphazard" linkages within her matrix, joining the politics of literary celebrity with connections between utopian socialists, abolitionists, and temperance campaigners; she suggests that such contradictions can be met only with the "preponderance of evidence" (p. 172). This study invites comparison with Bonnie S. Anderson's recent *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830-1860* (2000), which is more closely rooted in the transatlantic politics of one utopian, reforming, and revolutionary generation and notes the schisms within, and greater conservatism of, women's movements after the 1860s. Readers inter-

ested in the internationalism of nineteenth-century women's movements will wish to compare and benefit from both these recent works, which together amply succeed in recovering and demonstrating beyond doubt the existence of such an internationalism. Future research may need to locate such aspirations even more clearly in relation to the national and imperial politics of the late nineteenth-century West, a politics that also marked the character and orientation of the first international women's organizations.

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ARWEN P. MOHUN. *Steam Laundries: Gender, Technology, and Work in the United States and Great Britain, 1880-1940*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology, new series, number 25.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 348. \$48.00.

Arwen P. Mohun's claim that laundries are "good to think with" is borne out in this fascinating account of how and why laundry work became industrialized before returning again to the home. The history of the commercial steam laundry offers an alternative gendered perspective on industrialization by focusing on a small industry familiar to millions of women, even if they had no other experience of factories. Mohun investigates the role of the principal actors in the unfolding drama: consumers and laundry workers, business owners and reformers. The relative strength of these groupings shifted over time, in a web of overlapping and often conflictual relationships.

The early success of steam laundries relied on the fortuitous convergence of technological and cultural developments. With rapid urbanization, washing at home became increasingly arduous in the absence of piped water and clean drying space. Along with mechanized washing machines, water extractors, and flat irons, laundry owners also supplied clean water and drying at a time when cleanliness was assuming heightened social importance. As clean clothes and linen became a prerequisite for hygienic living and a marker of social status and morality, commercial laundries attracted numerous customers. Work previously done by women in the home was now commodified, undertaken by other women in quasi-industrial conditions. Owners sought to mechanize operations and to subdivide tasks (ironing remained obstinately resistant), and they allocated jobs on a strict gender basis. The workforce was seventy percent female, men being reserved for delivery, minding washing machines, and maintaining boilers.

In Britain, unlike the United States, the position of manager was open to (middle-class) women, which Mohun interprets as evidence of Britons' heightened sensitivities to class and class authority. However, while the British workforce remained ethnically homogeneous, ethnic and "racial" difference was an integral feature of American laundries. The detailed exploration of this contrast was for me a highlight of the book.

During the expansion phase, laundries were dominated by workers from North and Eastern Europe, to be replaced from the early twentieth century by African Americans. Migrants from the South to northern conurbations used laundries as a stepping stone between domestic and factory work. The workforce became two-tiered, with black women earning less, working longer, and being more frequently laid off. Many owners made full use of the potential for divide-and-rule employment practices, but there were also successes for interracial union organization, notably in New York and the citywide strikes.

By the 1930s, washing-machine manufacturers had created a booming market of private customers, and the switch back to laundry in the home was under way. Mohun argues, perhaps teleologically, that commercial laundries were acceptable to consumers only in the absence of a viable alternative. New ideologies of domesticity, feminization of consumption, and persuasive marketing campaigns (playing on fears of pollution by other people's dirty washing) were all instrumental in effecting this transition. For their part, commercial laundries stressed the danger of accidents in the home and the time and effort required by this unsanitary and unfeminine activity. They offered "bag-wash" and other partial and cheaper services. This bitter battle for the hearts and minds of consumers deployed opposing images of femininity and home. As in much else, laundries declined later in the United Kingdom than in the United States, and the continuing popularity of municipal wash-houses and launderettes until the 1970s brings into question Mohun's emphasis on renewal of the private/public division as undermining commercial laundries.

This book, meticulously researched from a wide array of primary sources, provides a mine of information, filling out the history of industrialization and proving again the mutual shaping of gender and technology. It is particularly lively on the rise of laundries, ethnicity, and the cultural connotations of clean washing, less so on union organization and legislative regulation. The discussion would benefit from being situated within the now extensive literature on domestic technology. And I would have liked to see more explicit analysis throughout, particularly of the interlinked processes of commodification and women's work inside and outside the home. Laundry was not the only task to leave the home: bread baking and clothes making were also removed to workshops and factories. With the proliferation of ready-made goods, this process of production of household commodities to be bought extended enormously over the twentieth century. It went hand in hand with the extension of women's employment outside of the home, often in factories and shops making and selling these goods. So what was so special about laundry that it alone returned to the home? This book provides some hints, but by no means the whole story.

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KEVIN H. O'ROURKE and JEFFREY G. WILLIAMSON. *Globalization and History: The Evolution of a Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Economy*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 343. \$45.00.

This is a book that needs to be read carefully and at different levels, in different ways, and for different purposes, because it exemplifies what is best and worst about the type of history written by economists. Among its best features is the attempt to provide precise answers to specific questions through the use of economic modeling and mathematical techniques. Where the questions are well framed and capable of being answered in this way, the results are reasonably robust and one can have confidence that the authors have done their work well. Conversely, where the questions stray beyond the economic field into the world of political history, and involve so many other variables than economic, it is not possible to reduce the debate to a simple cause-effect model that will provide a precise answer. Where this is the case, the results are not convincing and the work as a whole is devalued in consequence. Similarly, although it is refreshing to read a book in which the agenda for discussion is stated so firmly in the form of a series of questions of interest to present-day economists and policy makers, this does not make for a comprehensive or readable narrative that can be finished at one sitting.

The substance of the book is an attempt to examine the causes, nature, and consequences of global economic integration in the period 1850–1914, with special attention being paid to the transatlantic relationship between Western Europe and the United States. This is not undertaken out of historical interest but in order to provide guidance for the future, given the current trends toward global economic integration. Thus the text is peppered with references to the current situation and explicit parallels between the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One of Kevin H. O'Rourke's conclusions is that great similarities do exist, and this drives one of the findings that emerge from the study: namely, that global economic integration before World War I produced a political backlash that led to the economic nationalism that characterized the 1914–1950 era, and all the consequences that had for mankind. They do not see that period as a great discontinuity resulting from world war and the economic disruption and reaction it produced. Instead they see in the pre-1914 moves toward protection and immigration controls the precursors of the highly restrictive environment that was to come into being in the 1930s. Although this is an interesting suggestion and reflects the economist's obsession with linear trends and inability to accept the importance of events, it is the weakest element in the book. There was a major quantitative and qualitative difference between the role played by national governments in international economic affairs between the early 1900s and the 1930s, and that is insufficiently recognized in this

book because the authors tend to ignore economic history literature that is institutionally based, being conducted by historians rather than economists.

In many ways, the book is fairly conventional in its organization. There are pairs of chapters covering the 1850–1914 period, and they deal with such themes as convergence between economies, the importance of transport improvements in promoting market integration, national reaction to growing international trade, the growth of global migration, national reaction to international labor mobility and, finally, the scale and importance of international financial flows that did not produce a backlash. The book ends with two concluding chapters. The first assesses whether flows of capital and labor were substitutes for trade in goods but reaches the conclusion that they complemented each other instead. This is then taken further in the last chapter, which states that the study has discovered a strong causal link between globalization and economic convergence (hardly news to this reviewer). A strong message emerges, which is that, if left to itself, the global market delivers the best results for the majority of the world's population. It is government interference that has caused the problems, and so that is what we have to be wary of. Reviewing the history of the twentieth century, surely the authors have a point and one all should take note of.

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DAVID PALUMBO-LIU. *Asian/American: Historical Crossing of a Racial Frontier*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 504. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

In this important study, David Palumbo-Liu examines the shifting identities of "Asian" and "American" within historical contexts of multinational relations, global migrations, global economics, and mutual interpenetrations. What he finds is not a linear movement over time but a complexity of forces, at times contradictory, that project forward in a multitude of directions—at times blending and merging and at other times differentiating and separating. According to Palumbo-Liu, not only has the construct "Asian" been constantly reformulated over time, but also the idea of "American" has undergone modifications as it has been and continues to be redefined by Asia and Asian Americans. (The author does not ignore other ethnic minorities, but his focus in this study is on the interplay between Asian and American.)

Palumbo-Liu examines the ways in which discourses on the concept of modern America since the 1930s have been linked to America's relationship with Asia and the perceived problem of incorporating American citizens of Asian ancestries into the American fold. The author devotes considerable textual space to the thoughts of the eminent sociologist Robert E. Park of the Chicago School, who in the first half of the twentieth century grappled with the implications and possibilities of America's "racial frontier" on the Pa-

cific coast and westward to Asia at a time when such considerations engendered considerable anxieties among other white Americans.

Three conceptual themes undergird this study: the body, the psyche, and space, in their figurative and literal manifestations. For example, not only does Palumbo-Liu analyze the semiotic treatment of Asian bodies in social and cultural discourses, but he also discusses at length the practice of plastic surgery in refiguring the facial features of Asians. Eyelid surgery in particular has been especially popular among Asian women since World War II, illustrating the hegemony of the West in notions of beauty, and perhaps also indicating a move to partake in whiteness selectively to attain some of the social power that this whiteness represents.

Yet this very whiteness that has been so prized has become problematic. Palumbo-Liu illuminates the conundrum effectively in his deft analysis of Ridley Scott's film, *Blade Runner* (1982). With the masses of powerless Asian Americans as a backdrop, the story line focuses on the search by white humans to find and then terminate white humanoid robots called replicants. But the humans have a problem: how to differentiate the replicants from "real" humans. The author argues that the film's subtext is a racial schizophrenia to which whites are vulnerable. More specifically, in order for the dichotomy of white versus non-white to work, the boundary separating the two groups must be indisputable. But the very notion of whiteness is a social construct that begins to fall apart as whites confront previously suppressed suspicions of their ethnic and racial mixedness and the falsity of their premise of racial purity. Uneasiness reigns in the film as humans cannot identify who is human and who is robot. So also in life, as the works of scientists and scholars impinge on the unsuspecting white population, racial schizophrenia can manifest itself as whites find it increasingly difficult to distinguish themselves from people of other races. Knowledge of the "impurity" of the white race subjects whites to the kind of racial self-consciousness often attributed to so-called non-whites.

At times Palumbo-Liu's writing style is a bit abstruse, so that it is difficult to discern his point; nevertheless, the larger arguments proffered in this massive work cannot be ignored. The book's special strength is its insightful analysis of film and literature within the context of the political, journalistic, and academic discourses on Asians and Americans, and within the context of international events between Asia and America.

This work adds to the growing literature that demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between Asian history/studies and Asian-American history/studies. The author's ability to cross disciplines and provide wide-ranging analyses makes a significant contribution

to historical and cultural studies on twentieth-century America.

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FRANCIS ANTHONY BOYLE. *Foundations of World Order: The Legalist Approach to International Relations (1898–1922)*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 220. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

This enterprising book was written by a scholar unwilling to confine himself to the academy. The author, Francis Anthony Boyle, was trained as a political scientist and a lawyer. He currently teaches international law, but he also serves, according to the book's back cover, as a "highly visible actor" advising both the Palestinian delegates in the Middle East peace negotiation and the Bosnian government.

The book contains both promise and political pleading. Although focusing on the role of international lawyers during the early twentieth century, Boyle ranges far beyond those years. In these more contemporary sections, he turns to polemic as he damns what he considers to be Washington's aggressive imperialism. Nevertheless, his more scholarly assessment about the role of international lawyers before 1922 contains plenty of substance. Boyle, who has a penchant for self-promotion (among other things, the book's appendix consists entirely of one of his own articles), states his main thesis early: a major ingredient of U.S. foreign policy from 1898 to 1922 "was the active promotion of international law and organizations to . . . the world community" (p. 3). There is nothing new about this. What Boyle adds, however, is less conventional: for he argues, challenging the "realist" historians, that the legalists who advocated this approach were neither naïve nor foolish. Utilizing regime theory, he calls them "legal realists" (p. 136) who were bold, innovative, and wise. Contrary to the claims of critics influenced by George F. Kennan and Robert Osgood, these legalists, he argues, had nothing to do with the breakdown of peace leading to the two world wars. Indeed, he ends his book with a peroration, praising them for stepping into the future "with a grand design for preventing war . . . solidly based on international law and international organization." That grand design, he argues, included the League of Nations, the World Court, and eventually the United Nations (UN). Boyle insists that legalists, and not the "realist" proponents of power-politics and nuclear deterrence, have made our world a much safer place. "We must do no less for the sake of our children and for the children of tomorrow" (p. 153).

Much of this will be rejected by historians who remain highly skeptical about both legalism and international organization. Indeed, some of the best accounts of the Cold War period—like Melvyn Leffler's *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (1992) and Marc

Trachtenberg's *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945–1963* (1999)—virtually ignore the UN and international legalism. Nevertheless, Boyle reminds us not to sidestep this issue. Even readers who will reject his warnings about, say, the recent “patently bogus effort by the U.S. government to use the OAS to reimpose a North American imperial order” (p. 121) on Latin America can appreciate his contributions for the earlier period.

And yet, this should have been a better book. It is editorially challenged, filled with long, rambling sentences and stylistic inconsistencies. It is also overfootnoted. Some notes are mere window dressing. (Does the author really need to cite *Leviathan* after reminding us of the Hobbesian notion that life in a state of nature is nasty, brutish, and short?)

Additionally, Boyle's fondness for generalizing about his legalist heroes tends to flatten an understanding of their differences. Legalists often disagreed in respect to American policy. Unfortunately, their disagreements are mostly hidden in this account. Some of them, like Edwin Borchard and Quincy Wright, do not even appear in the index (an index missing sections from x to z in my copy) because their individual contributions are too often subsumed under the generic term “legalists.”

Finally, Boyle's citations offer only limited evidence that he is familiar with the best recent scholarship about twentieth-century diplomatic history, even when such references would advance his argument. Perhaps he knows this literature, but with his (or his publisher's) decision to omit a badly needed bibliography, we cannot be sure.

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ASIA

MICHAEL LOEWE and EDWARD L. SHAUGHNESSY, editors.
The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xxix, 1148. \$130.00.

In the late 1960s, when Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank began editing the *Cambridge History of China*, they made the rather odd decision to begin their monumental work with *The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220*, thus omitting China's axial age, the historical reference point for all later ages. In the general editors' preface, with which each volume begins, they include an apologetic statement, recognizing that the events of the first millennium B.C. laid the foundations for the ideas and institutions of the subsequent periods but arguing that the momentum of archaeological discovery in the previous fifty years had made it impossible to produce a generally accepted synthesis. The volume under review is an attempt by its editors, Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, to fill the gap left by the original series, and it is

organized in a similar manner, as essays by various authors.

It begins at the beginning, with climatic changes in the late Pleistocene and the emergence of *homo erectus* (David Keightley and K. C. Chang) and the possible genetic relationship of Chinese to other language families (William Boltz), and proceeds along dual lines of essays on archaeology matched by essays on history. For the Warring States period, archaeology is narrowed to art and architecture (Wu Hung), and there are additional essays on philosophical texts (David Nivison), and on the occult and natural philosophy (Donald Harper). The work is then rounded off with an essay by Nicola Di Cosmo on the northern frontiers and one by Loewe on developments in the Qin (Ch'in) and Han dynasties. The advantage of this dual organization is that it avoids a historical bias in interpreting the archaeological remains. The disadvantage, since the two lines are left unintegrated and there is no essay on historiography, is that there is always an unexplained ghost hovering at the feast: the debate that has been raging for most of the last century about how to interpret the received historical tradition and its relationship to the material evidence.

Our understanding of ancient China is certainly different than it would have been some thirty years ago; archaeological discoveries have increased exponentially, and these now include philosophical manuscripts as well as material evidence and early inscriptions. In this rapidly evolving and highly contentious field, however, an enduring synthesis is clearly a chimera. Indeed, in this single volume, the essays are frequently contradictory. Sometimes these contradictions are implicit. Thus, for example, Chang's essay on “China on the Eve of the Historical Period,” which points to the early origin and spread of fossil remains of *Homo erectus* in China to support a multiregional model for the development of *Homo sapiens*, is difficult to reconcile with Boltz's essay on “Language and Writing,” which, even though it is careful and highly nuanced, gives considerable stress to Edwin G. Pulleyblank's theory of an early, genetic relationship between Chinese and Indo-European. In other places, the contradictions are more blatant and yet still entirely unmediated. For example, Shaughnessy's essay on “Western Zhou History” asserts that the Zhou migrated from the Fen River Valley in Shanxi (p. 307). Jessica Rawson's essay on Western Zhou archaeology, by contrast, asserts that the Zhou origins lay to the northwest of its homeland in Shanxi (p. 384).

Many of the essays in this book are of very high quality—important, original contributions that significantly enhance our understanding of the development of ancient Chinese civilization—but they are uneven overall. Indeed, were they to be graded, they would make a fine curve. The best essays are truly impressive; these not only synthesize the available material but present new and original research by the author. Some are simply syntheses of current research. Then, there are those who ignore the topic and simply write about

what they know. And finally, there is one essay, in which the writer, ignoring the topic, decides the best defense is offense and launches into an irrelevant diatribe against Chinese archaeologists.

Because of the limitations of space, I will only discuss the very best and the worst below, and because the worst raises serious questions, I will discuss it at greatest length. Lothar von Falkenhausen's essay on Spring and Autumn period archaeology, "The Waning of the Bronze Age: Material Culture and Social Developments, 770–481 B.C.," is a masterful synthesis of a wide range of archaeological evidence, from settlement patterns to artifacts and inscriptions. It effectively demonstrates a continuing trend toward cultural homogenization during the period and concludes that the fragmentation of the Zhou political and cultural structure was less marked in this period than previously supposed. There is no general essay on the archaeology of the Warring States period (481–221 B.C.), but Wu Hung's essay on "The Art and Architecture of the Warring States Period" is a brilliantly conceived essay that integrates the cities and palaces of the living with the tombs and artifacts buried with the dead as various types of visual phenomena with cultural meanings.

Mark Lewis's essay on "Warring States: The Political History" draws on his own previous research on sanctioned violence to place the military history of the period clearly within the context of political, intellectual, and social developments. Harper's unique study of "Warring States: Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought" succinctly summarizes the content of the many manuscripts that have been excavated in recent years concerned with such topics as divination, almanacs, astrology, numerology, and yin-yang and five element theory. This essay is of particular importance, because it includes much information that is almost totally unknown outside of a small circle of specialists but is highly significant for understanding the intellectual history of ancient China.

At the other end of the spectrum is the essay by Robert Bagley on "Shang Archaeology." Like Rawson's essay on "Western Zhou Archaeology," it is almost entirely concerned with bronzes and jades, ignoring pottery and nonartifactual archaeological evidence. This account is placed within the framework of a virulent attack on Chinese archaeology. The object of this attack is a caricature of Chinese archaeology as serving only to vindicate the historical tradition. Yet, to its credit, from its inception, Chinese archaeological publication has always carefully distinguished the reporting of field data from theoretical analysis. Cultural analysis is based primarily on pottery forms (traditional and somewhat old-fashioned, but hardly biased), and the data has always been published in a straightforward, factual manner. Moreover, for many years now, there have been a number of different, conflicting schools of interpretation, vigorous debate, and many levels of quality of scholarship, all published in a vast array of local and national journals.

One purpose of Bagley's attack is to try to support a hypothesis for which the requisite evidence is not there. Thus, he suggests that if it were not for planned digging in a restricted area of historically known sites, other cultures than the Shang would be seen to have equal power and cultural dominance. In reality, most excavations in China since the 1960s have been salvage archaeology, their geographical range determined by infrastructure and economic development. Planned excavations must necessarily be in places that there is a reason to believe will yield artifacts, but economic development in recent years has been in regions that no one would have supposed might yield important finds, and their randomness has been an important corrective to received ideas. Many criticisms of Chinese archaeology can be legitimately made, and there are many possible paradigms that have not yet been considered, but this critique makes little sense. Bagley accuses the Chinese of excavating with a political purpose; one must wonder what his own purpose is, and why such an inappropriate and vitriolic work was included in this volume.

In sum, this volume is more a collection of scholarly essays, some good, some bad, than a history of ancient China. Considering its length, few people are likely to read it from cover to cover, but almost everyone interested in ancient China will find something to reward them within its covers.

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CONSTANCE A. COOK and JOHN S. MAJOR, editors.
Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China.
Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1999. Pp. ix,
254. \$59.00.

In traditional Chinese history, Chu appears as the semibarbarous culture of the south, opposed to the middle kingdoms of the heartland on the Yellow River, the conservative rule of Qi in Shandong, and the aggressive power of Qin, which would eventually unite the civilized world.

The most dramatic instance of the dichotomy is expressed in *Chu ci*, rendered by David Hawkes as *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South* (1959). There the haunting rhythms of shaman music are contrasted to the heavy beating of bells and drums in northern courts and rituals. The poem *Li sao* ("Encountering Sorrow") in that collection describes the frustration of a mortal man among visions of gods and magical beings, and the putative author Qu Yuan is said to have committed suicide in misery at his lack of recognition. The romance of his fate inspired a cult, and he has been commemorated in the Dragon Boat festivals of southern China for over two thousand years.

More recently, archaeological discoveries in the last half century have brought to light a remarkable richness of culture. The tombs of Changsha in Hunan province have yielded ancient bodies, grave goods, texts and maps, and given form to a religious tradition

largely alien to that of the north. In similar fashion, there has been growing appreciation of the literary evidence for non-Confucian influences in the former territory of Chu along the lower Yangzi, including traditions of faith healing, magic and prognostication, and an early manifestation of the foreign doctrine, Buddhism, in the first century A.D.

So Chu has long interested scholars of classical China, but it has generally been studied through the mirror of northern-based states and their traditional histories. It is only in recent times that enough independent material has become available to allow the ancient state and its culture to be considered on their own terms. The contributors to the present work combine ancient history and tradition with the more recent evidence of archaeology, providing a picture of the government and society, the belief systems, and the artistry of Chu. As the subtitle implies, moreover, they seek to explore not only the reality of the cultural complex but its influence on the imagination of China under Han and later dynasties.

The state of Chu appears in the Nanyang basin of southwest Henan at the end of the second millennium B.C. It extended south across the bend of the Han River about present-day Xiangfan and was well established in Hubei by 700. From that time, as the empire of Zhou declined, Chu expanded south beyond the Yangzi and east into the lands of the Huai. To the north, its chief rival for hegemony was the state of Jin, in present-day Shanxi, with Qi in the east and the ultimate victor, Qin, in the northwest, but the immediate enemies of Chu were the southeastern states of Wu and Yue, which contended for mastery of the lower Yangzi.

In this contest, Chu gained final victory, but not before a massive defeat at the hands of Wu in the late sixth century. In the next hundred years, Wu was destroyed by Yue, and Chu confirmed authority in the southeast, but by 400 B.C. the days of expansion were over, and Chu was forced onto the defensive against the northern states. Driven east from their original homeland, during the third century the rulers of Chu based themselves on the lower Yangzi and the Huai. They were able to destroy the kingdom of Yue, but by 225 the rising empire of Qin had conquered its rivals in the north, and in 223 it overwhelmed the remnants of Chu.

In historical terms, therefore, the foundation state of Chu was essentially northern Chinese, associated with the dynasty of Zhou and with small evidence of a distinctive culture. Later, through expansion south and southeast, Chu acquired domain over different peoples of the Yangzi basin and access to the southern seacoast and its wealth of trade. In turn, the peoples of those distant lands influenced their rulers with new forms of art. Their complex style and graphic grotesques mixed realism and fantasy in bronze, gold, lacquer, and the celebrated *Silk Manuscript* of the third century.

So a small state on the edge of the Chinese heartland gave its name to a culture from the south that

expressed itself not only through symbols and artefacts but also in exotic religious practice and a literature of romance and fantasy. And in later centuries, behind the mainstream tradition of imperial Confucianism, the influence of Chu may be seen in ceremonies at the court of Han, in the rhythms and style of the *fu* rhapsody, and in popular and personal beliefs and approaches to the supernatural.

The present collection includes articles on the geography and state of Chu by Barry Blakeley, on archaeology and art by Xu Shaohua and Jenny E. So, on towns and trade by Heather A. Peters, and a study of legal documents from a tomb in Hubei by Susan Weld. Editor John S. Major writes on the nature of late Chu religion, while Gopal Sukhu discusses later imagery of Chu during the Han period. Major's co-editor, Constance A. Cook, contributes a study of the ideology of the ruling class based upon the ritual rhetoric of bronze inscriptions and joins with Li Ling to provide an annotated translation of the *Silk Manuscript*.

The work as a whole is a timely and valuable summary of current knowledge about a major contributor to the cultural history of China and a starting point for further research and analysis. There are two weaknesses in an otherwise fine publication. First, there is no general map; there are regional ones, on eccentric scales, but nothing that gives a picture of Chu as a whole. Second, although there are characters in the bibliography, there are none in the index. As a result of these basic omissions, the book is harder to read than it should be, but it is nonetheless a substantial and indeed fascinating contribution to the study of early China.

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S. A. THORNTON. *Charisma and Community Formation in Medieval Japan: The Case of the Yūgyō-ha (1300–1700)*. (Cornell East Asia Series, number 102.) Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Program. 1999. Pp. xvi, 290. Cloth \$28.00, paper \$17.00.

As Japan made the transition in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries from its ancient age, when courtiers in the service of the emperor in Kyoto still ruled, to the warrior-dominated medieval age, it also underwent a great religious revival. At the heart of this revival was the yearning for salvation by people who felt that, owing to the decline of the Buddhist Law, they could no longer achieve enlightenment or attain nirvana through their own efforts but needed to rely on the saving power of another. Increasingly, such people were drawn to the Buddha Amida, who had vowed to save all sentient beings who placed their faith in him by transporting them, upon death, to his Pure Land paradise in the western realm of the universe.

Founded and developed by Hōnen and Shinran, Pure Land Buddhism attracted a following that, in sheer numbers, has never been matched by any other religious sect in Japanese history. Much of the success

of this new sect resulted from the steady process of simplifying the "effort" required to ensure rebirth in Amida's Pure Land. Basically, faith in Amida was manifested by recitation of the *nenbutsu*, a brief prayer (*Namu Amida Butsu*, "Praise to Amida Buddha"). But how many times did one need to recite the prayer, and how "sincere" did one need to be in reciting it? Shinran declared that the *nenbutsu* did not even have to be recited aloud; a single, silent commitment to Amida was enough. This certainly made the process of ensuring salvation very simple indeed. But it was even further simplified by Ippen, an itinerant evangelist who, with a ragtag band of followers, traveled for years by foot throughout Japan bestowing upon people everywhere amulets (paper strips) inscribed with the *nenbutsu*. A mystic, Ippen was assured by a god who was a manifestation of Amida that it mattered not whether the recipients of these amulets wanted them or even knew what they stood for. The act of bestowal of the amulets itself guaranteed salvation.

S. A. Thornton's book is a study of Ippen and his beliefs and of the sect, known as *Yūgyō-ha* (Sect of Itinerant Preaching), that was established by his followers after his death and that flourished greatly for many centuries. Like many charismatic religious leaders, Ippen did little to organize or promote a sect. Indeed, he believed that his mission would simply end with his death. But, as Thornton makes clear in great detail, the sect founded in his name evolved in ways that, I assume, would have appalled Ippen. For one thing, it became a great institution whose members, for the most part, were itinerants in self-proclaimed name only. Moreover, the sect's heads were deified in a manner that Ippen could not have approved of, and the power or authority to guarantee rebirth in the Pure Land, which Ippen believed derived solely from Amida's vow, was manipulated by the sect in various ways to control followers and attract new converts. Perhaps most astonishing of all for an organization claiming Ippen as its spiritual forebear, the sect actively and relentlessly sought worldly success through the patronage of the highest in the land, including emperors and other members of the imperial family and shoguns and their warrior followers.

Using an extensive variety of sources, Thornton has produced a most impressive work of scholarship that casts light onto a major area of Buddhist practice and institutional development that has been relatively neglected by other researchers. She has clearly made a major contribution to the field of Buddhist studies in English. My only real criticism of her book is its density. It is packed—I am inclined to say overloaded—with names, titles, and Japanese terms, and I found it very difficult to read. My feeling is that if the author of a monograph like this believes that he or she absolutely must include a very great deal of sheer research data in a book, he or she should consider placing as much of the data as possible in appendixes in order to make the text itself more readable. With proper thought and organization, this kind of mono-

graph can be shaped to appeal both to fellow scholars, who may revel in the minutia of the author's research, and to others, who may be defeated by such minutia.

This criticism aside, I wish to congratulate Thornton for her achievement.

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KATHLEEN S. UNO. *Passages to Modernity: Motherhood, Childhood, and Social Reform in Early Twentieth Century Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1999. Pp. x, 237. Cloth \$47.00, paper \$24.95.

In today's world, the Japanese mother has an international reputation for devotion to children and home. Pick up any American journalistic account of women in contemporary Japan, and you will read about how Japanese women are still confined to their homes in their traditional roles as wives and mothers, lagging behind American women in both feminist consciousness and employment outside the home. Kathleen S. Uno's greatest achievement in this study of day care in early twentieth-century Japan is her demonstration that the "education mother" of postwar Japan is a modern construct, not a remnant of the feudal past. Drawing on a wealth of Japanese secondary sources, Uno convinces us of the sharp contrast between the intensely child-focused mother of today and the productive motherhood of early modern Japan. In the early modern period, when a woman's skills in spinning and weaving were often more valuable to her household than her attention to her children, families made frequent use of other caregivers, such as siblings, grandparents, and servants. The idea, newly introduced from the West, that children were primarily a mother's responsibility only gradually found acceptance, mainly among the middle and upper classes. The new ideal of motherhood resonated with changes in society. The modern institutions promoted by the new centralized state established in 1868 reduced the number of caregivers available as family members found employment outside the home, children began attending school regularly, and young couples left the extended family to establish new households in the city.

The substantive research from which Uno derives her crucial insight into how motherhood and childhood have been constructed in modern Japan centers on particular day-care institutions. Two professionally trained female educators, Noguchi Yuka (1866–1950) and Morishima Mine (1868–1936), founded the Futaba Yōchien in 1900 in Tokyo. The Kobe Wartime Service Memorial Day-Care Association, which took shape during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, was under the supervision of Namae Takayuki, a male expert on philanthropy and relief work. Making use of annual reports and the memoirs of staff members, Uno shows that the staff of Futaba worked together with Japanese parents, both fathers and mothers, to meet their moral, educational, and spiritual needs. At Kobe,

which in contrast provided day care in order to increase the earnings of working-class households, the association offered fathers and mothers assistance in finding employment and advice on savings. Uno devotes two additional chapters to how day-care facilities evolved from these beginnings in the two decades that followed. Our understanding of day-care centers is enhanced by the numerous photographs Uno includes in her work.

In the Taisho era (1912–1926), mothers in Japan gained a higher profile than fathers as nurturing parents. Echoing Western literature, leading child welfare experts emphasized the importance of the relationship between mother and child. By the 1920s, as day-care centers proliferated in Japan, the special responsibilities of mothers for infant care had found sufficient acceptance that the assemblies that had once been called parents' groups were now designated as mothers' meetings. Nevertheless, no one associated with childcare in Japan ever suggested that there was an inherent conflict between motherhood and employment outside the home. Japanese child welfare experts refrained from proposing the establishment of the mothers' pensions that were favored in the United States. Advocates of day care were constant in defending the usefulness of their institutions in terms of the best interests of the nation, and the general acceptance of day care may have been premised on the national imperative to be productive. Uno also points out that the middle-class experts and philanthropists who advocated "wise motherhood" for those of their own class seemingly presumed that productive work was more important than devoted motherhood for households with lower incomes. Uno draws attention to the continuities between Taisho practices and the fact that, in recent years, Japan has had the largest number of day-care facilities of any industrialized nation.

This book is by no means perfect. There are mistakes in the indexing. Every scholar's nightmare, that the reference numbers in the text should fail to match the appropriate passage in the "Notes" section, has actually occurred in notes 15 to 34 of chapter six. The writing is sometimes repetitious. These minor technical flaws are, however, far outweighed by the acuity of Uno's insights into the construction of modern motherhood in Japan.

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HONDA KATSUICHI. *The Nanjing Massacre: A Japanese Journalist Confronts Japan's National Shame*. Edited by FRANK GIBNEY. Translated by KAREN SANDNESS. (A Pacific Basin Institute Book; An East Gate Book.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 367. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Honda Katsuichi is an experienced reporter for Japan's *Asahi shinbun*. Thirty years ago, he was especially well known for his frontline coverage, from both sides, of the Vietnam War. In the preface to this book, he

writes that he was appalled at the horrors of warfare visited upon the common people of Vietnam, and this raised questions in his mind about how Japan's Imperial Army had behaved toward the common people of China during the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945. As a consequence, in 1971, thirty-four years after the events, Honda traveled to China to retrace the route taken by the Imperial Army through cities and villages from the time the fighting broke out in Shanghai in the summer of 1937 until the defenseless Nationalist capital at Nanking (now rendered as Nanjing) was sacked in the second week of December 1937. The title is therefore somewhat misleading: about half of the book is devoted to events that occurred before Nanjing.

The results of Honda's painstaking investigations were printed in serial form by the Asahi papers in 1971 and then gathered together in book form as *Chūgoku no tabi* [Journey to China], which was published in 1972. This book is mainly a translation of the Japanese-language volume. Somewhat confusingly, however, there are appended chapters that are translations of another book by Honda and that reflect journeys to China and interviews conducted in the 1980s.

As a good journalist, Honda gets to the facts and records them with careful detail. In a typical chapter of this book, Honda examines what happened when the Imperial Army entered Suzhou more than three weeks prior to its arrival at Nanjing. Honda sets the scene with available military records and newspaper accounts, but the heart of the chapter is his interviews with surviving victims. Nearly every page is illustrated with a photograph of one of these victims, often pointing to horrific wounds. Sometimes there are before (1937) and after (1971) pictures. The chapter is replete with maps, but not the battleground maps one is accustomed to in reading military history. These are maps of schools or hospitals or houses: here is the room where Wang hid and here is the massacre room. And here is the door where soldiers with bayonets appeared (p. 48). And then follow three pages of harrowing recollections provided by Wang Mugen, seventy-eight years old when Honda interviewed him in 1971. These firsthand, on-the-scene accounts provide Honda's book with an immediacy, an energy, and an authenticity that is rarely found in the histories of the Sino-Japanese War. It invites comparison with the most compelling European Holocaust literature.

It is difficult to exaggerate the impact that Honda's reportage had on Japan. Until Honda's articles appeared, Japanese tended to think back on the war years with a strong sense of victimization. Everyone knew of the food shortages, evacuations, the war widows and orphans, the devastating firebomb raids, as well as Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Ienaga Saburo was engaged in a decades-long struggle with the courts and the Ministry of Education to compel bureaucrats, publishers, and writers to take note of Japan's role as aggressor. But Ienaga was a rare exception, and his efforts were greeted with more apathy than support.

Honda's revelations did not suddenly produce a

wave of national revulsion by a contrite citizenry bravely confronting its past. More accurately, it stimulated a vigorous debate among popular critics, readers, academics, and political leaders. A wide spectrum of views was ventilated in the Japanese press and in academic journals. At one end were denialists, but at the other end appeared some of the most conscientious, balanced, and searching studies of the Sino-Japanese War.

Frank Gibney has written a helpful introduction that summarizes salient points of Honda's research and, importantly, provides something that Honda neglects: namely, interpretation and historical context. Gibney is on solid ground in criticizing Iris Chang's 1997 volume, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, as badly and needlessly flawed (p. xii). However, in suggesting that Chang exaggerates an atmosphere of intimidation in Japan (p. xii) concerning research into war crimes responsibilities, Gibney would seem to be challenging Honda's own testimony. Honda writes that he has been targeted by extreme right-wing forces, threatened, forced to move out of a home and to keep address and telephone numbers secret (p. xxvi). Doubtless, this kind of harassment has diminished over the nearly thirty years since Honda's book first appeared in Japan. That in itself is a tribute to how much Honda has succeeded in opening up the mind of Japan to a realistic assessment of wartime responsibilities.

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YASUSHI YAMANOUCHI, J. VICTOR KOSCHMANN, and RYŪICHI NARITA, editors. *Total War and Modernization.* (Cornell East Asia Series, number 100.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, East Asia Program. 1999. Pp. xviii, 326. Cloth \$28.00, paper \$17.00.

Japanese scholars have long tended to view World War II as a "dark valley" in their nation's past, a discrete, tortured period discontinuous with either prewar or postwar historical narratives. Over the past twenty years, historians have increasingly come to revise this view, stressing "transwar" continuities and demonstrating pervasive linkages between Japan's wartime order and its postwar democratic system. As J. Victor Koschmann notes in the introduction to this volume, the essays all question the tendency of mainstream Japanese historiography to label Japan's postwar democracy "modern" (and thus good) while condemning the wartime system as "premodern" (and thus bad). Japan's contemporary political and economic institutions, the contributors here agree, "owe their basic character to the system-integration and homogenization carried out during the era of World War II" (p. vii).

The twelve essays revolve around two central arguments. First, the authors maintain that Japan's wartime mobilization was not atavistic but fundamentally

modernizing in character, stressing organizational and technological rationalization, systemic efficiency, and high levels of social integration and control. In this way, the wartime order was profoundly continuous with Japan's post-1945 "system society" and democratic welfare state. Second, the essays suggest that the phenomenon of wartime modernization was not limited to Japan but was transnational: despite significant cultural differences, Germany and the United States shared much of Japan's experience during and after World War II. As Koschmann stresses, the goal of this collection is not to rehabilitate or redeem wartime mobilization, but rather to show that much of the world remains in a "total-war system." "The contributors feel that the ills of the postwar era are . . . predominantly modern rather than residually premodern, and that they result . . . from tendencies that are in greater or lesser degree common to all 'advanced' capitalist nations" (pp. xii-xiii).

In a "methodological introduction," Yasushi Yamanouchi argues that the mobilization of total-war systems imposed a rationalized, functional homogeneity on national communities, transforming traditional class-based societies into the technocratic "system societies" that have characterized the postwar period. Most of the other essays add historical detail and subtle variations to this basic premise, documenting wartime and postwar continuities in Japan and revealing that "the wartime mobilization system was hardly a 'departure' from modernity, but was rather its ultimate realization" (p. 210). Pieces by Koschmann and Minoru Iwasaki trace the intellectual ancestry of the postwar debate over democratic subjectivity (*shutai-sei*), concluding that it was "merely a poor and emaciated repetition of discursive conundrums that had been engaged more fully in the thirties and early-forties" (p. 160). Mitsunobu Sugiyama similarly shows how "civil society" theories of the 1960s were derivative of wartime thought that had supported the patriotic mobilization effort. Essays by Takumi Satō (on censorship and propaganda), Hirokazu Ōuchi (on education) and Shōichi Amemiya (on the middle classes and community leadership) anatomize the modernizing qualities of wartime reforms and the unbroken trajectories of change that continued after 1945. Ryūichi Narita's fascinating contribution describes how the rhetoric of Japanese feminist Mumeo Oku—with its emphasis on the rational, scientific modernization of daily life—proved compelling before, during, and after World War II.

Two essays take what Koschmann calls "an etiological approach to continuity, in which postwar effects are produced by wartime causes" (p. xv). Tetsuji Okazaki, for instance, uses the concept of path dependence to explain how Japan's postwar market economy has retained elements of wartime planning and industrial mobilization. Kazurō Saguchi further suggests that the development of labor relations in postwar Japan was constrained and channeled by the wartime experience of state labor policy. Two other essays take

a more comparative focus. The contribution of Gregory Hooks and Raymond A. Jussaume, Jr., whose methodology and conclusions seem somewhat incongruous in this collection, contrasts U.S. and Japanese state-business relations during World War II. Michael Prinz's essay provides an enlightening historiographical survey of Nazi Germany's "Janus-faced modernization" but makes no explicit comparisons to the Japanese case.

This collection is the result of a joint U.S.-Japanese research project conducted in 1992-1995 and was originally published in Japanese in 1995. To some extent, the essays show their age, as several recent works of particular relevance to this topic—notably Yukio's Noguchi's *1940-nen taisei* (Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shimpōsha, 1995)—are not mentioned even in this edition. Three of the essays in the volume were originally written in English, and the remaining nine were translated from Japanese. Despite the fact that a number of different translators were employed, the collection reads smoothly and is remarkably uniform stylistically. Some additional editing might have been advisable, however: citation formats are not entirely consistent and, as in many Japanese scholarly works, there is no index. Moreover, as is common in such collections of essays, many crucial terms are only vaguely or backhandedly defined. A convenient glossary provides basic information on Japanese individuals and institutions mentioned in the text, but important analytical concepts like "modernization," "subjectivity," and even "total war" are not fully addressed.

Although this collection is polished and complete as it stands, one cannot help but feel that something is missing. For example, an essay that more systematically compares Japan's wartime experience to the U.S. case—a topic that deserves far greater attention in the historical literature—would be welcome here. Moreover, a conclusion (which the book lacks entirely) could be particularly useful in drawing together the various essays and emphasizing the intimate connection between this historical project and the authors' critical perspective on contemporary social, political, and economic arrangements in the United States and Japan. Nonetheless, these minor deficiencies notwithstanding, this is an important and provocative volume that shows the value—indeed, the necessity—of making innovative, high-quality Japanese scholarship available to an English-language audience.

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SIMON PARTNER. *Assembled in Japan: Electrical Goods and the Making of the Japanese Consumer*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 303. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

This fine book by Simon Partner is the latest addition to a growing body of literature that examines postwar

Japan through the lens of history on the basis of rigorous research in the available primary materials. Partner sets out to understand "the arrival of a mass consumer society" (p. 2) in Japan by focusing on the rise of the electrical goods industry after 1945. His book succeeds admirably because its center of gravity is Japan's dynamic private sector: specifically, the process of interaction among technological change, private business, and social transformation. Focusing primarily on the period of the 1950s and 1960s, Partner traces the development of the makers of electrical appliances and consumer electronics (collectively referred to as "electrical goods") as well as the role of the mass media, particularly television, in shaping Japanese consumer culture. Although he draws heavily on the literature regarding postwar Japanese economic and business development as well as primary materials relating to companies such as Sony, Hitachi, and Matsushita (maker of Panasonic brand products), this is not simply an industry study. Rather, the book's defining feature and greatest strength is how it transcends conventional disciplinary boundaries, both drawing on and contributing to the existing scholarly literature on technology transfer, the mass media, transnational cultural relations, women's history, and gender roles in Japanese society. The result shows how "from the raw materials of technology and business activity emerged a social revolution centered on mass consumption and the ownership of desirable household goods" (p. 242).

The book's arrangement reflects the author's ambitious agenda. Chapter one traces Japan's prewar attempts to bridge its technology gap with the West and contemporary social trends, most notably the emergence of middle-class culture and the mass media. Partner argues persuasively that these developments before 1945 underpinned the changes of the postwar period. Chapter two recounts the confusing vibrancy of the early postwar years as the American occupiers, economic bureaucrats, business organizations, entrepreneurs, and ordinary Japanese contemplated Japan's future. In retrospect, this seed time of the emerging postwar order was far more optimistic than one might have expected in the wake of military defeat.

Chapter three analyzes the arrival of television in Japan using the format of the U.S. industry, paying particular attention to the role of entrepreneurs such as Shoriki Matsutaro (whose company, NTV, was awarded a television license in August 1952). Such appreciation of the initiative taken by private business leaders show why an industry few thought Japan was economically capable of supporting arrived when it did. Consistent with recent research, Partner finds little evidence of official government involvement in the dynamic Japanese business initiatives of the period. In chapter four, he correctly emphasizes the dependence of Japanese concerns on product technology transferred from the United States as well as the extensive public and private American encouragement of such technology transfer to Japan. Partner high-

lights the significance of the flow of management know-how such as marketing techniques to Japan.

Chapters five and six explore the emergence of postwar consumer society, with particular focus on women's roles as consumers and laborers, most notably as housewives and in the manufacturing of products such as transistor radios, respectively. Such integration of social and economic history, complete with tables and illustrations (fifteen each), yields a rich portrait of society in transition. Some specialists may quibble with the significance of certain particulars. But it is rare for a study to integrate effectively discussion of such topics as the desire for a "new life" (p. 145) after the war, advertising and consumer credit, Matsushita's marketing strategy in rural Japan, the talismanic quality electrical goods came to possess, and the (still highly relevant) cultural criticism of high ownership of durable household goods even as other basic needs such as housing remained unfulfilled.

This book commends itself on several levels. Partner's research contributes significantly to our understanding of Japan's postwar economic and social transformation. As a model study of the relationships among technology, business, and social change (i.e. capitalism at work), it deserves the attention of scholars grappling with the same issues in different contexts. And not least, as an account of the rise and social significance of an industry whose products are now everywhere, the book is as engaging as it is informative. It should be widely considered for classroom use at both the undergraduate and graduate levels in history and in social science courses dealing with the topics it addresses.

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D. DENNIS HUDSON. *Protestant Origins in India: Tamil Evangelical Christians, 1706–1835*. (Studies in the History of Christian Missions.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2000. Pp. xi, 220. \$45.00.

Mission history is becoming increasingly the story of cultural encounter, and D. Dennis Hudson's theme is the deeply intriguing account of how converts from a South Indian Hindu elite, the Vellalas, appropriated Christianity and a growing hostile response by Protestant missionaries to their eclecticism. It is a territory that Hudson has made his own, and mission historians are already deeply in his debt.

The story begins with the arrival of two Saxon Halle missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau, in 1713 in the Danish settlement of Tranquebar. Theirs was a pietism based on the writings of Philip Spener (1635–1705) and one to be preached unadulterated. Ziegenbalg was a strange mix of intolerance: he smashed several heads of those "foppish Gods" of an Indian temple and refused to take off his shoes when visiting a nearby Sufi master, yet could in a very eighteenth-century way write an account of this religious commu-

nity, *Genealogy of the South Indian Gods* (not published in English until 1869). There follows an account of the outreach of this evangelicalism in Tamilnadu. This is a multifaceted story of cultural transitions, from Hindu to Christian, from Catholic to Protestant, from an eighteenth-century Lutheran pietism to a nineteenth-century Calvinist Protestantism.

Hudson's paradigm is of "the gaze," no nodding gesture here to Jacques Lacan but his metaphor for the way Saivas, Vaishnavas, Muslims, and Catholics might be looking in on the converts worshipping in the New Jerusalem chapel in Tranquebar and their corresponding looking out, an outside-inside, inside-outside metaphor. The Vellala converts would be shamed should their former coreligionists see them breaking social taboos. Hence their insistence on castes sitting separately for Communion, and drinking from the cup in strict order of caste hierarchy: "at the Lord's table they sat together separately" (p. 108). They had no trouble in discovering a convergence between a Protestant belief in salvation by grace and their former Hindu belief in "a godly bhakti," but breaching social convention was another matter.

Hudson sets this debate in a wide context. A Hindu perspective is explored through the mid-nineteenth century writings of Dandapani Swami and, to a lesser degree, those of Arumaga Navalar of Jaffna, laying bare that peculiar South Indian divide between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The Vellalas as sudras, but an upwardly mobilizing caste, particularly adopted a belief that behavior rather than birth determined status: "indeed, according to the concept of Dharma, it could even effect the cosmos" (p. 81). Hudson sees at work a clash between a traditional, holistic culture, one that saw society in terms of groups rather than families, and a European modern view of society as a contract between individuals. The Vellala converts disingenuously argued that were the pariahs to be equal participants in these religious services, they would bear the brunt of orthodox outrage. But as Hudson puts it, "it was that newly developing notion of personhood that led the 'Junior Missionaries' in Tranquebar and Tanjore forcibly to change the mats in the church" (p. 185).

Vedananayagam Sastri (his sobriquet meant scholar of revelation), the great Vellala Christian poet of the mid-century, became the pivotal character in this drama. Here was a Christian Schwartz man, and it is revealing how quickly an inherent caste elite traditionalism turned Schwartz into a guru whose word was God. He had turned a blind eye to the maintenance of social conventions. Interestingly, Vedananayagam conceded that change would come in time, but it should not be rushed. And how did Indian caste differ, he enquired, from European class anyway? There was also a very familiar-looking resentment at new translations of the Bible by C. T. E. Rhenius, himself, ironically, a Lutheran rebel against the CMS, and those older and favored ones by Fabricius. At one stage, Sastri is protected by the ruler of Tanjore,

Serforji II, though as a court poet will not enter into any Faustian pact to praise Siva were the king to do the same for Jesus. We are here on the edge of the showdown between George Uglow Pope and Sastri, a story I have myself tried to tell in an essay in Geoffrey Oddie, ed. *Religious Conversion Movements in South Asia: Continuities and Change, 1800–1900* (1997).

It is a real challenge to bring this kind of intractable cultural history alive, but it can be done: Richard Fox Young did so, for example, in his *Resistant Hinduism: Sanskrit Sources on Anti-Christian Apologetics in Early Nineteenth-Century India* (1981). A little regrettably, Hudson, in this the first of two summary volumes of a lifetime's study, opts to speak more to his fellow scholars rather than reach out to a wider audience; this is a microstudy with a vengeance. And maybe his editors should have warned him of all those overly long quotations from contemporary sources. But it remains a story well worth telling.

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INDRANI CHATTERJEE. *Gender, Slavery and Law in Colonial India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 286. \$32.00.

Joining a small but substantial collection of recent books addressing related issues of bonded labor, servitude, and slavery in British India, Indrani Chatterjee approaches the discussion of Indian slavery from a unique perspective. Slavery, she argues, must be understood (at least in part) as a domestic institution. It is a mistake, she argues, to allow "ideological blinders" to define slavery only as economic exploitation and to categorize as slaves only those whose work produces profits capable of being expropriated. Further domestic slavery and the slaves who were part of it must be seen as having multiple (and often changing) connections to indigenous caste and community groupings. Slaves were not exclusively members of the lowest *jatis* of the Indian caste system, and the concept of "slavery" should not be limited to those belonging to such groups.

At the conclusion to her study, Chatterjee places her subject in its modern context. We must understand personal law in modern India as the product of colonial intervention and construction. We must reconstruct the history of domestic slavery in India out of the nineteenth-century genealogical, kinship, and legal subterfuges that sought to obscure and occlude it from India's historical past. Finally, we must include the "sexual reproduction" of domestic slavery within our understanding of productive labor systems in India. Only when we have done all this "can the legacy of administrative complicity and family collusion in the persistence of a traffic in women and children in modern India be fully understood" (p. 239).

Using a combination of East India Company records, British government records, and some con-

temporary Bengali writings, Chatterjee attempts to explicate this legacy through a "thick description" of different kinds of slaves "as they moved within as well as between different households, within the Nizamat of Murshidabad, and similar households in Dacca and elsewhere" (p. 225). In the process, she demonstrates that "slaves" included women (and men) within the court whose work and status varied widely (from concubines to servants), whose caste status was often merged with the caste status of their masters or mistresses, and whose position within the rankings of the court could change on the birth (or even adoption) of a biological child of the ruling family. These structures of "domestic slavery," however, have been rendered invisible in India's history by the manipulations of colonial administrators and the ideological and conceptual biases of twentieth-century scholars. If we allowed ourselves to observe domestic slavery as it existed in the historical record of courts such as that at Murshidabad, Chatterjee argues, we would further understand that the flow of slaves across categories of descent, caste, and community raises questions about descriptions of these categories as fixed and impermeable.

The book's main chapters focus on the explication of domestic slavery within the Murshidabad court and on that court's relations with the East India Company and colonial officials. After an initial historiographical discussion of slavery, Chatterjee moves on in her second chapter to a description of the slave system that operated within the Murshidabad court and the relationship of that system to ties of kinship and nonkinship. Her third chapter describes the efforts of East India Company and colonial officials to manipulate and reinterpret indigenous slave institutions in ways thought appropriate to British (and sometimes Islamic) laws regarding marriage and kinship. Chapter four studies the economic relationships and exchanges within the Nizamat, the role played by slaves in this process, and the interventions of company and colonial officials in these exchanges. Chapter five examines laws relating to slavery in this period, both company and Islamic, and the various legal contortions through which colonial officials managed their coexistence with a slavery that was said not to exist.

Chatterjee's ambitious agenda and the complexity of the argument she wants to make create numerous difficulties for her in execution. The study relies, for the most part, on contemporary company and government records; this reader would have appreciated a discussion and review of sources available for such a study. Although the overall structure of the book is clear, the organization and the writing of specific chapter sections can be difficult to follow. Plunging into a reconstruction of the relations of slaves, concubines, rulers, and officials, the author sometimes loses sight of her more general points. Still, this is a complex and worthwhile subject, and the author's explication of

the nature, complications, and contradictions in eighteenth and nineteenth-century domestic slavery carries both authority and conviction.

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AJAY SKARIA. *Hybrid Histories: Forests, Frontiers and Wildness in Western India*. (Studies in Social Ecology and Environmental History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xxiv, 324. \$35.00.

This is a bold attempt to offer complex, multilayered and interweaving narratives of the pasts of the hill peoples of western India in the regions inland from Surat and Daman. It constitutes an exercise not only in social ecology and environmental history but also in oral accounts and redefinitions and refigurings of the relationships between Indians and British imperial rulers, seeking to cast aside the modernist thrust of most history writing. A central theme is the manner in which ascriptions of masculinity and femininity were given to specific activities and particular peoples, both among themselves and by the British. Another is the way in which conflicting cultures not only construct the environment in socially meaningful ways but also set about transforming it in order to fulfill social, economic, and cultural norms.

Ajay Skaria collected the lively stories, or *goth*, of the Bhils, narratives that are sometimes performed, sometimes told in all manner of informal circumstances. A plainsman himself, he had to secure the confidence of his friends in the *dangs* or hills, so that they would repeat the various forms of tales in all their epic, sardonic, and playful detail. Interestingly, these stories sometimes referred to the archive of the *sarkar* or state, particularly that of the British, and Skaria was able in some instances to connect and contrast the written and the oral record. Skaria offers a connecting thread through which these tales can be understood, a thread that he identifies as "wildness," the attribute of the *jangal*, the forest or wilderness. This concept is worked through in aesthetic, political, and economic ways. Thus, the Bhils took particular pleasure in their mobility, the movement of their villages, their shifting cultivation, their seasonal migrations, and collecting, hunting, and fishing activities. Their forest life was viewed as superior to that of the plains from which their traditions said they had come. But they interacted with the plains through raids and the exaction of various forms of tax and tribute. Their polity was largely non-hierarchical, and each man could see himself as a raja. Women also exercised various forms of power and exhibited their own characteristics of wildness. Such were the attractions of the lifestyle that others associated themselves with the Bhils, even though in certain respects they may have seen them-

selves as superior to them. The Bhils enjoyed alcohol, distilled from mahua flowers, and ate all manner of meats, including beef. They were different and free and revelled in the bravery and daring that constituted that freedom.

Nevertheless, Skaria avoids a "jolly *jangal*" approach. He is fully aware of the potential destructiveness of the Bhil ethic and the manner in which it had the capacity to create destruction, misery, even depopulation. Women were controlled through a particularly brutal approach to *dakan* or witches. But he does see their use of the environment as having a variety of regenerative characteristics built into it. Moreover, the crucial point was that hill, forest, and plain interpenetrated each other in key ways. It was that interpenetration that the British set out to control and destroy.

For the British, wildness had different connotations. Their attitude to the hill peoples was highly ambivalent, a mixture of respect and contempt; they viewed them as both notably brave survivors and wild children to be punished and socialized. Moreover, British environmentalism, the protection of forests, was essentially violent and transformatory. Forest dwellers were no longer permitted to pursue their shifting (and to the British, shiftless) ways. They had to be settled. They were not allowed to fire the forest or raid the plains. The mosaic of interrupted forests on the plains themselves, sometimes the product of regeneration after raiding, had to be destroyed.

The plains were for cultivation; the hills for uninterrupted and protected forest. Thus an internal frontier was established and policies of exclusion and exploitation pursued. The complex relationships of the different peoples of the region were also destroyed. The Bhils initially resisted, abandoned resistance, and then resumed it again in more recent times. But the nationalist *sarkar* replaced the British and generally perpetuated the modernist approach. Forest resistance simmers on, both through the tradition of the *goth* and in acts of insurgency that take various forms.

Skaria is so eager to avoid the linearity of modernism that he suggests that the chapters of his book can be read in a different order to appreciate better the overlapping narratives. This reviewer experimented but still found a degree of linearity. Complex though the narratives are, there remain gaps: for example, we are never introduced to the attitudes of the peoples of the plains toward their neighbors in the forests. Moreover, the nationalist *sarkar* remains a much more shadowy state power than that of the British, although Skaria's past as a journalist must have brought him constantly into contact with it. Nevertheless, the book remains a notable achievement, and those who write about social ecology in other continents would do well to read it.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

IAN TYRRELL. *Deadly Enemies: Tobacco and Its Opponents in Australia*. Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 271. \$29.95.

Ian Tyrrell, an outstanding international social historian with a special interest in addictive substances and control measures, provides a comprehensive history of the use of tobacco in Australia and the campaigns against the weed. Based on extraordinarily broad coverage of primary sources, his work parallels, and is informed by, other national histories of the struggle over tobacco use. What is particularly distinctive about this book is the attention that Tyrrell pays to the viewpoints of smokers as well as the usual coverage of viewpoints of those who marketed and promoted tobacco use and those who opposed the substance and the industry. His book thus complements Robin Walker's more traditional but very incisive history of smoking and the tobacco business, *Under Fire: A History of Tobacco Smoking in Australia* (1984).

Tyrrell recognizes the ritual nature of tobacco use as well as the addictive qualities of nicotine absorption. By the time that Australia was being settled in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the settlers largely smoked tobacco, and in pipes. The gold rush transformed the habit and the business, and Australians began to grow their own tobacco as well as import it. By the late nineteenth century, lively antitobacco movements were in place, based on evangelical beliefs and strong opposition to young people's smoking. Legislators attempted by law to keep tobacco from juveniles—and simultaneously began to make governments dependent on tobacco taxes.

As elsewhere in the Europeanized countries, World War I masculinized the cigarette—either the traditional roll-your-own or ready-made—and associated the risk of battle with taking another risk, smoking. Indeed, the loss of so many young men from the Australian population retarded the rate of growth of cigarette smoking. Another factor was the intensified anticigarette campaigns of temperance evangelicals and other enthusiasts—including, notably, health advocates. But by the 1930s, a variety of factors weakened the antitobacco forces in the face of increasing demand for tobacco, now widely considered, as a journalist put it in 1933, “a beneficial tonic . . . to commerce, the individual, and society” (p. 99). Advocates of moderate, adult smoking predominated in the media, and about seventy-two percent of men (twenty-six percent of women) smoked by 1945. Moreover, both men and women, especially the not-infrequent chain smokers, began to smoke in public. Australian women were less active as smokers than in other countries, and advertisers targeted women less than in other cultures. Meantime, immigrants who smoked heavily added to the particularly masculine tobacco consumers.

Tyrrell describes the advertising campaigns of the mid-twentieth century, particularly as they differenti-

ated social classes, but, like Michael Schudson, Tyrrell is skeptical concerning the effects of marketing. Instead, he relies for explanation on ideas of personal agency and mysterious shifts in “popular mood” (p. 200). Australian advertisers were much more restrained than their U.S. counterparts, and the consumer revolution came more slowly to the antipodes. But the masculine ritual of smoking, strongly connected to sports, became ever more deeply embedded in workplaces and in drinking and recreation sites. Significantly, during and after the shortages of World War II, women and men increasingly were sharing “the smoking culture.”

In the second half of the twentieth century, the interests, pro and con, once again began to struggle against each other. The industry was joined by the tobacco farmers, who helped both major political parties maintain a pro-tobacco stance and a continued dependence on tobacco taxes. In addition, the now-lucrative cigarette advertising industry added a powerful economic interest in the age of television.

Beginning in the 1950s, many Australians attended immediately to the new connection between smoking and specific diseases, and even physicians began to come round. In general, Australians recapitulated what happened in other free-market countries. After a moderate start, by the 1970s, the antismoking educational and legislative campaigns grew, and smoking declined a bit. Simultaneously, Americanization put an end to the roll-your-owns as filter tips and concerns about tar came in. In the 1980s, more American influence brought a new phase, “healthism,” and the national government, as distinct from individuals states, took action. Radicals, working through BUGA-UP and other colorful counter-establishment groups, helped disestablish the acceptability of smoking.

Tyrrell points out that many historical factors complicated the history of tobacco users, opponents, and advocates in Australia. Clearly generations and leaders influenced events. The whole question of smoking and health became international both commercially and intellectually, particularly through pervasive media. Australia grew more middle-class, but the habit cut deeply into the culture even as it was changing, even as an anti-advertising law came into force in 1991. The usual age, class, gender, and ethnic differences appear in Tyrrell's story, but he still makes telling comparisons to events in other countries. The book contains much wisdom and just a little romantic naïveté as the author plays down how powerfully advertising and the media shaped Australian culture.

JOHN C. BURNHAM
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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

KAREN DUBINSKY. *The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls*. New

Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 290. Cloth \$52.00, paper \$22.00.

Addressing a range of topics from municipal conflicts over liquor licensing to sexual advice literature and the lives of restaurant workers, Karen Dubinsky offers a comprehensive and scholarly, yet also witty and entertaining, account of the honeymoon business at Niagara Falls, Ontario and New York, since the mid-nineteenth century.

Despite lack of commercial promotion in the nineteenth century, Dubinsky documents the growth of Niagara's reputation as a resort for upper-class newlyweds. She explains this development as a combination of the undeniable physical impressiveness of the Falls, their proximity to population centers, and cultural construction—how a variety of people “imagined the place” (p. 19). Tourists and travel writers gendered the Falls as female, a pattern that drew on much longer European traditions of imagining nature and its powerful and destructive forces as female: seductive but treacherous. Projects like the Cave of the Winds and Table Rock tours behind the Falls added physical intensity to the experience as they brought visitors close to the dangers of the Falls. Although tourism and industrial interest in the Falls had actually begun earlier, these associations with romance, sex, and danger helped to create a honeymoon craze from the 1830s on.

Dubinsky juggles two narratives rooted in these beginnings. First is the story of the postnuptial trip and its evolution from the upper-class wedding tour, in which the married couple and relatives visited other members of the extended family, to the democratized modern honeymoon, at once more private—for the couple only—and more publicly sexual—the butt of jokes and scorn. Drawing on a wide range of sources from marital advice to fiction, films, and tourist promotion literature, Dubinsky contributes to the history of sexuality, in much the same way as Jonathan Katz (*The Invention of Heterosexuality* [1995]) and Mary Louise Adams (*The Trouble With Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* [1997]), by standing outside the normative status of heterosexuality and examining its construction as an ideal and a practice.

Interwoven with the history of the honeymoon is that of the tourist industry at Niagara Falls, an account that illuminates travel as part of the wider history of consumption. Again, Dubinsky analyzes both the cultural side—the “sexualization of place through tourism” (p. 12) that attracts prosperous travelers to seek the “exotic”—and the economic side—the rise of service industries in the “bricks and mortar” (p. 5) of hotels, restaurants, and taxi companies. She treats two phases of this history—the creation of publicly owned parks on both sides of the river in the 1880s to halt what reformers saw as damaging commercialism and the democratization and expansion of tourism in the twentieth century due to the automobile and the

prosperity after World War II that made vacations possible even for some working-class people. At the end of the twentieth century, honeymoons remain popular, but sexually knowledgeable newlyweds and cynically superior tourists can no longer be excited by the Falls; Dubinsky concludes with a wink by suggesting Niagara's camp potential as a gay and lesbian resort.

This book's greatest strengths are in its sheer scope, its sophisticated grounding of cultural analysis in social and economic history, and its thorough integration of race and ethnicity into the account. Thus, for example, sexual imaginings of the Falls are combined with the fact that by 1967 Niagara lay within 500 miles of three quarters of the North American population to create the phenomenon of Niagara Falls as a honeymoon capital. Dubinsky shows that the complaints about exploitation of tourists and about commercialism ruining the Falls, while phrased in terms of pastoralist visions of nature's purity, stemmed from objections by elites to the business success of racial and ethnic minorities who were profiting from the tourist trade. Government-managed parks shifted the balance of who could profit. Additionally, Dubinsky adroitly and humourously addresses relations between the Canadian and U.S. towns (including publication of a 1989 U.S. tourist map that excised references to the bridges or the Canadian side). Abundant illustrations add pleasure and depth to the text.

The scope of the book, however, produces a difficulty: how to make such disparate material cohere? At times, the narrative seems torn between the story of a particular place, Niagara Falls, and a cultural history of honeymoons and heterosexuality. Moving from a discussion of industrial pollution to an analysis of sexual advice literature can be a difficult leap. A certain looseness sometimes mars the construction of the text, too, as when pictures illustrating the promotion of tourism as the business of all Canadians are separated by thirty pages from the discussion of the issue (pp. 179, 209). Nevertheless, this is an ambitious and important work of scholarship and a rich and fascinating account of both honeymoons and Niagara Falls.

CHRISTINA SIMMONS
University of Windsor

KURKPATRICK DORSEY. *The Dawn of Conservation Diplomacy: U.S.-Canadian Wildlife Protection Treaties in the Progressive Era*. Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 311. \$35.00.

Kurkpatrick Dorsey utilizes an impressive array of primary and secondary sources to lay bare the political and diplomatic history of three path-breaking North American wildlife treaties. During the Progressive era, the United States and Canada negotiated treaties on behalf of inland fisheries, North Pacific fur seals, and migratory birds. Dorsey explores each of these efforts

in detail, comparing them as appropriate and concluding that "the ability of scientists and conservationists to shape the treaties and influence public opinion—in the face of economically driven opposition—determined the success or failure of all three agreements" (p. 4).

Part one is devoted to the ultimately unsuccessful effort to solve the problem of fisheries depletion in the common waters along the international boundary. The economics of depletion was a classic collective goods problem. For fishermen collectively, rational behavior would have been to exercise restraint in the harvest so as to preserve the fisheries upon which all relied. Without regulation, however, rational behavior for each individual fisherman was to catch every fish before someone else did. With the fisheries shared between the United States and Canada, effective regulation required international cooperation. A 1908 treaty appeared to establish a framework for that cooperation, but the fishing industry fought regulation, and absent the public sentiment for preservation that would later be generated on behalf of marine mammals and birds, the treaty was eventually abandoned. It had science on its side but not sentiment.

Part two addresses the North Pacific Fur Seal Convention of 1911. The United States owned the islands on which the seals bred and benefitted from a lucrative trade in seal skins. When Canadians began sealing in the open ocean, seal populations plummeted. After years of fractious wrangling, and with extinction of the North Pacific fur seal a real possibility, Canada agreed to give up the pelagic seal hunt in return for a percentage of the terrestrial harvest. Dorsey argues that compromise was possible because it was in both parties' self-interest, because science had demonstrated that pelagic sealing was unsustainable, and because fur seals have a charismatic appeal with the public that made the pelagic slaughter of pregnant females or mothers with pups politically unacceptable. The fur seals had both science and sentiment in their favor.

Part three explores the politics of the Migratory Bird Treaty of 1916, which remains in effect today. Migratory birds presented the same collective goods problem presented by fish and fur seals. Species survival required effective regulation of hunting over the vast areas traversed in the course of annual migrations, and effective regulation required treaties. Like fur seals, birds had popular appeal, that, when combined with good science, produced a successful outcome. Perhaps the more interesting story here, however, is how a treaty became the vehicle for federal regulation of migratory birds in a states' rights era.

From start to finish, this book is propelled by facts rather than by theory. Each of the three efforts at treaty making is reported chronologically and with a degree of detail that illuminates the varying influence of individual personalities, agency and interagency politics, interest group involvements, partisan politics, federal-state relationships, and foreign policy concerns. It is a good primer on the affected species and

their habitats and on the always awkward transition from over harvest to conservation as the myth of resource inexhaustibility is overtaken by empirical evidence to the contrary. Along the way, we experience the relative merits of parliamentary and presidential forms of government and the often conflicting perspectives of conservation activists, natural scientists, elected officials, and agency bureaucrats, including members of the diplomatic corps.

Most of a century has passed since the events recounted here, and the world has been remade by technology. Nevertheless, this exploration of conservation diplomacy reminds us how little the essence of politics has changed. Dorsey offers numerous examples of corporate greed, bureaucratic incompetence, and personal vendetta as well as examples of vision, commitment, perseverance, and sacrifice for the public good and for future generations. In a complex world, today's villain is sometimes tomorrow's hero.

Dorsey's prose is always clear and sometimes clever. It is supplemented by extensive notes and bibliography, exceptionally readable maps, and twenty-four pages of illustrations.

CRAIG W. ALLIN
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JOHN WIRTH. *Smelter Smoke in North America: The Politics of Transborder Pollution*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2000. Pp. xx, 264. \$35.00.

This is a superb book that succeeds at many levels: as a history of lead smelting in British Columbia during the 1920s and 1930s and copper smelting in Arizona during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s; as a history of the legal arguments used to protect industrial polluters before the 1970s; as a history of negotiations among the United States, Canada, and Mexico to reduce damage from sulphur oxide emissions; and as a history of the impact of the environmental movement of the 1970s and after on pollution abatement in North America.

The book has two parts. The first deals with the legal controversy created by the world's largest lead and zinc smelter at Trail, British Columbia, whose smoke damaged crops and reduced the value of farms south of the international border in Stevens County, Washington. That controversy peaked during the years from 1927 to 1941. A Canadian-American commission established the important principle that "the polluter should pay," but it ignored issues of public health, such as respiratory diseases in humans, and damage to the environment, including Columbia River fish. Science faced many difficult problems, not the least of which was determining whether plants could be damaged by sulphur oxides that left no visible mark, whether that invisible damage was cumulative, and whether it reduced crop yields. Nor could scientists easily distinguish between damage caused by natural conditions,

such as drought and insect infestations, and those caused by smelter smoke.

The mining industry was a nation unto itself, an industry whose corporate structure and economic interests transcended national boundaries. Had the U.S. State Department secured a large judgment against the Canadian smelter, smelters at Douglas, Arizona, and El Paso, Texas, would have become liable for the damage they did to land in Mexico. Not only were copper, lead, zinc, and other metals essential to national economic welfare, but smelting companies hired friendly scientists who dictated the state of knowledge on many kinds of atmospheric pollution until well after World War II. A multitude of legal issues—such as defining the nature of an injury and who was a party to the conflict—also prevented negotiations between the United States and Canada from reflecting the public interest in pollution.

The second part of the book considers the battle to close down the Phelps Dodge copper smelter at Douglas, Arizona, and to regulate the “Grey Triangle” of smelters in southern Arizona and northern Mexico. By the 1970s and 1980s, the environmental movement had transformed the politics of pollution. The Clean Air Act of 1970, the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970, and the advent of grassroots environmental organizations shifted the focus from production and jobs to public health and the environment. Residents of Tucson and Phoenix were much more concerned with their health, and the health of their children, than the health of the mining industry. In the mid-1980s, world copper prices plummeted, acid rain became a significant issue in Canadian-American relations, and cross-border pollution strained relations between Mexico and the United States, in part due to complaints from southern California over sewage and toxic wastes that flowed into the United States from Tijuana. This made it easier for the United States and Mexico to address pollution abatement at the La Paz Summit in 1983, and later in the North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA) in 1993. “La Paz opened up a new era of cooperation,” John D. Wirth concludes, “based on trust and (at times) sustained interaction among officials at the federal and subfederal levels” (p. 209). The Border Environmental Cooperation Agreement of 1983 became the first transboundary pollution agreement between two nations, and after 1983, the La Paz working groups met every six months. Pressure from Arizona environmental groups and the international commission prompted the closing of the Douglas smelter and stricter environmental controls over two smelters in Sonora, Mexico.

This book is the work of a master historian and storyteller. It is well-researched, clearly organized, and judicious. Most of all, it is a success story. Environmental historians often show how human beings have abused the environment, but seldom do they offer much hope for the future. Wirth’s story is different. In the first half of the twentieth century, industry and the public wanted to keep factories running at full capacity

even if those plants fouled the environment. But, eventually, values changed, and the importance of mining companies in the economies of Canada, Mexico, and the United States faded. The Arizona story shows the development of a broader public interest and the first signs of international cooperation to solve common environmental problems. This book is a hopeful lesson.

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MICHAEL A. BELLESILES, editor. *Lethal Imagination: Violence and Brutality in American History*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 453. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

The point of edited collections is to bring together related pieces that show something of what the editor wants the readers to see and to place like pieces together so that they gain from and add to one another. We care about the editor because we want to see what the editor deems of interest, something like going on a tour with an expert and seeing through the expert’s eyes. Editor Michael A. Bellesiles is widely respected for his pioneering and eye-opening work on guns. We care about his selecting, assembling, and juxtaposing of the pieces because otherwise we would have to read each in a different journal, an unlikely event.

In this collection, Bellesiles brings together twenty new essays, his own introduction, and a picture for each essay, quite a cornucopia and a lot of book: 450 pages. Like most reviewers of such collections, I must either single out some exemplary essays, suggest which ones I think should have been excluded, say something about their almost inevitable uneven quality, or struggle to pretend that the pieces gel into a whole.

The last point first: the pieces do not gel. Other than the chronological arrangement, there is little clear logic to the inclusion principle, and I kept looking for evidence that all had been presented at a conference, which would then explain why each author had been included. As a topic, violence can sprawl, and, if one adds to this the spice of cultural interpretation, the sprawl can include practically anything. So in this book the topics swerve from IUDs to famous trials to the epidemiology of guns. A little something for everyone, perhaps, but not enough editorial guidance or focus for me.

In a book so long, inclusion comes at a high cost. Few readers will keep going without high motivation. There are several essays I would have tossed, many because of weakness. Strangely, however, some of the essays that are my candidates for exclusion are among the very best: here I single out Sally Hadden’s work on slave patrols, which is wonderful—empirical, interpretative, and well written. The problem is the logical stretch that the reader has to make to see how this research contributes to our understanding of violence. For several other essays, too, I had the same question:

why is this here? True enough, slave patrols used violence when they found slaves, but what is important in Hadden's work is its showing the careful organization, political support, and state-augmented nature of these patrols. Placing the essay in this book may well hide it from the scholars who would be able to profit from Hadden's work. What, as a whole, does this collection accomplish? First, it shows that many scholars are working on understanding many aspects of American violence. Second, it makes clear that there are many intellectual agendas in academe, and that a substantial number of scholars use violent incidents to get at something else, such as how the narratives of gender play out in courtrooms. Here, the contrast with the final essay by Arthur Kellerman and Philip Cooke is enormous: these two use epidemiological techniques to establish the increased likelihood of firearm injuries caused by the simple presence of a gun in a home—brilliant work, yes, but not historical in any clear sense.

If these few examples make it sound like violence studies, in American history at least, are a bit of a muddle, then that has to be the big message of the book. Inconsistent conceptualization accompanied with inconsistent intellectual aims leaves me wishing for some nice little (or large) boxes into which each piece of each essay might be placed.

Several boxes seem obvious: gender, weapons, and state sanctions/interventions, for starters. Within each box, there are further possible refinements: gender as a narrative masking behavior, determining behavior, and changing over time, for example. If these boxes were then filled out, we could see where we have some knowledge, where we are ignorant, what big questions we can answer, and what big questions remain mysterious.

The analytic challenge remains. We know that the United States has a high level of personal violence. Understanding that violence poses tough intellectual challenges requiring rigorous thinking combined with imaginative research. Some of the essays in this book—such as that by Jeffery Adler—launch us in the right direction, while too many others throw up smoke screens and deepen the confusion.

ERIC H. MONKKONEN
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PETER N. STEARNS. *Battleground of Desire: The Struggle of Self-Control in Modern America*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 434. \$28.95.

Historians after Michel Foucault understand social control as one of the major legacies of the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, the real question is whether or not it remains a permanent part of our own world. The common wisdom (if you believe both the right and the left-wing media) is that ever since the eighteenth century, we have been moving toward a loosening of these controls. Peter N. Stearns, the author of the acclaimed *Fat History: Bodies and Beauty in the Modern*

West (1997), has now written a truly contrarian history of self-control in America. His thesis is straightforward: there has not been a descent into chaos or a freeing from the shackles of state morality. Indeed, things are different now in focus but not in their substance.

Stearns's reach is broad. Running the gamut from sex to movies (or are they the same thing?), from questions of addiction to problems of body form and beauty, he compellingly documents how many of the same objects were a permanent part of a nineteenth-century American culture of the control of desire. This echoes, according to Stearns, many of the concerns American culture sees as vital today. Thus one small subchapter deals with the question of child abuse. Certainly this has been a part of the violence of American culture from the origins of "America" (however defined).

What has changed is that behavior toward children that was defined as permissible or tolerated became pathologized or criminalized and now falls into the realm of the struggle for self-control. Stearns's work therefore takes on historians of American medicine such as John Burnham, who sees in his work radical disjuncture between Victorian and modern attitudes toward self-control. No such break exists for Stearns; there are only gradual shifts of definition and emphasis.

In general, Stearns presents a compelling case. The only problem that I see with Stearns's description of the continuities from (what he calls) Victorian America to our millennial world is that there is an odd monoculturalism about his America. His thesis is very much in line with Peter Gay's idea of the complexity of Victorian culture in England (where there really was a Victoria). However, the late nineteenth century was already becoming a globalized world, and it is very hard to speak of "America" in that context. When major European texts (which surely have an American echo) such as Theodor H. Van de Velde's sex manuals are read as if they were American, the idea of America is already drawn into question. America for Stearns is English-speaking America. There is no attempt to make any differentiation based on the textual productions of the major immigrant groups in the nineteenth century. Any account of the changes in the moral attitudes toward self-control in these groups as they become assimilated into American culture is also missing. Is there an Italian or a German-Jewish model which is different from the "American" model (whose earliest text cited by Stearns seems to be Cotton Mather)? What happens to that model when these groups become "Americanized"? Does their understanding of self-control impact on the Cotton Mather American models? We know that most of the immigrant groups opposed prohibition. What does this mean in terms of models of self-control concerning alcohol before World War I?

I am suggesting that there is a second volume to Stearns's book. I would urge him (or some one else) to

write it. Stearns has begun a discussion concerning the blanket claims about a culture of narcissism at the end of the twentieth century to which further contrarian explorations would be welcome. I for one am going out for a drink.

SANDER L. GILMAN
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Chicago

RONALD HOFFMAN. *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500–1782*. Assisted by SALLY D. MASON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2000. Pp. xxvi, 429. \$39.95.

The very richness of this magisterial saga of the Carroll family from sixteenth-century Ireland to revolutionary Maryland makes it difficult to review. Building on the extraordinarily detailed Carroll papers, of which the authors are also editors, Ronald Hoffman and Sally D. Mason address several themes of importance to early Americanists. From this rich array, the reviewer must select, but selection carries the danger of underestimating this book's contribution to the field. Most readers will perhaps classify the book as a contribution to the large literature on the Chesapeake gentry, a literature that it enriches in several ways. For one thing, the literature on the gentry usually tells their story from an insider's perspective. Despite their possession of one of America's first fortunes, the Carrolls' Catholic faith made them outsiders in a largely Protestant world. The detail available in the Carroll papers also allows Hoffman and Mason to tell the story of how a great fortune was built and maintained with more precision than is usually the case. This same detail, combined with the Carrolls' wide range of activity, permits numerous contributions to early American economic history.

The Carroll story also shows the dark side of building a great family fortune. In order to ensure that his heir would be competent to protect and enlarge the fortune he had assembled, Charles Carroll of Annapolis controlled his son, even going so far as to keep him illegitimate by refusing to marry his mother until he was sure that young Charley was up to the task. The cold paternal manipulation involved in shaping an heir left the younger Charles Carroll emotionally damaged, a man whose indifference and neglect seems to have contributed to his wife's slow drift into opium addiction and whose treatment of his own son may have played some role in the latter's alcoholism.

One wonders if the Carrolls are but an extreme example of a tendency observable in many of early America's great dynasties. By showing how the Carrolls' experiences in Ireland shaped their behavior in Maryland, Hoffman and Mason offer a gentle corrective to the at times extreme environmentalism of the Chesapeake School and place the Carroll family within the context of the emerging field of Atlantic history.

The family's unwavering commitment to its faith, for which it paid a high price given the powerful penalties imposed on Catholics in the British Empire, is part of an important but often ignored story in the religious history of early America.

Although the focus is primarily on the male line in the Carroll family, Hoffman and Mason pay close attention to Carroll wives and daughters as well and thus make a considerable contribution to women's history. The fact that the Carroll fortune depended heavily on rents paid by tenants and crops produced by slaves provides Hoffman and Mason with opportunities to comment insightfully on slavery and tenancy in the late colonial Chesapeake. Their book can also be read as a contribution to the history of the American Revolution. The Revolution allowed the family's members to transform themselves into insiders by letting them participate in civic life, something their faith had previously denied them, a transformation signaled by Charles Carroll of Carrollton's signature on the Declaration of Independence, a signature that affirmed his entry into the revolutionary elite. One wonders how many other outsiders sought and found similar opportunities in the Revolution; certainly this is a question that merits close study. Paying attention to who was/was not able to use the Revolution to make the transformation from outsider to insider is a way to come to terms with both the promise and the limits of revolutionary era reform. While it offered the Carrolls a great opportunity, the American Revolution, with its runaway inflation, economic disruptions, and debtor relief legislation, also threatened the family fortune. How the family struggled both to hold off the threat and seize the opportunity and the strain that struggle imposed on the family is one of revolutionary America's most compelling stories. In conclusion, this book will be widely read by professional historians. The Carroll family saga is full of powerful, often tragic figures that Hoffman and Mason describe with flair and grace. Theirs is the rare book that will appeal to both professional historians and to those whose interest in early American history is more casual.

RUSSELL R. MENARD
University of Minnesota

DARREN STALOFF. *The Making of an American Thinking Class: Intellectuals and Intelligentsia in Puritan Massachusetts*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 276. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Darren Staloff offers a fresh approach to an old problem in Puritan studies: what was the relationship of the religious elite to society at large? Staloff proclaims that he came to his interest in Puritanism in the same way as many of his predecessors: by reading Perry Miller. That such a statement can be made today testifies to the persistence of Miller's influence. A generation ago, historians such as Darrett B. Rutman, John Demos, Michael P. Zuckerman, and Philip J. Greven were confidently proclaiming that the story of

early New England could be written as social and demographic history with little reference to religious texts. During the 1970s, David D. Hall, this reviewer, and other scholars explored connections between religious and social history by studying—as a professional class—the New England clergy. Our histories of the ministry supported Miller's premise that the influence of Puritanism extended far beyond the inner circle of a clerical elite.

Staloff adds new force to this argument by exploring the "social and political features of early Massachusetts history that gave technical theological doctrines such powerful causal efficacy" (p. xiv). For Staloff, Puritanism is most notable as a system of cultural domination. Such domination, he argues, requires four formal supports. First, the officeholders must be seen as carefully trained bearers of the cultural tradition; second, these "bearers" must always be in agreement, at least in public; third, their public expressions must take place in arenas that uphold their dignity; and fourth, cultural expressions that threaten to undermine this hegemony must be suppressed. Staloff describes the ministers and magistrates who controlled Massachusetts as a "thinking class." He contends that the political history of the province "can be reduced to two basic themes—the struggle of various classes and groups against this domination and the struggle within the thinking class for power and majesty" (p. 18).

In pursuing his theme, Staloff explores a number of familiar topics in early Massachusetts history, including the Antinomian controversy, the Half-Way Covenant, the Restoration, and declension. In each case, he focuses on the way that officeholders sought to maintain "cultural control." In the Antinomian controversy, for example, "the stakes at issue were no less than control of the colonial government and the continued existence of the system of cultural domination" (p. 40). Staloff argues persuasively that the ministers occupying what he calls the "big six pulpits" (Boston, Cambridge, Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Watertown) exercised an influence far beyond their numbers.

In Staloff's portrait of early Massachusetts, religion is seemingly without importance as realm of spiritual experience. The controversy over the Half-Way Covenant provides a case in point. It served to bring into the church new members who would then have an interest in upholding orthodoxy. Moreover, the numerical increase in lay members would actually reduce the power of the laity since larger bodies of communicants would have correspondingly less opportunity to meet face to face and achieve a consensus in opposition to the elite. This episode was essentially an exercise in power.

On the whole, Staloff makes the case well for cultural domination as an important goal of the Massachusetts "thinking class." He might even have cited one further instance to support his case. Staloff describes the institutionalization of the test of gracious experience for church membership as a concession to the charismatic forces loose in the land at the time of the Antinomian controversy. This is conventional wis-

dom on the test: it celebrated personal piety by making piety a condition of membership. But arguably the test was itself a way of regaining control at a time when radical clergy and laity were claiming not only that experiential religion was important but also that they, the self-proclaimed elect, had the right to pass judgment on the spirituality of others, including ministers and magistrates. With the adoption of the test, the ministers assumed control over evaluating conversion experiences.

In his unremitting emphasis on the history of early Massachusetts as a story of cultural domination, Staloff leaves out an important facet of the lives of the Mathers and Winthrops and other members of his thinking class: their individual religious thoughts and experiences. But other scholars have told that story well. This book brings into sharper focus than any previous work a particular theme: the way that these and other leaders achieved cultural power in early Massachusetts.

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SYDNEY V. JAMES. *The Colonial Metamorphoses in Rhode Island: A Study of Institutions in Change*. (Revisiting New England: The New Regionalism.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 2000. Pp. xi, 336. \$35.00.

A long time ago, there were numerous books like Sydney V. James's. Scholars once concentrated on institutional development to the exclusion of other historical forces, and only in the last decades has social history trumped the more narrow construction of the past. For historians who are now deeply immersed in the history of people, this book is nothing less than jarring because it reminds us just how far we have strayed from the original historical path. Yet, although the book is a difficult read, its importance cannot be denied.

According to James, Rhode Island did not turn out the way its founders expected, since their original ideas faded when confronted with the reality of life in Rhode Island. Nevertheless, the colony thrived despite ominous predictions by its detractors. Freedom encouraged diversity and diversity encouraged challenges to the existing order, thus preventing any single theological doctrine or governing body from holding sway. As a result, local government and delegated authority became part of a permanent process. If instability rocked the colony between 1644 and 1694 and the central government (as a creation of the original towns) remained weak, Rhode Island still resisted the incursions of its neighbors and overcame the economic disruptions caused by the Anglo-Dutch wars.

As in other colonies, internal disputes over land shaped institutional development. Initially, a select group of men—proprietors—took responsibility for the distribution of what appeared to be an unlimited land supply, leaving town governments with the mun-

dane administration of people within their jurisdictions. Yet, as James astutely notes, even though these proprietary organizations assumed governmental functions and accrued power, they did not wield it collectively with any great enthusiasm. Town governments regained their strength (becoming even more powerful than anyone could have predicted), and even though government at the colony level solidified its power between 1696 and 1738, its authority was limited. At the same time, as proprietary rights became simple land rights, the status of proprietors declined, and conflicts between proprietary organizations and the colony were resolved in favor of the colony.

James does not ignore ecclesiastical development, noting that religious fellowship bound Rhode Islanders together as meetinghouses proliferated. In the eighteenth century, Congregationalists, Anglicans, Baptists, and Quakers competed for governmental preference. None was successful. Internally, church government was controlled by the same force that restrained civil government: the need to act responsively to the desires of individual congregations since, as James reminds us, adherence was voluntary.

Up to this point James has retold a familiar tale. Although his relentless archival investigation has added considerable detail to the developmental pattern, there is little new in this comprehensive history of Rhode Island's framework of government. Only in his chapter entitled "Steps Toward the Private Corporation" does James describe a phenomenon that made Rhode Island somewhat *avant garde* and his story more unique. In the last phase of colonial Rhode Island's history, the General Assembly authorized lotteries and incorporated nongovernmental institutions. Hardly an unthinking or haphazard decision, charters for private corporations served a variety of self-serving purposes. Leadership for the colony would arise from select military companies or a college, lotteries would raise money for projects that a public treasury with cash flow problems could not fund, and Great Britain's control of several internal regulatory mechanisms would be limited.

James's study is surely the last word on the development of governmental institutions in Rhode Island. To a limited extent, it provides new insights into a society where self-forming, voluntary institutions yielded to a centralized government that dispensed charters and gave "legitimacy" to private organizations that had always assumed they were legitimate to begin with. That the proprietors would retreat without a protracted struggle is surprising. Yet on more than one occasion, James explains *what* happened rather than *why* it happened. For example, in issuing charters to private corporations, the General Assembly simultaneously eliminated majority rule over aspects of colonial life. Why would that body vote to reduce its own power?

Of greater concern is the absence of human presence in this book other than the amorphous white males who compose the institutions that James de-

scribes. Thus, when James discusses the disappearance of paternalism from Rhode Island government and argues that it became very responsive to its constituents, this is only true if one defines constituents as white males. There are no women (except those who were unable to vote), no Native Americans (except those who forced defensive measures), no slaves (even though slavery influenced governmental policy). On the one hand, the book stands as an excellent, comprehensive study of governmental institutions, and James's posthumous editors should be applauded for seeing it through publication. On the other hand, it is a startling reminder of how the profession has changed and how historical definitions have expanded over time.

ELAINE FORMAN CRANE
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ERIK R. SEEMAN. *Pious Persuasions: Laity and Clergy in Eighteenth-Century New England*. (Early America: History Context, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 263. \$36.00.

Thirty-five years ago, a young Darrett B. Rutman's manifesto for the new social history attacked the intellectual history that had dominated New England studies during the previous generation ("The Mirror of Puritan Authority," in George A. Billias, ed., *Law and Authority in Colonial America: Selected Essays* [1965], pp. 149-167). By focusing on the writings of the articulate few, Rutman charged, intellectual historians had created an image of an ordered, cohesive "Puritan" society that bore little relation to the realities of colonial New England. He called historians away from the comfortable perusal of sermons and tracts and pointed them toward the heroic drudgery of culling town and church records. The intellectual framework reconstructed by Perry Miller and his ilk might be a valid expression of the ideals of the elite, Rutman conceded. But he insisted that attention must be paid to a much more vital reality: the "motivations, aspirations, and achievements" of the "rank and file" (p. 164). Since then, the new social history has become old, and its limitations are as clear to us as the limitations of intellectual history were to Rutman. Even on the open field of the new cultural history, however, some writers can not resist casting a few more stones at a prostrate Goliath like Miller. They routinely scold scholars who choose to study preaching and publications for "privileging" the elite and dismissing the common folk.

Erik R. Seeman does not aim directly at Miller. Still, one can glimpse Miller's shadow and hear echoes of Rutman in Seeman's repeated reminders that ministers did not "wholly control" lay belief and practice (p. 92). In chapters that look at deathbed scenes, religious rituals, magic, heterodoxy, and revivalism in eighteenth-century New England, Seeman stresses the differences between lay and clerical understanding wherever he can find them. In line with much recent

discussion, culture for Seeman is "contested" and fraught with gender anxiety. However, Seeman tends to exaggerate the differences that his evidence reveals and to oversimplify the contest over religious meaning. While he acknowledges in his conclusion that there was no single clerical interpretation of religion, through most of the book the clergy are offstage authors of "orthodoxy," composing a religious script for lay performers who are most interesting to Seeman when they improvise. Seeman shows that lay people often followed the teachings of their pastors. But some New Englanders gave more importance to dreams and became more emotional during revivals than their ministers liked. Others dabbled in magic and astrology. The chapter on deathbed scenes concludes, unsurprisingly, that while many people were able to die according to the dictates of Calvinist piety (denouncing sin, praising God, and cautiously hoping for heaven), some were not. Seeman overemphasizes these moments to stress lay agency and independent-mindedness. In some hurried comments on the purported links between religion and the American Revolution, he claims that these points of lay-clerical divergence reveal a strain of anti-authoritarianism that would take a political turn in the 1770s.

To his credit, Seeman found more evidence of lay religious practice than his dissertation advisors thought he would. Still, he often does not have enough to support the arguments he wants to make. If we have learned to be cautious when making claims about seventeenth-century New England intellectual life on the basis of a few hundred sermons and treatises, we should also be wary of generalizations about lay religious culture based on a far skimpier selection of texts scattered across the eighteenth century. For example, Seeman argues that millennialism was not important either to the converts following the 1727 earthquake or to lay people pondering the meaning of the Seven Years War. These conclusions, however, seem to be based on only ten 1727 conversion narratives and three texts from mid century. Seeman is at his best, though, in his first and last chapters, which are case studies of single individuals: John Barnard (1654–1732), who wrote a 184-page spiritual journal between 1716 and 1719, and Experience Wight Richardson (1705–1782), who recorded her religious experiences for forty years. Seeman is sensitive to the ways that gender, social status, occupation, and particular life experiences shaped Barnard's and Richardson's religious practices and beliefs. Although some of his larger arguments are not persuasive, Seeman adds depth and texture to our understanding of piety in eighteenth-century New England.

CHRISTOPHER GRASSO
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TIMOTHY J. SHANNON. *Indians and Colonists at the Crossroads of Empire: The Albany Congress of 1754*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. New York State

Historical Association, Cooperstown. 2000. Pp. xv, 268. \$39.95.

In 1754, an ethnically Dutch community not far from New York's contested border with New France hosted British metropolitan observers, colonial delegates, and Mohawk diplomats meeting in treaty. Later the colonial participants drew up the famous and failed Albany Plan of Union. If ever there was a colonial moment, rich with ethnicity and potential, this was it, and Timothy J. Shannon's splendidly energetic history of the event deftly grasps it for us. Shannon joins other new imperial historians—among them Fred Anderson, Eric Hinderaker, J. Russell Snapp, and Ian K. Steele—who attend carefully to the views, voices, and behavior of the Indians, imperialists, and colonists who helped to shape the late colonial world.

Shannon dispenses with the idea that the Albany Congress was about "the founding" in any direct way. Shannon instead treats the Albany meetings in the context of the empire as the participants then imagined it. Where other works on the empire in the 1750s and 1760s investigate the trouble relations between colonists and the rising British state, Shannon takes equally seriously the concerns of British and colonial authorities as they tried to make sense of the status of Indians. He knows that the Indians' perceptions also mattered; indeed, it was the Mohawks' 1753 decision to break their "Covenant Chain," their formal relationship with the colony of New York, that threatened colonial security and led directly to the Albany Congress.

The book describes three "paths" whose followers met, clashed, and compromised at Albany in 1754. First, it traces the Mohawks' journey through fraudulent land deals and reckless rum trading to the treaty council. Speaking for the Mohawks is Hendrick, who led the Canajoharie Mohawks and who had in the 1740s formed a partnership with the imperially minded colonist, William Johnson. Of all the participants in 1754, Hendrick's aims seem the least grand. He wanted Johnson, who provided his villages with material goods and prestige, to be placed at the head of the colonial management of Indian affairs. Shannon is careful to note that Hendrick had many detractors, especially among non-Mohawks in the Six Nations. But as a local headman who sought to protect and to better the lives of his own people, Hendrick comes off as an able broker with a powerful empire.

The second path is taken by imperial reformers: British officials who drafted or studied proposals for imperial reorganization. Few of these men actually went to Albany, but their plans influenced the participants, and some, such as William Shirley, governed colonies represented at the meeting. Imperial reformers Thomas Pownall and Johnson did attend, but neither had a formal role. Imperial reformers believed that "Britannia's Americans," as dependent subjects of both Crown and Parliament, were "useful only inasmuch as they contributed to the wealth of their mother

country" (p. 64). They were all subjects with rights, to be sure, most notably the right to protection. But where colonial charters existed, they needed revision, and Parliament's authority over stubborn assemblies needed assertion. Startlingly, Shannon argues that these imperial reformers viewed Native Americans as component peoples within the category of Britannia's American subjects. Shannon has few pieces of direct evidence (pp. 20–23) for this provocative but unconvincing argument. Never, moreover, did Indians' status as British subjects become explicit in the discussions at Albany.

Shannon's third path is followed by such provincial reformers as Benjamin Franklin, whose vision was both egalitarian enough to give British subjects in the colonies an equal footing with those in the mother country and exclusive enough to reject blacks and Indians as true fellow subjects. Shannon sees Franklin's exclusions in contrast to the more inclusive vision of his imperial reformers. Again, the inclusiveness of British imperialists is overstated. Much more convincing is Shannon's treatment, with great sensitivity to the intellectual currents of the age, of Franklin's quest for colonial equality, a quest that the Philadelphia philosopher could still, in the 1750s, reconcile with parliamentary supremacy.

Extremely well written and brimming with provocative ideas, Shannon's excellent narrative of the Albany Congress is clearly much more: it is an exploration of the conflicting futures that Indians, colonists, and imperialists imagined for the British North American Empire on the eve of the Seven Years War.

GREGORY EVANS DOWD
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ALFRED F. YOUNG. *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon. 1999. Pp. xvii, 262. \$24.00.

George Robert Twelves Hewes was a man remarkable in his lifetime (1742–1840) for short stature, long life, and helping to destroy the East India Company's tea at Boston on the night of December 16, 1773. His stories of the latter episode made him a local celebrity in Otsego County, New York, where he was an honored guest at Fourth of July observances in the late 1820s. Eventually two writers, James Hawkes and Benjamin Bussey Thatcher, interviewed him and recounted his experiences in, respectively, *A Retrospect of the Boston Tea-Party* (1834), and *Traits of the Tea Party* (1835). Their accounts in turn furnish Alfred F. Young with the basis for an eloquent meditation on the dynamics of revolution and remembrance in American history.

A poor cordwainer with a growing family, Hewes witnessed the Boston Massacre (March 5, 1770), an event that turned him into a militant participant in crowd actions, including the Tea Party. During the war, he volunteered both as a short-term soldier and as a crew member on two privateers. Those voyages did not fetch the prize money he had hoped for, and he

ended the war as poor as ever. Thereafter his family grew larger, but not his fortune. Still searching for prosperity in his mid-seventies, he moved to Richfield Springs, New York, about 1815; there he continued to make shoes and reminisce.

The richness of Hewes's revolutionary-era memories eventually distinguished him and ultimately made him a kind of hero. By analyzing and contextualizing these stories, Young infers what the Revolution meant to Hewes and to others in similar circumstances. Above all, the Revolution gave him a sense of self-esteem as a man and a citizen. Humble as he was, he found that members of the Whig elite—men like John Hancock and Samuel Adams—respected him for his patriotism and acknowledged his worth as a participant in the cause. Brought up to bow before his betters, the Revolution made Hewes a man who would doff his hat to no one.

Of course, as leaders of a movement that depended on the voluntary support of ordinary people, Hancock and his ilk were compelled to court their favor, and never more so than on occasions like the Tea Party. Thus the social structure of late colonial British America bent rather than broke under the pressure of revolution and war, and the United States remained under elite leadership much as the colonies had. Yet this did not mean that class was an inconsequential element in the events of the 1770s and 1780s. "The American Revolution," Young writes, "was not a plebian revolution, but there was a powerful plebian current within it" (p. 206), a current that strongly affected its course and outcome even as it reshaped the lives and views of men like the little shoemaker who had helped heave chests of tea into Boston Harbor.

The second half of the book, "When Did They Start Calling It the Boston Tea Party?" explores the ways in which later Americans understood the episode that Hewes and his contemporaries knew as "the destruction of the tea." As social and economic changes in the early nineteenth century altered popular understandings of republican ideology, class antagonisms began to influence politics in ways that bewildered the surviving revolutionaries. Competing groups contested the meaning of the Revolution in public forums and anniversary commemorations that grew increasingly strident. In this context, Hawkes's and Thatcher's "discovery" of Hewes becomes significant. Hoping to define the revolutionary heritage in a way that would not threaten their own position, Bostonian conservative leaders like Abbott Lawrence and Dr. Samuel Van Crowninshield Smith embraced the jocular term "Tea Party" in order to tame what had in fact been a deeply radical act, and at the Fourth of July ceremonies of 1835 they celebrated Hewes as a hero: not as the radicalized thirty-one-year-old artisan of 1773 but as a "safe, ninety-year-old codger" (p. 205) whose winsome charm perfectly suited their needs.

We owe a considerable debt to Young for not allowing them to have the last word on Hewes and the meaning of his life story. This is a book that every early

Americanist should read, and one from which any historian can profit.

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C. BRADLEY THOMPSON. *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xix, 340. \$39.95.

C. Bradley Thompson has written an important study of John Adams's political thought. In it, he seeks to disabuse readers of the standard interpretations of his subject, to explicate Adams's major political texts, to defend Adams's political consistency, and to establish Adams's place among the pantheon of America's greatest political thinkers. Thompson denies that Adams was a latter-day Puritan, that his political thought changed during the revolutionary era, or that Adams's *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States* (published in 1787 and 1788) was incoherent and "irrelevant." Rather, Adams rejected Calvinism, embraced John Locke and the Enlightenment, and remained a consistent supporter of republican government. His *Defence* was a superb, original contribution to the study of political science.

Thompson divides his study of Adams into two parts, both of which aim to show Adams's ambition to be a "lawgiver," his intellectual consistency, and his brilliance as a political and constitutional theorist. The first part examines the development of Adams's political thought up to the beginning of the Revolution; the second carefully dissects the *Defence* and the *Discourses on Davila* (1805). Largely missing until near the end of the book are Adams's acts of lawgiving: his influential 1776 pamphlet, *Thoughts on Government*, and the Massachusetts constitution of 1780. Yet by arguing convincingly for Adams's intellectual consistency, Thompson shows how Adams's frames of government flowed from his political science, no matter the chronological sequence.

Adams was a careful political scientist. For him, the end of government was the promotion and preservation of the spirit of liberty. Using this goal as his measuring stick, he studied the historical experience of different forms of government to determine which best preserved liberty. If, Adams believed, human nature was unchanging, then by locating and describing the best governments regardless of time or place, he would enable people (he believed strongly in popular sovereignty and the right of the people to resist oppression) to establish the best governments for themselves. Thus, the *Defence* analyzed past republics in order to test theory. His study of the past and his observations of the world around him taught Adams that people had a passion for distinction that needed to be channeled for the benefit of the public. Only by creating governments that separated power among its different branches and mixed the power of the one, the few, and the many in the legislature could people compel

government to act for the common good and protect liberty. Separation of powers prevented the concentration of power, and mixing power in the legislature ensured that the powers exercised would promote the public good. In Adams's framework, the most crucial official was the governor, who was responsible for protecting the common good, mediating between the few and the many, and identifying the people who deserved the honor of office. Adams aimed for full representation of the people and enlightened consent by propertied men (the broader the base of propertied men, the more broadly power would be distributed). Dismissing the idea of civic virtue as utopian, he relied on well-balanced governments to create virtuous citizens.

Some readers may recoil at Thompson's unrelenting defense of, and praise for, Adams (at times, it risks becoming a panegyric) and wonder about his decision largely to isolate Adams's political ideas from his political life. Moreover, when the author explores Adams's relevance to modern American politics, it becomes difficult to distinguish Adams's views from Thompson's. Nevertheless, this is an excellent book. It effectively locates Adams within the broader currents of late eighteenth-century political thought and shows that the *Defence* initially was well regarded, influential, and compatible with the Federalist mainstream. It also illuminates the sources and importance of Adams's political theory and convincingly demonstrates that Adams earned a place among America's greatest political thinkers.

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KARL-FRIEDRICH WALLING. *Republican Empire: Alexander Hamilton on War and Free Government*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. xii, 356. \$40.00.

This book stands at the convergence of two major enterprises of rediscovery. Recently, historians and political scientists fascinated by the problems of governing polities covering vast territories have begun to reexamine concepts of empire and imperial governance. At the same time, scholars and the public have begun to reacquaint themselves with Alexander Hamilton, as his great adversary Thomas Jefferson's reputation has begun a stately fall after decades of preeminence.

Karl-Friedrich Walling focuses on Hamilton's concern with balancing liberty and power in governing a vast, fragile nation in a world of hostile great powers. Can a republic govern a large territory, preserve itself against foreign encroachments, and maintain liberty at home? Walling argues that Hamilton wrestled with these enduring questions more consistently and coherently, and gave answers more compelling, than those proffered by any other member of the revolutionary generation. For Hamilton, argues Walling, America was a republican empire; governing America required

adapting republican principles to the reality of a vast empire.

The three parts of Walling's book explore the three stages of Hamilton's career. "Revolutionary" revisits Hamilton as polemicist, theorist, and soldier during the American Revolution. "Constitutionalist" considers Hamilton's advocacy of national constitutional reform, stressing his essays for *The Federalist*. "Statesman" traces Hamilton's roles as secretary of the Treasury, would-be foreign minister, presidential advisor, and Federalist leader. An introductory examination of "Hamilton's place in American political thought" and an epilogue bracket these three parts.

Mining the scholarship on Hamilton, the American Revolution, and the early republic, Walling gives pride of place to Hamilton's own words, seeking to recover his arguments and to trace the larger structure of argumentation formed by Hamilton's writings. Walling thus draws on the methodology of the political theorist Leo Strauss and of Strauss's student (and Walling's teacher) Ralph Lerner—with a healthy dose of Lerner's sensitivity to historical context. It is a tribute to Walling's rigorous scholarship and sensitivity to Hamilton, and to Hamilton's own consistency, that this method works so well here.

The key to Walling's argument is his insight that many of the key controversies in which Hamilton took part pitted two virtues against each other: the virtue of responsibility, which Hamilton conceived as "the statesman's responsibility to preserve the republic from harm" (p. 10), and the virtue of vigilance against government usurpation, which animated Jefferson, James Madison, and Hamilton's other antagonists. Walling also argues persuasively that, whereas Hamilton emphasized this patrician form of responsibility, others, such as Madison, conflated a statesman's responsibility with his duty of responsiveness to his constituents or to the citizenry. Hamilton's version of responsibility emphasizes the statesman's conscience and devotion to the public good even when his constituents disagree; the other stresses the statesman's duty to his constituents and need to subordinate his judgment to theirs. Walling's insights will be especially valuable to ongoing work on the evolving challenges of governance under the Constitution in the early republic.

The only doubt sparked by this impressive study concerns Walling's search for coherence in even so consistent a historical figure as Hamilton. Unlike canonical political philosophers such as Plato or John Locke, Hamilton was a political thinker *and* a working politician who had to respond to the exigencies of the moment. Unlike Jefferson or Madison, Hamilton rarely stood for elective office and thus rarely had to cope with the demands of tailoring his arguments and views to voters' expectations, but sometimes he did have to make arguments that, he hoped, the electorate would find more persuasive than the ones closer to his mind and heart. One famous example is his stance regarding the Constitution. Conceding at the Federal

Convention's close that "no man's ideas [are] further from the plan under consideration than [mine] are known to be," he advanced, in *The Federalist*, a high-minded argument for a Constitution that he privately found inadequate to the challenges at hand—a Constitution that he later determined to "administer" into a form more suited to the American republic's needs.

Even with this caveat, Walling's fine book, blending historical inquiry and philosophical analysis, joins the shelf of indispensable studies of Hamilton's thought. Historians, biographers, and scholars of constitutionalism and American political thought will be in his debt.

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DEE E. ANDREWS. *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760–1800: The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 367. \$59.50.

In this book, Dee E. Andrews depicts the early years of American Wesleyanism. Andrews argues that understanding this period in Methodist history, from the arrival of the first missionaries to the dawning of the "Methodist Century" in 1800, is important because it proved foundational for the flowering of Methodism. Methodist success in turn significantly affected the outlook of Americans in general. After a look at Wesleyan origins in England, the book focuses on the Mid-Atlantic states, from Maryland to New York, and pays careful attention to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York City. Ethnically and religiously diverse, and an early center of Methodist strength, the Mid-Atlantic region provides an ideal setting in which to study early Methodist successes and failures. Separate chapters analyze the role of women and African-American Methodists in the area.

Throughout the book, Andrews stresses that the "social complexity" of the new religious movement "defies typecasting" (p. 9). Social divisions deeply affected Methodism and prevented demographic or political uniformity within the denomination. American Wesleyanism appealed to members of all social ranks, including artisans, slaves, and ambitious businessmen. Local circumstances often determined the class balance of a congregation, with working people dominating New York's membership and the wealthier classes better represented in Baltimore. From the beginning, women provided most Methodist members, but men monopolized higher offices. Methodism attracted many slaves and flirted with abolitionism but also attracted slaveholders who pushed church leaders to weaken antislavery principles and to segregate black members.

At first glance, Methodist political linkages also appeared self-contradictory. During the Revolution, many patriots saw the Methodists as Tory spies, but Methodist membership boomed anyway. By the 1790s, Methodism in certain areas (especially in Delaware)

had become part of the Federalist political machine. Moreover, its ministerial hierarchy became a target for church democratizers. And yet, Methodists de-emphasized social privilege and preached in the plainest vernacular. In their own way, they championed the common people as much as the Jeffersonian Republicans ever did, and their movement continued to thrive even as Federalism collapsed. Fundamentally, argues Andrews, partisan politics was tangential to early Methodism. Methodists looked for a national spiritual renewal to be experienced in the hearts of individuals and standing "outside the claims of political allegiance" (p. 243). Millions of Americans, including many non-Methodists, absorbed this ethic of personal religious rejuvenation as a "source of social happiness" (p. 244), and thereby helped transform the American national character.

Methodism surged ahead so powerfully in the United States, Andrews maintains, because, in a time of change, it linked an easily understood evangelical message with tight organization. Telling this part of the story, Andrews covers familiar ground: Francis Asbury's zeal, the system of itinerant circuits and districts, emotional revivalism, and so forth. Yet Andrews succeeds quite well in showing how the very slipperiness of Methodism accounted for much of its success. Methodist practices and doctrines often had radical social implications, but when resistance appeared, only rarely did church leaders resolutely challenge existing social arrangements. This approach allowed Methodists simultaneously to appeal to the powerful and to the powerless. Turning soft on slavery, for example, meant more than compromising the Methodist conscience. Rather, such flexibility on difficult issues was hardwired into a movement which worked aggressively to appeal to people across regional, ethnic, racial, class, and gender boundaries. A less supple movement would, by definition, have had less general appeal.

The author demonstrates familiarity with the historiography of early American religion and uses the theoretical insights of many other historians, including Nathan O. Hatch on democratization and Jon Butler on religious pluralism. But her prose sometimes suffers because she sees distinctions, exceptions, and multiple causation and displays no monocausal theory on which to pin her facts. Compared to Christine Heyrman's *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (1997), for instance, this book is a difficult read. Nonetheless, Andrews's conclusions are sound and ably documented with material from church documents, periodicals, and memoirs. Many specialists in American religion will view her analysis as more convincing than works by historians who are more devoted to theory but less deeply engaged in archival research.

CHRISTOPHER H. OWEN
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SAUL CORNELL. *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788-1828*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute for Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 1999. Pp. xvi, 327. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

This is a study of the ideology developed by the Antifederalists in opposition to the U. S. Constitution and its subsequent effect on the creed of the Jeffersonian Republican Party. Although Saul Cornell mentions the Antifederalist contribution to the dissenting tradition in America, he wisely sidesteps two pitfalls: the use of Antifederalist quotations by modern opponents of central authority (militia movements National Rifle Association) and the "original intent" school of modern political scientists.

Cornell recognizes that the Antifederalists represented a variety of social and economic interests, "incredible regional diversity" and never developed a coherent political philosophy. He nevertheless is able to identify certain themes that persisted across geographical and social boundaries and over time. Because the Antifederalists never held a convention or drafted an alternative document, the only thing that tied them together was print. Cornell therefore undertook a textual analysis of Antifederalist essays, speeches, and correspondence.

Cornell identifies three distinctive forms of Antifederalism. An elite, whose members were, incidentally, also the most vocal and best known (Mercy Otis Warren, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason), wanted to preserve a loose federation of small republics (the states) governed by a natural aristocracy that understood the traditions and needs of the common people. A democratic/agrarian middle class (William Findlay, Melancton Smith), made up of new men brought to the fore by the Revolution, aimed most of its hostility toward the federal judiciary. The third group, "Plebian Antifederalists" left few texts but made their mark through crowd actions, notably a riot in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in September 1788. Although the emphasis varied, these three groups agreed that the Constitution sought to create a powerful central government, remote from the people and beyond their control.

After losing the ratification debate, the Antifederalists moved smoothly into the Republican Party, influencing its evolving ideology into the 1820s when ex-Antifederalists John Taylor of Caroline and Spencer Roane led the fight against John Marshall's judicial endorsement of Hamiltonian centralization. Concluding that John C. Calhoun's nullification thesis was grounded on a different ideological foundation, Cornell ends his story in 1828, although he notes the continuing use of Antifederalism to resist the expansion of federal power by politicians from Martin Van Buren to Ronald Reagan.

The flaws in this book are the flaws of the genre. Like so many intellectual historians, Cornell assumes

that what people say and write is what they truly believe. He is therefore inclined to read Antifederalist texts with an uncritical eye. He quotes Samuel Chase's thoughts on the Constitution at length, for instance, without ever letting the reader know that Chase was an arch-conservative chiefly concerned about paper money and Loyalist property, issues that involved his short-term economic interests; he became a staunch Federalist as soon as George Washington named him to the Supreme Court. There is a similar problem with Chase's sidekick, Luther Martin. Which is the *real* Luther Martin: the Martin of the *Genuine Information* (1788) also analyzed at some length, or the post-1800 "Bulldog of Federalism"?

Such cavils aside, this is a fine piece of work. Cornell's research is prodigious, his analysis is judicious, and his thesis is persuasive. The ideological continuum that he found from Antifederalism to Jeffersonian Republicanism adds a new dimension to the continuity that this writer and others have sought to demonstrate through such behavioral methods as roll-call analysis.

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MICHAEL L. TATE. *The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 454. \$34.95.

Contemporary western historians seem loath to note existing classics in their works. This book is a case in point. In chapter one, "Discoverers: Military Scientists, Ethnologists and Artists in the New Empire," Michael L. Tate neglects my book *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863* (1959) and *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (1966), except for a slight reference or two. Instead, he depends on journal articles written long after those books. Consequently, chapter one is full of errors. Tate carelessly uses Major Edmund Gaines's instructions to an exploring party of 1834 as a model for instructions for the many expeditions of the 1840s and 1850s (p. 5), but those expeditions each had their own instructions. The author scarcely stops to characterize Lt. G. K. Warren's master map of the whole Trans-Mississippi West and John C. Frémont's and Charles Preuss's important maps are not even mentioned (p. 7). The five Great Surveys after the Civil War get one paragraph (p. 10). Lt. Wheeler's survey and Clarence King's survey, both sponsored by the War Department, receive all too brief mention. Indeed, so superficial is this chapter that readers should skip it.

The rest of the book is indeed interesting. It includes detailed chapters on army aid to overland migrants, the military's role in aiding the railroads and telegraph workers, not to mention its extensive wagon road and bridge building, long ago exhaustively treated by William Turrentine Jackson in *Wagon Roads West: A Study*

of *Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846-1869* (1952). Tate enumerates in exhaustive detail the army's role as *posse comitatus*, the roots of which he carefully explains in good legal analysis concerning the soldiers' limited role as lawmen. Other important topics discussed are the multiple roles of army doctors and chaplains, the creating of post libraries, and the important cultural and economic role of these military outposts, which were often located in forlorn, desolate places in reference to Indians, rather than settlers. He notes the way settlements grew up around these posts to supply the posts themselves and how "townbuilders" complained to Washington at the very suggestion that the posts might be closed. However, it might have been better had the author more closely examined the role of these latter settlements in prolonging the Apache "Wars."

Tate goes on to show how the military actually protected the rights of Indians, and wrote about their own experiences frequently (especially the novelist Charles King). Tate also includes frontier women's writings, such as Martha Summerhayes's classic, *Vanished Arizona: Recollections of My Army Life* (1908). He concludes his chronicle with a perceptive chapter on soldier entrepreneurs and investors in the West that lacks the unwarranted criticism of them that seems standard for "new" western historians. In fact, in the opening of chapter two, Tate makes a profound and possibly revolutionary point: "Although some of the overlanders consciously reveled in the national[ist] spirit of Manifest Destiny, most made the journey for intensely personal reasons." This argues for a whole new examination of overland diaries in the interest of history rather than the current agitprop that passes for history. Overall, this survey opens up many neglected topics in western history.

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HENRY E. STAMM IV. *People of the Wind River: The Eastern Shoshones, 1825-1900*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 320. \$27.95.

Henry E. Stamm IV provides a classic "tribal history" of a group that heretofore had no book-length treatment devoted to it. The time span ranges from ca. 1350, when climatic changes induced Shoshone-Comanche bands to migrate in a northeasterly direction from their hunting grounds in what is now southwestern Nevada, to the end of the bison-oriented economy by 1900. Along the way, Stamm highlights eastern Shoshone interaction with assorted Native groups and with mountain men who inaugurated a trade in furs. He focuses his lens most intensely at the period between 1872 and 1885 to discern the patterns of daily life during the intensification of the U.S. government's forced assimilation program. Stamm wishes to maintain "the Shoshone perspective" (as if there were only one) throughout, even though he devotes much atten-

tion to the series of agents, miners, ranchers, merchants, teachers, and missionaries who came to people the Wind River basin as well. His results are mixed.

Large herds of bison drew Native groups to the Wind River basin from all directions: Shoshones came from the southwest; Crows journeyed from the northwest on occasion; Lakota and Cheyenne bands from Dakota Territory to the northeast found the area attractive enough to raid until they were conquered militarily in the early 1880s. Such intertribal competition made the area dangerous to inhabit year round. Washakie, the eastern Shoshone leader who grew to greatest prominence during the mid to late nineteenth century, certainly did not intend to "settle" there; he hoped to maintain access to the critical bison herds and continued an annual hunting cycle. However, permanent residence on what would solidify into a reservation in 1868 was precisely what most Euroamericans intended for the Shoshone and eventually the Arapaho as well.

The initial impetus to settle the eastern Shoshone in the Wind River basin stemmed less from a desire to assimilate them than to buffer from raids by the ever-present Lakota new mining towns in the southern part of the region that had grown after the discovery of the Cariso Lode of gold in 1867. The Shoshone felt the full brunt of these raids, which undergirded their desire to remain on the move.

Furthermore, agency administrators exploited reservation resources mercilessly, from grazing land to everything ever sent by edict of the Indian Office. Stamm is at his best in meticulously documenting the local "Indian Rings," in which agents colluded with local merchants to defraud the Shoshone of what should have been rightfully theirs. Even agents who had shown some concern for Shoshone welfare later in their lives paid greater loyalty to the interests of their Euroamerican neighbors than to those entrusted to their management. Poorly paid employees helped themselves to food, clothing, and implements from the agency warehouse and freely grazed their stock on reservation land. They grew to view this as their right.

Shoshone leaders leveraged their situation as best they could. Indignant that the Indian Office expected them to freight annuity goods from distant distribution points themselves, they refused unless paid wages. Unfortunately, this strategy backfired, and the distribution of annuity goods was delayed until after the stormy months of winter. Washakie, who spearheaded this intransigence, lost face and status because of the failure. Shoshone also enlisted as scouts for the U.S. cavalry against Lakota and Cheyenne raiders responsible for their inability to settle permanently in the Wind River basin. They received wages and revenge for their troubles.

As the Shoshone population declined, rations for starving Indians were continuously cut back, forcing them to leave the reservation to hunt bison (and sometimes free-ranging cattle, if they were hungry enough). The increasing Euroamerican population

pressured for the Shoshones to be confined to the reservation, even though they were entitled by treaty to hunt on the open range. In the end, free-ranging cattle—not hide hunters or exterminators who worked close to distant railroads—totally displaced bison on the open range, spelling the end of autonomous options for the Shoshones. When they desperately entreated various negotiators for increased rations to feed their hungry families, they were exhorted to, "Work hard or starve." Stamm forcefully shows that they actually worked hard *and* starved.

Stamm reserves chapter eleven for "Shoshone and Arapaho Strategies, 1879–1885." He shows how Washakie staved off intrusions into Shoshone political control by refusing to allow men to enroll in the Indian Police. But unceasing food shortages undermined Washakie's influence. He was ineffective in mediating for more food, and families came to rely more on their own hunters for sustenance. A council structure emerged that allowed for participation by more men from a cross-section of their community. Even so, councils were forced to barter away their ever-diminishing reservation lands to acquire food to prevent starvation. This loss of resources and decline in political control contributed to Shoshone experimentation with the Ghost Dance, peyotism, and Episcopal baptism as a healing ritual. Shoshone intransigence contrasted with the Arapaho strategy of cooperation. Arapaho men joined the Indian Police and sent some boys to Carlisle Indian School in an effort to cement their right to reside on the Wind River Reservation, which had initially been established exclusively for the Shoshone.

This chapter on Shoshone and Arapaho agency in affecting their circumstances is laudable, but it is only eight and a half pages long. Creating a narrative that integrated both agents' actions and Native strategies, responses, and adaptations throughout would have gone farther toward accomplishing Stamm's stated goal of including Native perspectives. The dynamic interaction could have been highlighted, even as Native efforts were undermined by the turn of the century. Placing Native actions in truncated form immediately before the final chapter, entitled "The Nadir, 1885–1900," makes their efforts appear feeble and ineffectual.

Indeed, prior to chapter eleven, the Shoshones and every other Native appear as shadowy forms that move about the landscape, mostly in groups. Only a few male political leaders are ever mentioned. Repeated references to Native women who married traders and produced "mixed blood" offspring are never developed to allow a glimpse into this evolving social and economic network. The existing literature on the North American fur trade gives ample precedent to undertake such analysis. Stamm usually refers to them as "mixed bloods" and claims that most lived the "civilized" life. These time-worn labels are all too common in the "tribal history" genre. Most cutting edge work in the field has moved beyond such simplis-

tic assessments. A more subtle analysis utilizing more of the perspective of social history would likely reveal that the "civilized" label glosses lifestyles that were far more variable and syncretic than the label allows for. Such a sensitive approach might even allow earlier documents to reveal more of the inner workings of Shoshone culture to complement Stamm's outstanding analysis of the politics of reservation administration.

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EDWARD L. WIDMER. *Young America: The Flowering of Democracy in New York City*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 290. \$29.95.

Some decades ago, antebellum intellectual history was often dominated by an enthusiasm for the expansionist rhetoric of "Manifest Destiny" to the dissatisfaction of historians like myself, who believed the subject was more foam than substance. Now, Edward L. Widmer returns to that enthusiasm in an even broader form. Widmer, identified as presently being a White House speech writer, asserts that "Young America" (Manifest Destiny extended into the 1850s) was the principal vehicle for the development of American culture in the two decades before the Civil War.

The heart and mind of his subject is the *Democratic Review* and its editor, John L. O'Sullivan, the author of the term "Manifest Destiny." Widmer provides an unusually comprehensive view of O'Sullivan's life and thought, using numerous manuscript collections including the especially interesting Civil War correspondence between O'Sullivan and Samuel J. Tilden possessed by the New York Public Library. This correspondence reveals the supposed philosopher of American nationalism as a Confederate sympathizer who had no idea of how America's liberal ideology was saved by the triumph of the Union. Widmer concentrates on the earlier advocate of Manifest Destiny in the 1840s, presenting Sullivan as an editor who also supported basic reforms in American society and fostered the development of an original American literature.

Benefitting from the vagueness of his dominant concept, Widmer moves outward from O'Sullivan to discuss a rich variety of literary men who had even a marginal relationship with the Young America movement, notably Evert A. Duyckinck, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, William Cullen Bryant, Edgar Allen Poe, Walt Whitman, William Gilmore Simms, and a special hero, the short-lived William Leggett, the spokesman for Locofoco Democracy. Then he moves still farther outward to discuss advocates of legal reform like David Dudley Field and prominent artists like William Sidney Mount. Most of these men he identifies with what he considers the first of two phases of Young America, that of the 1840s, which he sees as the purer, more creative phase. The second phase, the expansionism, of the 1850s, he treats

as a debasement of earlier ideals under the influence of slavery and sectionalism.

Widmer gives us a lively account that sustains our interest as we are whirled from one individual to another. The real question, however, is whether he has proven the substance and importance of Young America. I would say he has not. What was Young America? In its own terms, it was territorial expansionism a rejection of the past in favor of the new, a vehicle for the expression of popular thought, and the handmaiden of democracy, at least of the Jacksonian variety. Beyond that, it was opposition to the influence of England and New England on politics and culture, especially as it was expressed in the Whig party. Widmer uses this definition, but he rarely gets below the surface to the substantial meanings of its primary elements. In his generalizing, he is often too inclusive, attempting to force such disparate individuals as Melville, Bryant, and Hawthorne into the same camp. At the same time, he is too exclusive in that he ignores the similarities that made people Americans regardless of their political and ideological labels. There were, for instance, Whig versions of democracy, progress, and expansionism, often associated with modernization and the expansion of trade, which also helped to shape American culture.

Widmer's subtitle is something of a misnomer, since he rarely deals with the city as anything but a place in which the rhetoric of Young America was published. He ignores, for instance, such essentials of Gotham democracy as Tammany Hall, the popular theatre, and that uncomfortable but prominent form of nationalism, nativism. Although he mentions the Astor Place Riot, he furnishes no understanding of what it meant for democracy and nationalism.

There are, then, significant flaws in Widmer's big picture. He often shines, however, in smaller understandings. His thorough use of numerous manuscript collections enables him to depict a complex network of relationships among antebellum culture makers, and his interpretations of important works like *Moby Dick* (1851) are thought provoking. Readers likely will enjoy this book for its numerous cameos of notable people. Although Widmer is no more successful than his predecessors in giving substance to Young America, he has provided numerous stimulating insights into the often unappreciated vastness of antebellum culture.

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DAVID M. HENKIN. *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York*. (Popular Cultures, Everyday Lives.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 242. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.50.

The history of books and reading in nineteenth-century America has gradually expanded beyond the study of novels to encompass illustrated magazines, sensational pamphlets, trade cards, and various ephemera.

David M. Henkin's book offers a thoughtful new chapter in this growing field by focusing on the city of New York and exploring writing and print that were in public view of all passersby, whether New York residents or visitors. His imaginative search for significant urban texts traces signs in unforeseen sites, from the streets to the buildings of the new metropolis. As he states, "New York was becoming a city plastered with written words" (p. 99). His description of the ubiquitous words that multiplied in number and increased in size during the antebellum period is full of insightful details and vivid anecdotes taken from European travel writers and American novelists, as well as periodicals and urban photographs. Most of the evidence, however, is drawn from the late antebellum period: that is, the 1850s and the early 1860s.

Grounded in Jürgen Habermas's theory of the public sphere, this study is prompt to emphasize that the publicness of the antebellum city was more pluralistic than the sites of rational deliberation in the eighteenth century. Investigating a physical city with specific public spaces (unlike Habermas's placeless public sphere), Henkin argues that an indeterminate and anonymous public, a democratic public, was constructed around the proliferating urban texts. The book devotes particular attention to four sets of texts. The first are permanent signs of the cityscape such as street signs and above all the commercial signs that resembled monumental hieroglyphics of private businesses. The second set is comprised of temporary signs such as handbills, sandwich-board advertisements, trade cards, posters, and parade banners, which Henkin likens to graffiti. The chapter on these is at its best when it shows how a common language of publicity was shared by commerce, entertainment, and politics. Another chapter is devoted to the metropolitan press. Drawing on Benedict R. Anderson's concept of an imagined community, Henkin sees the dailies hawked in the streets as constructing an urban public space shared by stranger-readers. In the book's last chapter, he describes another symbol of the impersonal way of life in the city: the nonuniform paper currency that circulated promiscuously, along with the counterfeit detectors designed to preserve its authenticity. It is unfortunate that Henkin deliberately chose to neglect the emblems and nonverbal signs of banknotes as those of other print forms. But he should be commended for rescuing an important print artifact of mass communication from historical oblivion.

Although he aptly acknowledges the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the expanding metropolis, Henkin offers a description of a readership that is deceptively classless and genderblind. Indeed, when he argues that urban texts "bracketed" the ruptures of social inequality, ethnic divisions, and political partisanship within a shared experience of public space, Henkin tends to idealize the inclusiveness of New York readership. Yet his evidence also shows words of protest that revealed the class strife and racial divide, such as the banners produced during the Astor Place

riots in 1849 or the draft riots of 1863. Furthermore, as for Habermas, the public sphere that Henkin examines is all male, but he fails to explain why. He admits that women might read those printed words when traversing the streets or engaging in a transaction with paper money. But his effort to emphasize the public aspects of reading and deny the privatization of reading makes women almost invisible in his narrative of the metropolis. To be sure, as Paula C. Baker and Mary P. Ryan have demonstrated, women retreated from public spaces by mid-century, while the expansion of white manhood suffrage was coupled with the public celebration of domesticity. However, the confinement of women on the sidewalks of the city streets as audience rather than participants in American civic culture did not preclude their presence in urban texts, perhaps through emblems and icons rather than printed words. Nor did it prevent women from partaking of the new public communication and appropriating the masculine signs of print. Indeed, Henkin's fascinating discussion of newspaper clippings in Edward Neufville Tailer Jr.'s journal could well be applied to the countless scrapbooks assembled by women in the 1850s and 1860s. Women read the news and clipped those public words along with handbills, printed invitations, personal cards, and Valentines in hybrid texts where public and private intermingled far more than Henkin wants to admit. In addition, women as consumers became the prime target of the commercial signs of the city, in promotional campaigns, newspaper advertising, and in the department stores, which as Gunther Barth has argued fostered the public presence of women in the city center.

Despite these omissions, this is a well-crafted analysis of the print cornucopia in mid-century Gotham, and an important contribution to both the history of books and reading and urban history. In his conclusion, Henkin underscores how commerce and consumption permeated all public communication, just as parade banners at public inaugurations served to advertise specific businesses. Historians in various fields should welcome this astute exploration of urban texts because, as Henkin reminds us, "An election, an auction, a riot, a preacher, an opera singer, and a cough medicine could all be publicized in the same spaces" (p. 174).

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JANET DUTSMAN CORNELIUS. *Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. x, 305. \$34.95.

This study explores the relationship between the emerging black church during the antebellum period and white efforts to evangelize African-American slaves. The most distinguishing mark of the study is its extensive coverage of white missionary efforts across

denominational and regional lines. It includes the work of clergymen such as William Capers, Richard Fuller, Charles Colcock Jones, Stephen Elliott, and Basil Manly and the efforts of pious planters such as Thomas Clay, John Hartwell Cocke, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Because the study also explores the rise of the black church in the antebellum South, the work of black preachers such as Andrew Bryan, Andrew Marshall, and the lesser-known slave preachers of the Sunbury Baptist Association is investigated.

The basic theme of the study is that a complex and often contradictory relationship existed between the white missionaries and their planter allies on the one hand and African-American slaves and their black preachers and praise houses on the other hand. Out of the dynamic interaction of whites and blacks, of slaves and pious planters and missionaries, of European traditions and African cultures, a distinct African-American church emerged. At the same time, "European American Christianity" in the South was being "transformed by its interaction with the black church. The slave missions, with all their contradictions, were the vehicles through which this interaction took place when the black church became a reality in the years immediately before freedom" (p. 2).

By emphasizing the interaction between the religious thought and activities of whites and blacks, Janet Duitsman Cornelius places herself within the interpretative framework of historians such as Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan who have emphasized the "negotiated relationships" between masters and slaves. Although Cornelius does not probe to great depth the dynamics of the relationships or the questions of power in the relationships, she does provide an important description of the varying ways the religious life of blacks and whites influenced one another in the antebellum South.

Chapter one, "'Cords of Love': Religious Cultures Intertwined, Yet Separate," provides an introduction to her theme by exploring the relationship between "hush harbors" with their black preachers and what she calls "European" missionary teachers. Special attention is given to resulting patterns of prayer, preaching, music, and conversion. Chapters follow on "The Black Church's Baptist Roots" and "The Transformation of the Methodist Mission" in which Cornelius concludes that the work of the missionaries changed "the spiritual landscape for white as well as black worshippers" (p. 68).

The expansion of slave missions evoked vigorous opposition from southern whites who feared the missions as subversive and as a preparation for freedom. Planters who embraced the evangelical cause and the modest reforms of the slave system advocated by missionaries were ridiculed and sometimes threatened with violence. When in the mid-1830s, the distinguished Virginian John Hartwell Cocke built a schoolhouse on his Bremon plantation and hired a Princeton seminary graduate to teach and preach to his slaves, Cocke was physically attacked and badly beaten in a

public confrontation. Cocke's Georgia friend, Thomas Clay, was ridiculed for his evangelistic efforts among the slaves of his Richmond-on-Ogeechee plantation. The planter-missionary Charles Colcock Jones, a friend of both Cocke and Clay, was denounced as an enemy of slavery, and slaveowners were urged to deny him access to their slaves. Such opposition no doubt accounted for the respect missionary-reformers often received, in spite of their paternalistic assumptions, from the leaders of the emerging black churches.

In Savannah and Charleston and in other southern cities, black churches arose that had their own leaders but were under the protection and usually the direct control of whites. In these churches and in the efforts of white missionaries in establishing Sunday schools and in introducing slaves to a "print culture," the negotiated relationship between black and white religious life could be most clearly seen.

In a final chapter on "The Black Church and Freedom," Cornelius tells how African Americans took control of their own religious life after 1865. They took the language and rituals they had learned from the missionaries and in interaction with the religious traditions of the slave quarters made them their own.

Cornelius's study does not explore in depth the character of slave religion, issues of enculturation, or continuity with African traditions. The strength of her book, however, is its descriptive breadth in regard to slave missions. It provides an excellent introduction to the efforts of white missionaries and to the ways that the religious life of whites and blacks interacted in the antebellum South.

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DOUGLAS M. STRONG. *Perfectionist Politics: Abolitionism and the Religious Tensions of American Democracy*. (Religion and Politics.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 263. \$39.95.

Although many scholars have described the religious impetus behind American abolitionism, few have examined antislavery as it operated in those northern churches most hostile to slavery. Douglas M. Strong examines "ecclesiastical abolitionism" (p. 2) in upper New York State and argues that members of antislavery sects—chiefly the Wesleyan Methodists, Free Baptists, dissident Congregationalists and Presbyterians who became known as "Unionists," and Franckean Lutherans—constituted the core of the abolitionist Liberty Party.

Ecclesiastical abolitionists' driving force was perfectionism. Among evangelical Protestants, this nineteenth-century belief required that the faithful cleanse themselves and society from sin. Those perfectionists who subscribed to "entire sanctification" took a "convictional step beyond their initial 'new birth,'" received God's "second blessing" (p. 4), and no longer sinned. Achieving a sanctified society would prepare the world, in the minds of these postmillennialists, for

Christ's second coming. The realization of sanctification, furthermore, could occur only after the faithful withdrew from impure institutions—especially churches—that failed to recognize all dimensions of slavery's sinfulness. This spirit of "comeouterism"—based on Revelation 18:4 ("Come out of her [Babylon], my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins")—was instrumental in creating antislavery congregations and denominations.

Also important to these "comeouters" was church reform. Many abolitionists met with strong resistance when they attempted to increase their congregations' and denominations' hostility to slavery. Consequently, many comeouters emphasized the importance of democratic church governance. They recognized, however, that the spiritual freedom for which they had once hungered could ultimately lead to antinomianism and anarchy. Thus these reformers sought an elusive middle ground between, in the words of William Goodell, "despotic authority, on the one hand, and disorganization on the other" (p. 42). Strong nonetheless argues that perfectionism, rather than pragmatism, dominated the New York Liberty Party's thinking, as the "party's ultimate intent was to keep 'all men from sin'" (p. 84). Although Lewis Perry and John R. McKivigan have made scholars aware of comeouters, Strong's greatest contribution is his examination of "the theological concepts and praxis that connected antislavery religious groups" (p. 93). The version of entire sanctification understood by the members of New York's comeouter churches coalesced from the teachings of John Wesley, Nathaniel W. Taylor, and Presbyterian dissident Luther Myrick. Meanwhile, the "new measures" revivalism of Charles G. Finney encouraged entire sanctification's spread through upper New York, as well as throughout much of the North.

Strong compiled impressive data. He identified 317 comeouter churches in upper New York—no mean feat, given that most of these congregations no longer exist. He found that over ninety percent of upper New York towns with thirty or more Liberty votes had at least one comeouter church, thus sustaining the findings of Vernon Volpe in the Old Northwest, who also found a strong correlation between Liberty strongholds and the presence of at least one comeouter congregation. Strong also describes well the thoughts of the Liberty Party's radical, perfectionist wing, especially those who followed Goodell and Gerrit Smith and after the Free Soil Party's creation in 1848.

His contention that these comeouters represented the mainstream of the New York Liberty Party may be more difficult to uphold. One reason the party weakened, Strong contends, was because the sanctified life was spiritually exhausting; Libertyites obsessed with entire sanctification could not maintain their perfectionist moral rigor interminably. Other scholars have nevertheless argued that most Libertyites welcomed the Free Soil coalition in 1848 because they saw the new party—with its watered-down platform—as an expansion of their "one idea." As the work of Joseph

Rayback and Thomas B. Alexander demonstrates, the vast majority of Liberty voters throughout the North filed into the Free Soil Party. New Yorkers had the option of supporting Smith's perfectionist National Liberty Party, but Smith's electoral tally in 1848 equaled only one-sixth of the New York Liberty Party's 1844 total. Strong additionally argues that women's participation at Liberty gatherings is evidence of the party's perfectionist orientation. This contention is undeveloped, however, as he fails to explain the nature of women's involvement or address whether their activity differed from women's contemporaneous participation in the Whig Party or the temperance movement.

These mild reservations notwithstanding, Strong's book will certainly be an important historiographic benchmark regarding this small but significant political party.

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JOHN R. MCKIVIGAN and STANLEY HARROLD, editors. *Antislavery Violence: Sectional, Racial, and Cultural Conflict in Antebellum America*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1999. Pp. 322. \$30.00.

This collection of essays explores antislavery violence from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the outbreak of the Civil War. As editors John R. McKivigan and Stanley Harrold point out in a thoughtful and well-grounded introduction, historians have long debated the role of violence in the antislavery movement. In a volume suitably dedicated to Herbert Aptheker, the editors conclude that forcible resistance by both slaves and abolitionists made the antislavery crusade "a major precursor of the much more violent Civil War" (p. 2).

Both the quantity and significance of slave resistance have long been central to disputes over the character of slavery. Was slave rebelliousness, for example, a serious threat to the system, or mostly the product of fevered white imaginations? Donald Egerton, in an essay on the Gabriel insurrection, argues the former, but a more persuasive or widespread and varied answer might be a bit of each. Too often, Egerton's case for resistance—as in his book-length treatment of this episode—rests on creative analysis and imaginative conjecture rather than on solid evidence. Yet, to be fair, insurrections are by their very nature shadowy, and so information is fragmentary at best. This was certainly the case with the large 1811 rebellion in Louisiana. Junius Rodriguez presents a well-researched and chilling account of an elusive episode that historians will undoubtedly mine for their undergraduate lectures. He argues that the notions of freedom brought in by slaves from Santo Domingo sowed the seeds of insurrection, but the connection between ideology and action is asserted rather than established.

Such incidents of slave resistance assumed an importance far beyond their local significance, especially

in a romantic era during which the exploits of heroic individuals became both a major theme of popular culture and potent political symbols. Madison Washington, who led the December 1841 mutiny of slaves aboard the ship *Creole*, actually prevented other slaves from killing all the whites on board. According to Harrold, abolitionists (including some blacks), who deplored violence and believed that slaves were docile, nevertheless praised Washington's "moderate" use of force. This limited violence did not offend sensitive consciences, although John Brown himself readily appropriated the romantic image of the slave rebel to inspire larger numbers of slaves to use presumably much greater force.

Free blacks in the North, like the slaves themselves, debated the best means to subvert slavery and fight racial oppression. Although Carol Wilson probably exaggerates northern free blacks' fear of enslavement, she notes how they organized groups to resist kidnapping. Despite a reluctance to condone violence, the passage of a new fugitive slave law as part of the Compromise of 1850 led some escaped slaves and free blacks to arm themselves. But how important these activities were, including Frederick Douglass's defense of killing slave catchers, remains unclear in Wilson's thinly researched essay. As for Douglass, despite a large body of primary material, his attitudes and actions still appear confusing and at times contradictory. James H. Cook rightly notes the reluctance of scholars to question Douglass's commitment to any means necessary for destroying slavery. Yet implicit in this interesting essay, and indeed most of the essays in this volume, is the assumption that one's dedication to the antislavery cause can best be measured by a willingness to endorse at least the limited use of violence. As the life of Martin Luther King, Jr., surely demonstrated, support for nonviolent resistance does not necessarily reflect a lukewarm commitment to a cause, whether it be civil rights or antislavery. There is, however, no doubt that after being badly beaten by a mob in Pendleton, Indiana, Douglass became more willing to fight back, though Cook perceptively notes that Douglass refused to use physical force whenever he was traveling with William Lloyd Garrison, the leading antebellum advocate of nonresistance. Douglass's own accounts of the danger he faced in working with the underground railroad were inconsistent, and he often seemed more willing to endorse the use of violent means by others—whether in Kansas or at Harpers Ferry—than to abandon his highly intellectualized approach to antislavery agitation.

Inevitably therefore—especially in the more biographically oriented essays in this volume—certain psychological questions arise. Transcending old debates about the psychological roots of antislavery activism, James Brewer Stewart shows how Joshua R. Giddings's increasingly strident attacks on slavery and slaveholders grew out of his religious turmoil and battles with depression. Yet this Ohio Whig also responded to quite real enemies: southerners in Con-

gress who attempted to intimidate and "gag" antislavery representatives. Giddings—who preferred meeting with a few pious friends to joining the intemperate Washington social whirl—sometimes affected a tone of moral superiority as he enraged southern constitutional hairsplitters by defending states that refused to return fugitive slaves. His fiery rhetoric struck hard at slavery's defenders and, as Stewart concludes, "stood as a sustained, unavenged rebuke to southern honor" (p. 188).

Giddings occasionally endorsed violence and certainly lashed slaveholders with his tongue, but there is always the temptation, especially when looking for a tradition of forcible resistance, to exaggerate the significance of passing or isolated statements. In Ohio's Western Reserve, a mob released fugitive slave John Price from a Wellington Hotel in 1858, and John A. Copeland, a local African American, joined up with John Brown, but despite the research in Chris Padgett's essay on "comeouter" abolitionists, it is doubtful that many citizens of this antislavery stronghold endorsed violence. Kristen A. Tegtemeier finds somewhat more evidence on free state women in Kansas who shook off gender norms to defend themselves and their families against border ruffians, and she offers intriguing arguments about how antislavery settlers often embodied a hybrid of "feminine-pacifist" and "masculine-activist" ideals. Yet Tegtemeier, too, in placing so much emphasis on language and a few descriptions and statements, may be making too much out of too little.

This is not say that gender conventions, especially when combined with racial ideology and romanticism, did not shape debates on the use of violence. John Stauffer notes how abolitionists—white and black—sometimes admired Indians as fighters against white civilization and (picking up on themes in Richard Slotkin's frontier studies), shows how they came to believe that "regeneration could only occur through savage violence" (p. 261). Yet, as Stauffer perceptively observes, the Indian here remained largely a metaphor. Abolitionists seldom came into contact with real Indians, and black abolitionists hesitated to identify with a race that appeared to be dying out. Despite these qualifications, however, a certain emphasis on physical prowess and the supposedly primitive masculinity of the Indian warrior helped abolitionists refute widely held beliefs that blacks were by nature submissive and therefore suitable slaves.

Even for abolitionists willing to embrace resistance in theory, real violence posed serious problems. In the volume's final essay, McKivigan notes both the unheroic response of the "Secret Six" after John Brown's raid as well as the much less well-known plans to rescue Brown and the other captured raiders. In the final phase in the evolution of abolitionism toward endorsing the use of violence to end slavery, many of Brown's supporters later served in the Civil War. But then, so did more moderate antislavery supporters and even some conservatives, and so, by the end of the

volume, the relationship among slave resistance, the abolitionists' embrace of forcible means, and the death of slavery remains unclear. Like Aptheker, the authors of these essays have uncovered some intriguing information, have argued their case with passion and some panache, and sometimes have drawn conclusions that go well beyond the available evidence.

GEORGE C. RABLE
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BROOKS D. SIMPSON. *Ulysses S. Grant: Triumph over Adversity 1822–1865*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 2000. Pp. xix, 533. \$35.00.

Ulysses S. Grant, a world-class Sphinx, remains one of the most impenetrable personalities in American history. In this first volume of a projected two-volume biography, Brooks D. Simpson shows his man in action. Does he penetrate Grant's considerable defenses?

After a relatively brief discussion of Grant's dismal prewar life, Simpson narrates Grant's wartime career in considerable detail for the remainder of the book. Much of this story will be quite familiar to readers of Civil War history: the strategy, the battles, and the campaigns. There is something almost inevitable in Grant's "triumph": after all it comes as no surprise that he was the great winning general of the war. And this "triumph" was purchased at a fearful price, a matter that Simpson deals with as a necessary if regrettable cost, which perhaps it was.

Much of the well-plowed historical ground covered in this book was previously traversed in volumes written by Lloyd Lewis (*Captain Sam Grant* [1959]) and Bruce S. Catton (*Grant Moves South* [1960], and *Grant Takes Command* [1969]), both of whom had exceptional narrative gifts. William S. McFeeley, in his beautifully written, Pulitzer Prize-winning *Grant: A Biography* (1981), provided a sharp psychological analysis of Grant, although he was far less complete on the military record than Simpson. And Max Byrd, the distinguished historical novelist, has just published the lively and insightful *Grant: A Novel* (2000), written with considerable historical insight and attention to wider social contexts. Of course, Byrd had the license of fiction to probe and measure inward experiences whose occurrence Simpson might only infer.

Adhering to a strictly chronological framework, Simpson deals in sometimes repetitive fashion with several major issues of Grant's wartime life. Particularly full is Simpson's attention to Grant's alcoholism. Simpson demonstrates that Grant was a binge drinker, who in fact went on several toots during the war; his major aide, John A. Rawlins, and his wife Julia both served as his conscience and guardians. Less complete are Simpson's readings of Grant's racial and social attitudes, particularly his anti-Semitism, on which he acted in notorious fashion during the war.

The greatest strength of this biography, the place where Simpson breaks the most new ground, is in his

analysis of Grant as a conscious actor in the hot and highly threatening political environment of the war. Generals warred against generals within their own armies, and they struggled with politicians and journalists as well. These were battles in which Grant proved quite adept. No one before Simpson has been so shrewd and penetrating about all the nastiness—conniving, logrolling, and public relations spin doctoring—that shaped the Union war effort. The relentless pressure of events and public opinion made for shifting alliances, friendships constructed and betrayed, and here Simpson provides an accurate and detailed map. He evocatively elucidates this aspect of the essentially amateur military operation of the American Civil War, played out in a rough and tumble, hyperdemocratic setting.

At times, Simpson takes his political portrait from the battlefield to Washington and back, but on the whole he stays out in the field with his subject. In his effort to follow Grant's actions, he stints on many of the larger social and cultural settings of the Civil War, including the folks back home and the lives of the ordinary men at the lower levels of Grant's armies. Simpson fails to integrate much of the newer work in American social and cultural history, which is particularly disappointing because he has done just that in other books. Civil War historians tend not to be read by other American historians, and, as we see here, part of this ghettoization is self-imposed. There are a great many readers outside the academy for Civil War history, and they need to be challenged by newer historical currents more than reassured with familiar, triumphalist narratives.

Simpson eschews much in the way of interpretation of Grant's complex personality, and so his actor appears more hollow than he was. Again, this is particularly disappointing because Simpson has written elsewhere with greater psychological penetration concerning the Grant marriage, for example. In this volume, Grant's life just seems to happen to him. Nowhere do we discover what made this odd military genius unusual, which clearly was the case. In his own way, Grant was deeply ambitious, startlingly aware of his physical environment, extraordinarily gifted as a writer, capable of enormous focus and equal lassitude, and at times quite vindictive. Simpson is most cognizant of that last quality, part of his insightful awareness of Grant the military politician.

Because of Simpson's gift for understanding the machinations of nineteenth-century politics, I have great hopes for his second volume concerning Grant the exceptionally unsuccessful postwar politician.

MICHAEL FELLMAN
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WILLIAM BLAIR. *Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861–1865*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 206. \$32.50.

One of the most welcome recent trends in Civil War scholarship is a shift toward local studies offering a more fully integrated view of the war years. Many such studies have progressed far beyond the familiar examinations of life on the home front as a counterpoint to action on the battlefield or policy making in the halls of the Union and Confederate governments. The most ambitious of them are social histories in the most complete sense of the term, portraits of particular places and the people who inhabited them, in all their complexity. Some scholars also touch on significant themes of the antebellum and postwar years as well while focusing on the war years as their major frame of reference.

Virginia, although one of the last southern states to secede, was without doubt the most significant of all of them during the war. It furnished not only a new national capital but also its immense agricultural, industrial, economic, and political resources and a large percentage of its white male population—including the Confederacy's most enduring heroes—to the war effort. As the scene of innumerable campaigns, battles, and smaller actions, furthermore, its very place names, from Manassas to Appomattox, create powerful images of the war years. In many ways, the story of Virginia's Confederate experience has been all but obscured by its mythic status since 1865, but no longer.

This book, based on imaginative methodology and exhaustive research, features a vigorous narrative enhanced by but never overwhelmed by a careful analysis of wartime Virginia. It examines the experiences and changing perceptions of a people at war, of farmers and planters, of craftsmen and merchants, of lawyers and bankers, of military and civilian authorities at the national, state, and local levels, and of countless other men and women whose worlds were transformed by the war. It is further strengthened by its close examination of three Virginia counties: Albemarle, in the northern Piedmont, with its seat at Charlottesville; Augusta, in the Shenandoah Valley, with its seat at Staunton; and Campbell, in the southern Piedmont, with its seat at Lynchburg. William Blair chose these interior counties as representative places that had the opportunity to support or reject Confederate independence for most of the war and through which he could track the ebb and flow of life in wartime Virginia from beginning to end.

Most white Virginians joined the Confederate cause rather reluctantly in 1861, believing they had no choice but to do so once the Old Dominion was called on to furnish soldiers to help invade her sister southern states. When Federal armies streamed south across her borders, however, and the seat of the new national government relocated to Richmond, Virginia's identity became almost indistinguishable from the Confederacy's. Although many recent scholars have preferred to emphasize the internal factors that contributed to Southern defeat, Blair argues persuasively that most Virginians continued to support the war effort as long as they believed success might still be possible.

While he deftly interprets several complex factors working against the war effort, such as Virginians' growing resentment of conscription, substitution, impressment, and speculation, and the ways in which battlefield reverses combined with these pressures to weaken their will to persevere, Blair points out that such factors were not fatal until the last few months of the war. All too often, Confederate defeat is viewed not only as an inevitable result of the war—which it may indeed have been—but also as a fate for which most southerners were preparing themselves by mid-1863—which they certainly were not. Abundant evidence, as this book demonstrates, proves that many Virginians who fought for their literal families and firesides in addition to the figurative ones of wartime rhetoric only gave up hope in large numbers in the winter of 1864 and 1865 as battlefield defeats, home-front privations, and the cumulative effect of four years of war made the price too high to bear any longer.

Blair's rich and nuanced portrait is a valuable contribution to Civil War, southern, and American history. This compelling and elegantly written book, the best analysis yet written of any Confederate state, should serve as a model for future studies of southern communities during the war.

J. TRACY POWER

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PAMELA BRANDWEIN. *Reconstructing Reconstruction: The Supreme Court and the Production of Historical Truth*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 272. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Pamela Brandwein writes: "My strategy for analyzing the production and use of historical meanings has been to place constitutional history, political history, and social history in mutual relation—without (I hope) reducing it all to mush" (p. 189). Alas, Brandwein's hope is in vain. The result of her intellectual labor is an insipid, esoteric, flatulent treatise in the sociology of knowledge, cast in up-to-date Fishian postmodernist discourse.

The thesis of the book is that the historical understanding of the nature of slavery and the effect of the Reconstruction amendments on the federal system, arrived at by the Supreme Court during the Reconstruction period, a century later "blocked the Warren Court majority from using the events of the 1860s to legitimate their decisions" (p. 15). As confirmed by Charles Fairman in his famous debate with William Winslow Crosskey in the 1950s over the incorporation of the Bill of Rights in the Fourteenth Amendment, this institutionally privileged history of Reconstruction "tied the hands of the Warren majority, undercutting their ability to meet certain institutional standards and definitions of coherency" (p. 15). The truth status of the received account gave dissenting judges such as Felix M. Frankfurter and John M. Harlan "privileged

and unearned access to Fourteenth Amendment history as a source of law and legitimation" (p. 16). Accordingly the opinions of the Warren Court were bound to be unpersuasive, incoherent, and historically vulnerable (p. 184).

Brandwein's intent is to unmask the process by which this official Court history was socially constructed, to the end that Reconstruction history may be used to promote "a more aggressive Fourteenth Amendment jurisprudence" protecting black rights and criticizing recent Rehnquist Court reactions to Warren-era decisions (p. 7). Her research design consists of chapters describing northern Democrat and Republican views of slavery as an interpretive issue in Reconstruction policy making; an account of Supreme Court decisions from 1873 to 1896 adopting the Democrat Party position; two chapters on the Fairman-Crosskey debate; detailed analysis of the Warren Court reapportionment decisions; and a chapter proposing a sociology of constitutional law.

For readers of this journal, perhaps the most important issue in the book is raised by the author when she asks: "What . . . is the status of my claims in regard to the social construction of knowledge about Reconstruction? Are my claims any less determined by the social and institutional frameworks that I inhabit while I undertake my scholarly work?" (p. 21). Her answer is: no, but that does not matter, because Stanley Fish says antifoundationalist epistemology, to which Brandwein subscribes, is not supposed to "underwrite research practice" (p. 21). Her research design rests upon her "belief structures," which enable her to be "certain" in her "sense of relevant and weighty evidence" (p. 21). In other words, she does not need epistemology because she is not interested in acquiring knowledge of the subject she is writing about and does not claim to be saying anything truthful about Reconstruction history, the Supreme Court, or constitutional law. This acknowledgment of the relativist fallacy is a disincentive for the reader to take this book seriously as a contribution to constitutional history.

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DAVID M. PLETCHER. *The Diplomacy of Trade and Investment: American Economic Expansion in the Hemisphere, 1865-1900*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 458. \$44.95.

David M. Pletcher provides a detailed examination of American international trade and investment in the Western Hemisphere during the late nineteenth century. Although trade with Europe dominated America's economic statistics, he points out that American promotion of economic expansion focused more on non-European countries, especially continental neighbors. As the desire to annex territory in Canada and Mexico or islands in the Caribbean declined throughout the late nineteenth century, economic connections

became of correspondingly greater importance. Even so, Pletcher stresses that the United States's outward thrust was unsystematic, halting, and continually subject to fierce public and legislative debates—elaborating the argument of his *The Awkward Years: American Foreign Relations under Garfield and Arthur* (1962). Some business groups worried about overproduction and sought new markets, but many others were protectionist. Similarly, partisan divisions and weak leadership in both Congress and the executive branch precluded any unified policy of commercial expansion.

Pletcher's first section describes the advance of American commerce from 1865 to 1886 into Canada, Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean, and South America (each in a separate chapter), but he continually stresses the complications and reversals that slowed this process. Debates over tariff policy, the merchant marine, and reciprocity treaties, all hotly partisan issues during the late nineteenth century, show how domestic political contests shaped an ambiguous international commercial policy. Although businessmen in Central America developed railroad and banana companies, more ambitious schemes for a transoceanic canal stalled. Americans invested heavily in Cuban sugar even before 1898, but inadequate steamship service, the high U.S. tariff, and Britain's trading dominance limited their activity in most of the rest of the Caribbean. In South America, initiatives to curtail British domination by forging a Pan American movement affected policy rhetoric more than economic relationships.

From 1885 to 1895, the period covered in the second part of the book, private interests and the government became more assertive in pressing for common market trade in Canada, organizing a more effective structure for Pan-Americanism, and seeking to build a canal through Nicaragua. None of these initiatives succeeded, as U.S. economic expansionism remained contested by protectionists at home and by hemispheric opponents. During the 1890s, however, economic depression together with a series of sharp confrontations in Haiti, Chile, Brazil, and Venezuela, which challenged European power in the hemisphere, boosted the popularity of pro-expansionist arguments.

By the late 1890s, which Pletcher examines in his third and briefer section, the growing interest in enhancing Americans' economic position in the hemisphere coalesced around Cuban independence and the war with Spain. Again, Pletcher provides a detailed analysis of specific business groups and stresses the contradictions and uncertainties in their diverse economic arguments. In the "improvised expansion" of the turn of the century and the subsequent protectorate policy in the Caribbean, economics continued to play "an important but not always decisive role" (p. 325).

Pletcher's book has many strengths. One is the inclusion of Canada, a country often neglected in studies of the Western Hemisphere. He presents a thorough examination of the major issues: fisheries,

tariff reciprocity, and commercial ties such as railroads. Another is Pletcher's exhaustive research in English-language archival sources and secondary works. This book will become a standard reference for specific historical information on U. S. exports, imports, and direct investments with each country in the hemisphere. Moreover, Pletcher adroitly blends analyses of public policy and private business. Entrepreneurs developing railroads, steamship lines, mines, cable networks, and tropical products—ultimately as important in shaping hemispheric relationships as formal diplomacy—receive thorough examination.

Pletcher's overall argument seems anchored largely in the historiographical debates, so prominent in the 1970s, over the role of economic interest in foreign policy. Pletcher does not see economic empire as "a way of life" (in the words of revisionist scholar William Appleton Williams) and suggests that the revisionist emphasis on economic expansionism was insufficiently nuanced. Although economic impulses are central to his study, he convincingly concludes that businesses and governmental sectors were both conflicted over expansionism.

A traditionally crafted narrative on the role of American private interests and the domestic political debates over U.S. economic foreign policy, Pletcher's work provides a wealth of information on late nineteenth century U.S. policy within the hemisphere.

EMILY S. ROSENBERG

Macalester College [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

ELIZABETH SANDERS. *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877–1917*. (American Politics and Political Economy.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. x, 532. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$16.00.

Elizabeth Sanders's choice of title will send tingles down the spine of many a historian of the Gilded Age and Progressive era. Might this be the book that explains why tens of thousands of industrial workers joined the Populist movement despite their glaring differences with farmers? Might this be the book that dispels Lawrence Goodwyn's pessimism that "true democracy" ended with the election of 1896? Might this be the book that incorporates the insights of Theda Skocpol and other political scientists into a compelling narrative of the rise of the modern American state? Will farmers and workers be its principal historical actors? In point of fact, farmers and workers are largely absent from the book, readers will discover. Sanders focuses instead on "the public positions taken by political representatives" (p. 3), and the action in her book takes place primarily in the halls of Congress.

Sanders sets up her study as a counter to the "corporate liberal" school. Progressive reform came not from scheming big businessmen, Sanders argues, but from politically mobilized farmers in the South and

West. She supports this contention by dividing the United States into three regional blocks: an industrial "core" based primarily in the Northeast, a "periphery" in the South and West, and several "diverse" localities mostly in the Midwest. She then tallies the roll call votes in Congress on several key reforms, including the Hepburn Act (1906), the Underwood Tariff (1913), the Federal Reserve Act (1913), the Clayton Antitrust Act (1914), and the Smith-Lever Act (1914). Congressmen from the "periphery" seeking "to establish public control over a rampaging capitalism," Sanders maintains, convinced enough representatives from "diverse" regions—especially Democrats closely allied with labor unions—to enact their "agrarian statist agenda" (pp. 3–4). Farmer radicalism not only did not end with the downfall of Populism, she concludes, it had an "afterlife" that extended well into the twentieth century. "The Progressive reforms of 1909–1917 had their roots in programs advocated by a long succession of Grangers, Anti-monopolists, Greenbackers, Farmers' Alliance members, Populists, and Farmers' Unionists" (pp. 149, 159).

Historians will find Sanders's approach to her subject rather curious. Her regional classifications, based on manufacturing output per capita, not only seem arbitrary; they also are derived from the 1919 census, which Sanders herself admits may "reflect an intensification of industrial production for World War I" (p. 21). She also does not distinguish between regional and party loyalties. By the early twentieth century, the Democratic Party was almost entirely confined to the "periphery." How do we know, then, what motivated members of Congress on a given measure? Did "periphery" representatives vote against the Payne-Adrich Tariff of 1909, for example, because they were from the countryside or because they were Democrats? Given the strong party loyalties of the time, the latter seems quite likely. Moreover, Sanders's voting analysis, the core of her argument, constitutes only a small portion of her book. The rest consists of long summaries of the era's political battles, based almost exclusively on secondary sources, which historians will find familiar and, in some cases, outdated. These summaries, it should also be noted, are organized topically (around specific political movements and case studies of the legislative process) so that each chapter circles back to the beginning and runs through to the end. This not only makes for considerable repetition, but it also leaves it up to the reader to determine how everything fits together.

Sanders's conclusions do not seem to move forward either. In fact, her argument bears a striking resemblance to that of John D. Hicks, Solon J. Buck, and other Progressive historians, who saw much continuity between Populism and early twentieth-century liberalism. No one will deny that specific ideas among the platforms and resolutions of agrarian radicals were later enacted into law. But historians have long given up the notion that Progressive reform was linked in any meaningful way to a producer movement that was

rooted not in the modern industrial order but in the political and cultural values of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the language of the Omaha Platform cannot be heard in, say, the Federal Reserve Act. Farmers and workers may well have shaped Progressive legislation more than historians have realized. But a convincing argument would require a scope and a research strategy that extends beyond the *Congressional Record*.

This book continues a recent fascination among political scientists for this period. Those unfamiliar with the historical literature will find the book useful. Others, however, will find that its title does not live up to its intrigue.

DAVID VAUGHT
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JIM BISSETT. *Agrarian Socialism in America: Marx, Jefferson, and Jesus in the Oklahoma Countryside, 1904–1920*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 249. \$33.95.

In this book, Jim Bissett tells the story of Oklahoma's highly active Socialist Party. He traces the party from its roots in the Indianhoma Farmer's Union (1904–1907) to its demise in the immediate aftermath of World War I. Bissett characterizes Oklahoma's Socialist Party as one of the most successful in the United States and lauds the innovations in doctrine that made socialism appealing to Oklahoma's largely agricultural population.

Bissett follows Oklahoma's Socialist Party from beginning to end. In 1904, the problems of the region's sharecropping cotton farmers led to the development of the Indianhoma Farmer's Union. Although the union was eventually coopted by the large landowners it was designed to overcome, the union gave small farmers invaluable experience in agricultural organization. Members channeled this experience into the creation of Oklahoma's Socialist Party, an organization that chiefly represented small cotton farmers, and sharecroppers in particular. The Socialists made strong inroads into state politics, winning election to more than fifty state and local offices between 1904 and 1913. Twenty-five counties recorded a Socialist vote in excess of twenty-five percent from 1912 to 1914. These achievements were all the more remarkable because of the attempts of the established political parties to disable the Socialists politically.

The challenge that the Socialists were not able to overcome was the patriotic fervor surrounding World War I. The antiwar stance of the Socialist Party led to various forms of official repression as well as mob action against some members. The result was that while 47,000 Oklahomans voted for the Socialist Party in 1916, only 7,000 did in 1918. By 1922, the party only had seventy-two dues-paying members.

Bissett is at his best in describing what made Oklahoma's Socialist Party unique. More orthodox brands of socialism would have had little appeal in the Oklahoma countryside. Oklahoma's Socialist leader-

ship modified party doctrines to fit local beliefs. In order to appeal to fundamentalist Christians, Socialist ministers, of whom there were many, characterized Jesus as a working-class hero and proponent of socialist values, going as far as to call him the "proletarian Jesus" (p. 89). Unlike other American Socialists, Oklahoma's also spoke out in favor of the ownership of private property, as long as it was farm land being held by the person living and working on it. They believed that the labor involved in working the land made farmers members of the working class and that the concentration of land ownership in the hands of large landowners, rather than individuals, was the root cause of agrarian poverty. Oklahoma's Socialists forged their own path, based on unique social, political, and economic positions.

This book is interesting, passionate, and highly readable. The author skillfully leads the reader through the complicated twists and turns of Socialism's precarious existence in early twentieth-century Oklahoma. Bissett's analysis, however, would be strengthened by a greater understanding of Oklahoma's dual agricultural identity. While eastern Oklahoma bore a great resemblance to the South, in terms of its land ownership and cropping patterns, western Oklahoma had much more in common with the Great Plains. Many in eastern Oklahoma raised cotton and did so by way of sharecropping. In western Oklahoma, farmers raised wheat, and tenancy often existed as a means of managing risk in a dry climate rather than as a sign of economic marginality. Oklahoma's Socialists exhibited much less strength in western than eastern Oklahoma, but Bissett fails to explore this issue adequately. The book is really much more the story of eastern Oklahoma than Oklahoma as a whole.

A related issue is Bissett's incomplete description of the economic situation in which Oklahoma's population found itself at the turn of the century. He describes the population as severely impoverished, but he supports that assertion only with anecdotal evidence and statistics on tenancy levels. Tenancy levels, however, have significantly different meanings in different agricultural environments. Although Bissett very successfully describes the political world in which Oklahoma's farmers lived, he is less successful in his discussion of the somewhat complicated agricultural economics of their state.

This is a carefully researched and passionately written book. It should find a ready audience among political, rural, and agricultural historians of the early twentieth century.

PAMELA RINEY-KEHRBERG
Iowa State University

JOHN WARFIELD SIMPSON. *Visions of Paradise: Glimpses of Our Landscape's Legacy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 387. \$35.00.

This book continues the efforts of environmental historians and cultural geographers to introduce the study of nature into the American experience. John Warfield Simpson strives to give his readers an appreciation of the landscape as it was shaped and manipulated by waves of Americans over a two hundred year period. Simpson looks less at land and more at people. The ideas of Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Henry David Thoreau, William Gilpin, John Wesley Powell, John Muir, Andrew Jackson Downing, Frederick Law Olmsted, and Aldo Leopold all provide entrees to understanding how human attitudes fashioned the American landscape. From the beginnings of the Republic to the continuing spread of suburbia, each generation has left its mark, depending on the values embraced and the technology available. Simpson believes that with the demise of the railroads and the introduction of the automobile, Americans concluded that the best of all places to live was the "Olmstedian" suburbia, "a middle ground, nestled safely between city and wilderness" (p. 313).

The American record with regard to landscape is not inspiring. According to Simpson, our forefathers were too wedded to private property concepts and the view that land is only a commodity. Seldom, it would seem, did Americans follow the example and ideas of Thoreau, Muir, or Leopold. Most followed their economic interests, brushing aside any aesthetic thoughts of landscape as earthly paradise to pursue profit from a seemingly endless resource. To tell this complex story is a huge task, and the author should be commended for his effort to make land policy and landscape evolution palatable to the general reader. Simpson's writing is seldom elegant, and yet it is often warm and thoughtful, enhanced by personal experiences. The book should reach a large audience.

Although most of this work focuses on altered landscapes, Simpson is, perhaps, best when writing of pristine ones. Yellowstone National Park provides the opportunity to present our changing definitions of wilderness. He explores the battle between utilitarian and aesthetic conservation, best illustrated in the bitter struggle over Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park and the Mineral King issue of the 1970s. The former represented a defeat for untouched landscapes. The latter proved a landmark victory, not only because Walt Disney Enterprises abandoned a ski resort project but because it gave Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas the opportunity to write a legal opinion defending "the rights of nature."

While there is much to praise in this book, it will not necessarily pass muster with historians. Simpson has done little primary research, and although his selected secondary sources, such as the works of Donald Worster, Roderick Nash, Richard White, and Kenneth Jackson all make important contributions, they do not represent the whole story. One senses that the author is merely skimming the surface of a rich theme. Good history, after all, is the result of accumulated knowledge, rethought and reworked. It seems quite incom-

prehensible that anyone could write on American land policy without using, or at least acknowledging, the work of Benjamin Hibbard, Everett Dick, Roy Robbins, Vernon Carstensen, or Marion Clawson. Perhaps more significant, there is no mention of Paul Gates's telling articles or his magisterial *History of Public Land Law Development* (1968). These historians did not use today's environmental language, yet their work provides the foundation for understanding the shaping of the American landscape. The result is that Simpson presents homesteading, for example, without sufficient context or historical explanation, and he fails even to mention such landscape-changing legislation as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Mining Law of 1872, and the Reclamation Act of 1902.

Occasional errors also undercut the authority of this work. For instance, Thoreau's quote "in Wildness is the preservation of the World" is transposed into "In Wilderness . . ." a significant semantic difference to those who study Thoreau (p. 137). Those who study the national parks will be dismayed to find Simpson repeating the "campfire myth" of the origins of Yellowstone National Park and the national park idea. In an endnote, he does acknowledge that the fireside story may "be as much legend as fact" (p. 356, n. 5), but that reference will be lost to most readers. Occasionally, examples appear without regard to context or era. Writing about the public domain debates of the 1780s, Simpson excerpts two paragraphs from a Charles Dickens novel (*Martin Chuzzlewit*) published in 1844 (p. 47). Why depend on Dickens's fictional account for an accurate portrayal of American homesteading and land policy?

The concluding chapter, "A Last Look," suggests that characteristics of dominion, individualism, commodity exploitation, and materialism explain American tendencies to "place little value on the land beyond its utilitarian and economic worth" (p. 345). Such a position invites debate, and many will argue that Americans are no more avaricious or grasping than other cultures or nations. We just had more to grasp and better technology to do it with, a variation of the "myth of superabundance" theory. Whether abundance, culture, or technology is the culprit is all part of ongoing debates that Simpson now joins.

This book provides the reader with a well-written summary of how Americans approached their newfound paradise. It is informed and inspired by contemporary environmental views. As such, Simpson is convinced that Americans saw this expansive continent as little more than "an inventory of resources awaiting exploitation" (p. 26). It is not an inspiring legacy, but it may be an accurate one.

ROBERT W. RIGHTER
Southern Methodist University

MARK FIEGE. *Irrigated Eden: The Making of an Agricultural Landscape in the American West*. Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental

Books.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 323. \$35.00.

This book begins with the observation that the relationship between nature and human society's alteration of nature is reciprocal: people change nature, and, in response, nature affects the way people live and work. This keen insight provides the starting point for Mark Fiege's investigation into the history of irrigated agriculture in Idaho.

While inspecting the Snake River valley, Fiege noticed that the complex system of canals, ditches, and conduits relied as much on the area's natural geography as it did on the imposition of technology and science upon the landscape. For example, what appeared to be a naturally occurring creek near the town of Buhl was in fact a part of the irrigation network. But this creek, though "a component of hydraulic technology," was not completely artificial (p. 5). Its path traced a "crease made in the land by geological forces" and as such was as much a part of the natural environment as the river whose diverted waters were carried by the creek to downstream farmers (p. 6). The convergence of nature and technology leads Fiege to think about the history of irrigation in a way that emphasizes nature's responsiveness to the alterations wrought by human society.

This perspective frames Fiege's inquiries into a series of topics integral to the history of the irrigated landscape in Idaho. He traces the plans for and construction of irrigation works from their origins in the late nineteenth century. By 1928, irrigators recognized that nature continually answered every artificial encroachment on the landscape. As one engineer put it, "Reclamation is something like housekeeping. It is never finished" (p. 41). Fiege extends this observation to the ultimately uncontrollable responses of vegetation, animals, and insects to the physical transformation of the land and water. The more humans sought to impose scientific order on nature, the more challenges—social as well as scientific—they created for themselves. Fiege carries this interpretation through a discussion of water law, focusing particularly on the Western innovation of the doctrine of prior appropriation. He concludes, not surprisingly, that the new legal doctrines did not eliminate conflict, in part because competing claims for water increased while the physical supply decreased.

Fiege then turns his attention to commercial agriculture, specifically to a comparison of the economies of scale of large-scale enterprise and smaller, family-owned and operated farms. Each generated alterations in the landscape and erected institutional structures to support their modes of production, particularly their use of labor. In keeping with recent contributions to the new rural history, Fiege merges these once antithetical categories of analysis, finding substantial points of physical, economic, and social intersection. In selling their crops, farmers encountered not the systematic, ordered process the Progressives promised

but an "inherently chaotic, hazardous" market (p. 145). Repeatedly, Fiege argues, farmers, irrigators, engineers, and reformers found the dream of an ordered, scientifically engineered, technological society dashed by the realities of the irrigated landscape. In his final chapter, Fiege analyzes the metaphors and myths that powered the irrigated landscape. Even in the contemporary imagination, disillusionment replaced the dream.

This book represents a remarkable accomplishment. It tells in great historical, scientific, and literary detail the history of irrigated agriculture in Idaho. Its central idea—that nature trumps the hubris of humanity—is a compelling moral for any story, but particularly for an environmental historian concerned, as is Fiege, with understanding human society's relationship to nature. Anyone interested in Idaho's experience with irrigation will have to begin here, and marvel, as did Fiege, at the complex relationship between people and the landscape.

It is because the book holds such promise for relating that history to the broader history of irrigation in the western United States that one wants to ask for more than the focused, richly detailed story Fiege tells. Readers familiar with the development of western water law, the well-charted history of irrigation and agriculture in California and Arizona, and the political, institutional, and legal problems surrounding those events will find much relevant material here, but Fiege has not made the conceptual or historical links explicit. Even in the abundant endnotes (for which the publisher really ought to have supplied page number call-outs), there is little annotated discussion of the literature to which this book is squarely related. This focused case study exhibits many of the merits of the genre. Yet for the scholar interested in the fundamental issues raised by the topic, the Idaho case study would be even more illuminating had the broader connections been laid out and the existing literature directly and critically engaged.

VICTORIA SAKER WOESTE
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BLAKE GUMPRECHT. *The Los Angeles River: Its Life, Death, and Possible Rebirth*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 369. \$39.95.

In this well-written and beautifully crafted study, Blake Gumprecht provides a close look at the evolution of one of America's most urban rivers, focusing on the impact the river has had on human activities and how, in turn, those activities have altered the stream. Slightly more than fifty miles long, the Los Angeles River is today little more than a concrete-line conduit for sewage water flowing to the sea, something of a joke to most nearby residents. Such was not always the case, Gumprecht shows. The river was essential to the development of the Los Angeles region. As Gumprecht observes, the history of the Los Angeles River is "a

frequently remarkable, sometimes bizarre, and ultimately tragic tale" of how the stream helped shape the development of Los Angeles and how the stream was remade in the image of the city (p. 7).

Gumprecht begins his story by examining the Los Angeles River during Native American, Spanish-Mexican, and early American days. The river, he demonstrates, greatly influenced settlement patterns of both the seminomadic Gabrielino Natives and Spanish newcomers to the Los Angeles Basin. The Spanish founded Los Angeles in 1781 as an agricultural settlement or *pueblo*, one of only three such settlements started in California during the late eighteenth century, near the stream. From the first, irrigation ditches called *zanjas* provided water for crops grown in nearby fields, making Los Angeles County, among other matters, the leading wine-making county in the United States in 1850. Oranges and other crops soon bolstered Los Angeles's image as a Garden of Eden, drawing additional settlers to the area. Gumprecht offers a detailed description of how the *zanja* irrigation system worked and how it was changed by the influx of Americans into the region.

If the Spanish began altering the Los Angeles River by withdrawing water for irrigation, Americans accelerated changes, and Gumprecht devotes the heart of his book to an exploration of that transformation. He shows how people moving into Los Angeles and nearby areas took more and more of the river's water for irrigation, domestic, and industrial uses, in effect draining the river dry. Both surface and subsurface water resources were increasingly exploited by the City of Los Angeles, which controlled most of the water rights to the stream, leaving the Los Angeles River a sickly trickle. Although sometimes overshadowed by Los Angeles's quest for water from the Owens River Valley and elsewhere, water from the Los Angeles River was, Gumprecht demonstrates, important to the explosive growth of Los Angeles in the twentieth century. However, the Los Angeles River was unpredictable. While nearly dry most of the time, it sometimes flooded, causing widespread destruction. In full spate, in fact, the flow of the Los Angeles River could equal that of the mighty Mississippi. In perhaps the most valuable chapters of this study, Gumprecht analyzes city, county, state, and federal government efforts to tame the Los Angeles River through flood-control programs. It was these efforts that left the river a concrete ditch. Anyone reading these chapters will recognize the need for flood-control work on the river, but readers will also learn how the actions of residents and their governments often unintentionally increased the severity of the floods. A final chapter looks at efforts, mainly since the 1970s, to exhume the Los Angeles River, to restore parts of the stream to something near their native state and, more generally, to revitalize the river. Never a sentimentalist, Gumprecht is properly skeptical about how far revitalization work is likely to proceed.

This is an important book. Thoroughly researched

and balanced in its findings, it is illustrated by well-chosen maps, diagrams, drawings, and photographs. Environmental, urban, and economic historians will find much to ponder in this study, which cuts across academic boundaries. Policy makers will also find it refreshing; interpretative without being overly judgmental, the book poses valuable questions to anyone trying to plan future urban developments. Herein lies my only criticism: Gumprecht might have provided more context for his analyses by offering more detailed comparisons to riverine developments elsewhere. That point aside, he has produced a fine study, well worth careful reading and consideration.

MANSEL G. BLACKFORD
Ohio State University

RICHARD LONGSTRETH. *The Drive-In, the Supermarket, and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles, 1914–1941*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 248. \$55.00.

This book is the second installment in a two-volume landmark study of Los Angeles as a site of innovation in the history of American commercial architecture in the twentieth century. In the first volume, *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920–1950* (1997), Richard Longstreth analyzed the regional dispersion that shifted retailing from the downtown core to the periphery. Now the author describes another facet of the centripetal process for which the region is renowned: the role of Los Angeles in the nationwide transformation in the character of shopping. Once shopping was characterized by pedestrian-centered activity in physical spaces where sales personnel dominated the exchanges necessary for transacting business. Today, shopping takes place in automobile-centered locations, and customers, not clerks, call the shots. Longstreth has a dual purpose in this work, which he realizes with effective writing style and impressive documentation. The first is to demonstrate the extent to which these fundamental changes in daily life in the United States occurred according to patterns established originally in Los Angeles. The second is to underscore the multiple causes that propelled the changes he describes.

Four chapters develop the major themes. The first, "Monkey-Wrench Merchandising," describes the origins and development of service stations. Filling stations, then larger and more sophisticated "super service stations" and automobile laundries, made room for automobiles on their premises. Customers could now drive right into the business for service rather than parking along the curb or leaving their cars in adjacent parking lots or garages. As major oil companies displaced independents, and as the Los Angeles model spread across the nation, an important shift took place in the source of land use transformation. Longstreth is blunt: "cars could effectively determine the setting and configuration of facilities catering to the motorist" (p. 31).

Chapters two and three describe, in roughly chronological order, the process by which the service station prototype influenced later developments in commercial architecture. "Stores the Road Passes Through" describes the drive-in markets of the 1920s, auto-centered establishments that provided a variety of retail products and whetted the appetite of Angelenos for one-stop shopping. "The Los Angeles Super" analyzes the spread of the supermarket concept pioneered by Ralphs in southern California to the nation at large, highlighting the role of later prototypes in Houston, New York, and New Jersey. By the end of the decade, the U.S. Census Bureau characterized the new "supers" as "the fastest-growing, basically sound development in the history of retail distribution" (p. 78). Spaciousness, ease of movement, and "nonhierarchical" interaction characterized the supermarket experience. Detailed descriptions and photographs attest to how customers could find shopping "so perceptually open and so liberating" (p. 92).

Chapter four, "Is Main Street Doomed?" brings architect Frank Lloyd Wright into the picture, reminding us that "he was among the first individuals to seize upon the notion that the drive-in market's layout could be expanded significantly to form a retail center that would replace commercial districts" (p. 130). Wright's "Broadacre City" design proposal is well known, as is its failure to find an audience in the 1930s. Less well known are the multiple, pragmatic decisions that Longstreth shows to have caused main street shops to lose out to suburban shopping centers. In this case, Washington, D.C., rather than Los Angeles produced the important prototype, Park and Shop, and the national capital became "the major proving ground for the drive-in neighborhood shopping center" (p. 138).

Like *City Center to Regional Mall*, this volume comprises a detailed work of original research embellished with 164 black and white illustrations and backed up with forty-four pages of citations and a bibliographic note. Longstreth's two volumes on Los Angeles should perhaps be read in connection with a volume such as Sir Peter Hall's *Cities in Civilization* (1998). Hall synthesizes a vast secondary literature to paint in broad strokes the story of global urbanization. Longstreth mines a rich vein of neglected primary sources to detail the decisions of company executives, real estate developers, building contractors, city planners, government officials, and, especially, automobile-loving Americans that effected the decentralized commercial built environment of today's metropolitan society.

WILLIAM ISSEL

San Francisco State University

RUTH OLDENZIEL. *Making Technology Masculine: Men, Women and Modern Machines in America, 1870-1945*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Distributed by University of Michigan Press. 1999. Pp. 271. \$24.95.

In this unusual study, Ruth Oldenziel explores the origins of the identification of technology with men and masculinity. Using postmodern language and analytical tools, Oldenziel focuses on the development of the hardware of technology—from tools to machines—and the advocates of technology—from such writers as Thorstein Veblen to the new professional class of engineers. Referring to "engineers and machines" as the "markers of modern manliness" (p. 119), she demonstrates the systematic exclusion of women from what she regards as the glorification, indeed adulation, of technology in twentieth-century America.

Oldenziel ably challenges the notion of technology as men's "natural domain" (p. 10) and its attendant popular association that celebrates "men's love affair with technology" (p. 9). By pointing out the many women who were both important advocates and participants in the making of new technologies, she clearly shows, as have other scholars, that the "masculine mystique" of technology is precisely that—a relatively recent invention in myth making. She further details the process that enabled the emergence of technology as a separate entity, or, as she suggests, in playing on computer search language, a "keyword of American culture" (p. 15). Critical to that process, according to Oldenziel, were engineers: "the foot soldiers of industrial capitalism [who] came to monopolize the term and practice of technology" (p. 16). And "in the course of a century," she concludes, "technology had been turned into a product, engineers into producers, and women and workers into consumers who were mere onlookers of the technical enterprise" (pp. 49-50).

This book presents a complex portrait of certain very fundamental issues about gender and the construction of our historical past. Oldenziel is to be applauded for the boldness of her approach, and she deserves special recognition for her use of a variety of sources to unravel the complex connections among class, race, and gender in the professionalization of engineers. She is especially convincing when she details the status and class anxieties that figured prominently among white male engineers as they sought professional distinction and identity. She also creatively points out how women have been, and continue to be, simultaneously omitted from our past and singled out as exceptional—as "firsts" even when that was not the case. She notes, for example, that Kate Gleason (1866-1933) "was touted to be the first woman engineer even though many lesser known women were also working in the field at the time" (p. 10). Such exaggeration of the few succeeded in ensuring that women's presence in the fields of science and technology would always seem unusual.

Finally, Oldenziel emphasizes the importance of language, simply stating, "words matter" (p. 15). But it is here that Oldenziel's work is much less satisfying and in need of more precision and clarity, much better editing, and the elimination of certain impenetrable, jargon-laden phrases. There are a few major gaffes, such as in the caption under the photograph of male Ford engineers "listening in wrapped [sic] attention"

to a woman engineer (p. 188). Surely better editing would have caught such grammatical mistakes as "these was all to no avail" (p. 168) or the repetition of sentences and the overuse of words and phrases. On pages 96 and 100, she repeats the same sentence, describing the "'failed' autobiographies" of the engineers she is examining. Moreover, despite the repetition of key points, the separate chapters do not form a coherent whole. Even within several chapters the focus is not altogether clear; the brief epilogue is itself a case in point. Her reference to engineers as the "shock troops" of capitalism (p. 51) and a few pages later calling the sons of southern plantation owners the "shock troops of the New South after the Civil War" (p. 54) require more explanation. Stylistic lapses compound the lack of clarity in certain chapters. And when she declares that "management engineers and engineering educators appropriated not only the mental labor of skilled workers, but also metaphorically their bodies" (p. 61), one has to wonder if there's not a better way to explain this important finding of her study.

JO ANN E. ARGERSINGER
Southern Illinois University

JO ANN E. ARGERSINGER. *Making the Amalgamated: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Baltimore Clothing Industry, 1899–1939*. (Studies in Industry and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 229. \$39.95.

This superbly researched study offers an inclusive interpretative model that combines labor history and business history with institutional, social, and cultural analysis. Focusing primarily on Baltimore and its men's garment industry in the period before 1920, Jo Ann E. Argersinger explores the turbulent establishment of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union (AGW). This struggle involved not only organizing the primarily female workforce in Baltimore's small sweatshops and large modern factories but also battling the skilled male workers well entrenched in crafts locals affiliated with the United Garment Workers' Union (AFL) and the radical immigrants in the Industrial Workers of the World. Linking the development of the Baltimore AGW to its other organizational centers in Chicago, New York City, Rochester, and other northeastern cities, this book expertly widens the scope of community studies, following regional lines of market competition in clothing manufacturing as well as the national politics of the AGW unions. This geographic reach is complemented by the inclusion of gender, cultural, ethnic, and racial analysis as well as state regulation, suffrage campaigns, and labor reform politics.

At the peak of its organizational power after 1914, the AGW followed two policies that contributed to its ultimate decline in the 1920s and 1930s. Industrial democracy through the sharing of power on the shop floor proved most successful in the large modern

factories of Baltimore. The AGW leadership hoped that union shops would enable the large producers to become so efficient and profitable to both worker and manufacturer that the smaller shops, denigrated as sweatshops and difficult to organize into the union, would be driven from local production of men's garments. Secondly, despite the crucial activism of female leaders among the majority of working women in Baltimore's clothing shops, the Eastern European Jewish leaders of the AGW refused to share authority in any meaningful way either with women workers or with other groups of ethnic workers, most importantly Italian and Lithuanian immigrant men. Ironically, the AGW leaders worked more effectively with some German Jewish Baltimore manufacturers who shared their religious culture than with many in the rank-and-file. The results were irreparable divisions and persistent working-class anti-Semitism.

In her best chapter, Argersinger reveals how both the few women leaders and female garment workers remained "forgotten," regardless of their insistent demands for equality and access to skills or their vital but often sacrificial contributions to the AGW on the picketline and in the union hall. The male leadership and the rank and file men could see little advantage for union organization in woman suffrage or female-controlled locals, while middle-class women in Baltimore formed a hardy political coalition with their sisters in the garment factories and sweatshops and abandoned the Women's Trade Union League over the issue of protective legislation.

When the post-World War I depression and Red Scare began to undermine Baltimore's clothiers and place the AGW leaders on the defensive against anti-Semitic red-baiting, the larger manufacturers faced fatal competition from resurgent, non-union shops, some organized by former unionist Lithuanians and most employing unorganized, young female workers. As a result, the national AGW leaders, led by Sidney Hillman, began to regard weakly organized Baltimore as a competitive menace to Chicago and New York City and tried to reserve the manufacturing of popular, cheap men's clothing during the Great Depression for its union shops against the lowest wage standards of Baltimore's small shops.

This study does not always live up to its model of analysis. Both gender and ethnic tensions remain undeveloped. Why did the AGW leaders stubbornly refuse to share power despite their vision of an inclusive industrial democracy? What was the cultural and political basis of religious conflict in the community, which produced anti-Semitism among clothing workers? The changing meanings of the ideologies of working-class manhood and womanhood remain underanalyzed and therefore appear simply predictable. Important interpretative contributions, such as Argersinger's challenge to the work of Susan Glenn on Jewish immigrant women, are buried in the endnotes, while Elizabeth Cohen's cultural and political analysis of Chicago in the 1920s and 1930s did not inspire

emulation for Baltimore. The difficulties in executing such a sophisticated interpretative model should not however obscure its remarkable vision and promise.

MARY H. BLEWETT
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DANIEL J. WALKOWITZ. *Working with Class: Social Workers and the Politics of Middle-Class Identity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xxiv, 413. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

There is no better way to burrow into the consciousness of social workers than through their inner and outer struggles with issues of social class and race. Daniel J. Walkowitz has gone straight to the heart of the matter in this mischievously titled study of the struggle of social workers as a group to locate themselves vis-à-vis their clients and their society over the last hundred years. Significantly, Walkowitz weaves gender into his narrative as a thread that cannot be untangled without destroying the entire analytic fabric.

Walkowitz begins at the turn of the century, when social workers defined themselves by setting up training programs and credentialing pathways. In his meaty treatment of the settlement house movement, a critical locus of the social work profession's infancy, he could mine the documents and monographs to even greater effect in recording the settlement workers' own ambivalence about their professional status, particularly in relation to their "neighbors" (the consumers of their services). Should they remain the amateurs of their nineteenth-century roots, or should they pursue the increasingly attractive route of specialized training in specific skills, both administrative and analytical?

Progressive-era debates over the professional status and political stance of social workers were both enhanced and deflected by the pressures of the Great War, which created more opportunities for politically "neutral" and medically oriented social work and strengthened the credibility of business-minded patrons of social work who desired a more compliant, efficient, and utilitarian approach than they had observed among prewar social workers based in the settlements and other agencies. Walkowitz locates the hardening of the trend toward professionalization in the 1920s, when, as he writes, "social workers endeavored to wrap themselves in the mantle of the professional middle class by embracing the ideology and trappings of professionalism" (p. 57). Casework offered the fundamental structure for the social worker's daily labor. Although its roots lay many decades earlier, most historians agree that the primacy of casework by the 1920s reflected social work's political circumstances, characterized by social workers' dependence on salaries paid by public and private agencies shaped by conservative ideologies. Walkowitz refines and extends his observations in an ambitious interwoven analysis of race, ethnicity, and class as they unsettled the worlds of the social workers.

While he studies examples from several cities up through the 1920s, from the 1930s on he focuses most of his attention on social work politics and the social work profession in New York City. Of course, New York City is not typical of the national social work environment in several important ways, including New York's position as a world center of Jewish population and culture, particularly after the Holocaust, and New York's primacy (with Chicago) as a northern center of African-American society and culture. New York's radical movements in social work unionization and welfare rights were outstanding in their scope and particular in the ethnic profile of their participants. Still, Walkowitz documents social work Rank-and-File movements, dominated by Jewish social workers, in a number of cities, suggesting that New York was special but not isolated or different. And his analysis of the racial culture of post-World War II social work is sound across United States cities.

One of the most effective facets of Walkowitz's analysis is his examination of shifting popular and self-images of social workers through cartoons, novels, magazine and journal articles, and even conference skits. These documents allow him to probe the evolving meanings of middle-class status for social workers and the dilemmas entailed by the conflicts between professionalization and identification with the political and economic struggles of the people identified as their clients, or from groups similar to their clients' demographic groups. This struggle, mainly ideological in the years before the Great War, when many social workers were amateurs or volunteers supported by private resources, became more poignant from the 1920s on as professional social workers tried to make ends meet on the salaries the market offered them. How was one to buy books, attend cultural events, and maintain a middle-class household on a salary even lower than that of a public school teacher: in fact, in some cases even lower than the minimum level for moderate living established by the workers' own agencies? Walkowitz offers an especially rich analysis of the dilemmas of middle-classness complicated by race and gender in the social work profession in the 1950s. Women social workers' status and image were furthered compromised—in their own agencies and not just in the public eye—by the domestic ideology of the 1950s. At the same time, the upward mobility of male social workers into supervision or administration and the tendency of agencies to promote them over their female colleagues were enhanced by the cultural consensus about male dominance at home and in the workplace, as well as by generalized perceptions that the direct service functions of social work were feminine in nature.

Walkowitz tackles the political context of social work on both the national and local stages. In the 1930s, the Rank-and-File movement, "influential beyond its numbers," provided social workers with a class perspective and a social alternative to the "personal, medical model that had come to dominate social work

by the end of the 1920s" (p. 126). As workers in the public sector began to unionize in the 1930s, social workers drew on ample dissatisfaction with chaotic and hostile working conditions and often intolerable work rules. Like other public workers, welfare workers faced particular opprobrium in talking union: governments and administrations lumped them in with public safety workers and, in hospital settings, with medical workers in forfeiting a right to organize and strike because such actions might threaten public health and safety. Nonetheless, the union movement within such powerful philanthropic organizations as the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York and the Jewish Board of Guardians grew rapidly through the 1930s and won significant contract victories. Walkowitz tells this phase of the story, and the subsequent World War II and Cold War phases, with conscientious attention to the multiple competing pressures on social workers, including low salaries, the added pressures of wartime work, and postwar anticommunist crusades.

Walkowitz's skill at handling the complicated details of social work politics continues in his analysis of the 1960s, which saw a reemergence of union activism in the midst of a troubling rift between African-American and Jewish groups in New York and within public and private agencies. Walkowitz sensitively probes this often-discussed trend of the 1960s and 1970s, which came to play such a large part in the internal culture of social work in those decades. In a lengthy epilogue, he summarizes one outcome of this divisiveness combined with welfare budget-cutting measures: the uncomfortable stratification of social service employees into senior social workers—mainly white, with master's degrees (MSWs)—and "human service workers" or "aides"—often black or Hispanic women with or without bachelor's degrees. In the epilogue, Walkowitz also reviews the trend, continuing into the 1980s, among MSWs to enter private practice as psychotherapists rather than work in agencies as caseworkers. He accurately reports the broad lines of debate over this trend within the profession and quite perceptively notes that lowering therapy fees for indigent clients, while fulfilling the social mission of social work, also returns the worker to "a different set of roots: the voluntarist pro bono labor of privileged women" (p. 299).

To this and the myriad other discomfiting issues in modern social work history, Walkowitz brings a bold analytic sensibility. His book should become one of the touchstone monographs on American social work.

MINA J. CARSON
Oregon State University

MELISSA DABAKIS. *Visualizing Labor in American Sculpture: Monuments, Manliness, and the Work Ethic, 1880–1935*. (Cambridge Studies in American Visual Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 296. \$80.00.

In contrast to two-dimensional media, sculptural representations of American labor are poorly known. In a series of thematic studies, Melissa Dabakis analyzes sculptors' interpretations of the transformation of labor, class conflict, and workers' organization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The studies cover public monuments sponsored mostly by labor organizations and employers to memorialize major labor conflicts, capitalists, and labor unions; academic sculpture; the reception of the work of Belgian sculptor Constantin Meunier by middle-class Americans during the Progressive era; the emergence of a private market for small-scale sculpture, including representations of labor, after 1900; and work by sculptors sympathetic to both radical organizations and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) between 1900 and 1935. The studies of early twentieth-century sculpture are particularly impressive. Through contemporary photographs, exhibition reviews, and surviving plaster models, Dabakis retrieves a largely lost body of work that both labor and art historians have inexcusably forgotten.

Using an interdisciplinary approach, Dabakis interprets meaning by relating artistic precedents and iconography to labor's social and cultural context. She pays equal attention to the works' content, to patrons who commissioned and bought sculptures, and to audiences who understood the works in ways that often deviated from the patrons' and sculptors' intentions. The studies focus on three major themes: the mediating symbolism of the work ethic in eliding the degradation of labor under capitalism, class contestation of representations of workers, and the gendered symbolism of labor, especially the association of labor with masculinity through representations of the male body. Because so much sculpture was commissioned for public monuments, the contest over meaning is also examined through contrasts between attempts to fix public memory in stone or bronze and viewers' private remembrances.

Dabakis advances several important arguments. Pacans to a skilled craftsmanship made obsolete by capitalist industry and realistic details on classical forms finessed social disruptions by suggesting that the past was still relevant to the present. Sculptors reinterpreted the work ethic of independent artisans to allay elite fears and restore a sense of security and stability during the social upheavals of the late nineteenth century. The skilled worker, declining in reality, became the primary figure of labor in sculpture. Sculptors created allegories of social harmony between skilled workers and capitalists, along with monuments to strikebreaking police and genre studies of impoverished workers that appealed to the middle class's sentimentality. The work ethic, repression, and moderate reform answered social unrest. By the 1920s, the AFL also adopted heroic skilled workers to represent its brand of craft unionism. Symbolically, labor was overwhelmingly masculine and European: muscular, physically perfect nudes with only aprons or loincloths

to satisfy public morality. Dabakis contends that this visual focus on the male body was fraught with tension; privileged audiences needed classical form and allegory and allusions to the class and racial hierarchy to veil the works' erotic subtext. Women, in contrast, were literally and figuratively subordinated as wives and mothers or excluded altogether.

Sculpture commissioned and publicized by workers' organizations challenged these representations. The Haymarket Monument not only countered Chicago's Police Monument with workers' own public memory; it symbolically challenged the outstretched arm of police repression with the accusing gesture of a heroic female avenger. Alternative views of labor proliferated with the market for small-scale sculpture after 1900. Sculptors, for the first time including a woman, broadened subjects to include unskilled workers and women as workers, developed modernist forms to define workers in relation to their labor rather than their bodies, and replaced classicizing allegory with inclusive industrial symbols of class solidarity inspired by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and John Reed clubs.

Dabakis's argument could have been strengthened especially in two areas. First, the culture of the workers' movement was a more important direct visual influence on labor sculpture. For example, the female figure on the Haymarket Monument was closely related to, if not modeled after, classical personifications of May Day and the eight-hour movement prominent in European, especially German, socialism and familiar to Chicago's immigrant workers, including the sculptor. Second, the interpretation of Douglas Tilden's Mechanics Fountain in San Francisco in terms of anxieties over race and homoeroticism relies unconvincingly on jargon-laden theorizing about class, race, gender, and sexuality and on tenuous visual associations. It lacks the other chapters' solid written and art historical documentation and attention to labor context.

Despite these criticisms, this book offers a sophisticated combination of social and art historical analysis. It rediscovers an important though overlooked subject of interest to students of art, labor, gender, and cultural history.

LARRY PETERSON
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NANCY TOMES. *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 351. \$29.95.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Louis Pasteur, Robert Koch, and their disciples demonstrated that specific bacteria caused many infectious diseases. But how did their "germ theory" affect the lives of ordinary Americans?

In his 1926 classic *Microbe Hunters*, Paul De Kruif promoted the view that the bacteriologists' discoveries had conquered dreaded epidemics, produced the era's unprecedented extension of life expectancy, and re-

placed vague health superstitions with modern medical science. In reply, revisionist accounts such as Richard Brown's *Rockefeller Medicine Men: Medicine and Capitalism in America* (1979) turned the heroic story upside down. The revisionists blamed the germ theory for diverting medicine away from the real socioeconomic roots of disease; for reinforcing industrial capitalism, racism, and moralistic victim-blaming; and for promoting the power of male technical experts over formerly female domains from family life to social reform. Although they differed on whether it was a triumph or a disaster, both interpretations portrayed bacteriology as a dramatic revolution, the key paradigm shift in medical history.

Nancy Tomes rejects both these interpretations, offering instead a less-polarized and more nuanced story in which there were continuities as well as changes, multiple possibilities rather than predetermined outcomes, and a shifting balance sheet of gains and losses. Many aspects of prebacterial health reform continued into the germ era, such as the persistent linkage of public health with domestic hygiene. In addition, Tomes rediscovers surprising past alternatives, including feminist, antiracist, and pro-labor interpretations of germs. Although she concludes that reductionist technical concepts did eventually dominate public health by the late 1920s, she argues that this narrow view of germs was the result, not the cause, of middle-class social power and was not inevitable. Finally, Tomes insists that bacteriologically based preventive techniques did save many lives, although her book does not actually present the complex data from recent demographic studies that demonstrate this benefit.

The book depicts mass culture not simply as a medium through which doctors' discoveries were communicated to a passive populace but as the site of an active dialogue between science and society. In one especially telling new finding, Tomes documents that American popular magazines covered bacteriology earlier and more fully than American medical journals did. The intersection of bacteriology, consumerism, and industrialism likewise shaped many of the defining artifacts of modern American culture, from disposable packaging to white porcelain toilet fixtures. Germ theory both affected and reflected American ambivalence over the growth of an impersonal national marketplace, in which it was no longer possible for people to know who had handled their food or their money. Her interpretation is informed by recent cultural theory but resists both biological and cultural reductionism.

Tomes devotes particular attention to several specific places where the meanings of germ theory were constructed, including home economics courses; trains, hotels, and restaurants; consumer advertising; and National Tuberculosis Association propaganda. Most of these cultural sites were either female-dominated or gender neutral. This book does not say much about how germs were represented in such male-

dominated institutions as the military, high school science labs, or athletics. Other topics that could have been developed more include the social and political views of those who opposed bacteriological medicine, the differences between bacteriology and earlier concepts of contagion, and the contested meanings of such related terms as "public health," "prevention," and "hygiene."

Tomes writes clear and engaging prose, although better editing could have eliminated the many annoying word repetitions and could have added needed cross-references when individuals are mentioned in more than one chapter. A few technical errors, such as a misleading definition of "infectious" (p. 20) and an apparent conflation of malaria with yellow fever (p. 238) may raise unnecessary concerns among some specialists and should have been caught by an informed editor as well. The four-page index is too skimpy for such a broad-ranging book and does not include several key figures discussed by name in the text.

This book is a major summary of and contribution to recent work in the history of public health, building on and synthesizing a generation of more specialized monographs. It thus provides a valuable starting place for general historians of modern America to explore the relation between mass culture and medical science and likely will be the book to assign on health and medicine in undergraduate courses on twentieth-century American cultural history.

MARTIN S. PERNICK
University of Michigan

SANDRA OPDYCKE. *No One Was Turned Away: The Role of Public Hospitals in New York City since 1900*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 244. \$29.95.

For more than two centuries, public hospitals have served as New York's safety net. Sandra Opdycke argues convincingly that the history of these vital public institutions is especially important now as the city is debating whether and in what form the public hospital system should be maintained. She focuses primarily on Bellevue Hospital, one of the largest public hospitals and one of the oldest, tracing its lineage to the establishment of the New York Almshouse Infirmary, founded in 1736. For revealing contrast, the author selects a leading voluntary hospital of comparable size, New York Hospital, founded in 1791. Incorporating the perspectives of the trustees, the patients, and the medical and nursing staffs of Bellevue and New York Hospitals, her analysis is set against the backdrop of municipal politics, national and local economic conditions, demographic shifts, health insurance plans, unionization, and changing medical practice.

Four basic characteristics define public institutions: inclusiveness, continuity, responsiveness, and visibility. Voluntary hospitals can and do share these character-

istics to some extent, although as private institutions they are not defined by them. Despite considerable similarity between public and private hospitals during the nineteenth century, the two types of institution evolved through the twentieth century into very different institutions. Private hospitals emphasized to a greater extent their research and educational roles, foregoing a commitment to inclusiveness. Poor and charity patients were admitted to meet instructional needs or to assist overcrowded public hospitals, with the government reimbursing the hospital for costs; these patients no longer represented part of the voluntary hospitals' formal civic obligation. By the 1930s and the 1940s, private hospitals accepted charity cases as they could, but there was the continued expectation that public hospitals would care for all who came. Calls for accountability in the 1950s and 1960s forced Bellevue to respond to demands from its local community, medical schools, the city administration, the media, and the like. Private hospitals were largely immune from these pressures. By the final decades of the twentieth century, the public hospital system was fighting for its life, insisting on the city's responsibility to care for the poor and the insured. Opdycke sees the late twentieth-century emphasis on individualism and individual responsibility eroding support for previously popular governmental activities, such as public hospitals. In her analysis, we tend to focus on the problems encountered with public programs, rather than the benefits we as individuals and as a society have accrued from them.

Throughout the book, Opdycke underscores the "unequal balance of responsibility" (p. 71). Most notably, private hospitals in the twentieth century identified the advancement of science as their service to the community, which could and did lead to restricted patient admissions. Public hospitals, however, remained available for all, no matter how stretched the institutions' facilities. Thus, during the influenza pandemic of 1918-1919, Bellevue became so overcrowded that the hospital trustees debated closing its doors. They did not; moreover, ambulances from other besieged hospitals continued to discharge their patients to Bellevue. Little changed over the century. By 1989, while at New York Hospital, there were about forty-five AIDS patients (patients considered appropriate for the hospital's special AIDS program, funded with government and private grants), Bellevue treated about 150 AIDS patients a day, admitting all who appeared for care.

A short review can only suggest the breadth and depth of Opdycke's perceptive analysis of this important area of public policy. This book should be widely read and discussed by scholars of urban history, medical history, and public policy. Most importantly, it should be required reading for public analysts. In an era of increasing calls for the privatization of public services, Opdycke has given us a riveting, well-written history that speaks to the present and future as well as

our past. This fascinating, cogently argued book deserves a broad popular readership.

RIMA D. APPLE
University of Wisconsin,
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CASSANDRA TATE. *Cigarette Wars: The Triumph of "The Little White Slaver."* New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 204. \$29.95.

Cassandra Tate's examination of the "triumph" of cigarette use in early twentieth-century America is a compelling work of cultural history. Better than any other scholar to date, she highlights the frenzied attempts by various reformers to rid society of what Henry Ford once termed the "little white slaver" through prohibition schemes before and after World War I. Readers who think the current antitobacco impulse is simply a modern reaction to health reports emanating from the federal government since 1964 and that tobacco usage has been passively accepted since the introduction of mass-produced cigarettes, may be surprised to learn of a concerted effort to prohibit cigarettes beginning in the 1890s that had some remarkable results.

The bulk of Tate's research concerns the efforts of the little-known Anti-Cigarette League, formed in 1899, which undertook a campaign to outlaw cigarettes in a way that parallels the better-known work of the temperance movement. In fact, as Tate demonstrates, many leading members of this league were also members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Their methods and motivations were also similar. Crusaders such as Lucy Page Gaston, Frances Willard, and David Starr Jordan saw cigarette consumption as a moral outrage that destroyed the minds and reputations of millions of "cigarette fiends" and even suggested the unheard-of notion that cigarettes were unhealthy and, perhaps, deadly.

Their efforts were not a complete failure. In the early 1900s, the reformers were successful in getting fifteen states to prohibit cigarettes, while twenty-two others (including such tobacco states as Kentucky and North Carolina) considered similar legislation. Tate argues that with the outset of World War I, the cultural tide shifted, and popular notions about cigarette consumption suddenly vanished. Groups such as the Salvation Army, for example, reversed course from their earlier antitobacco campaigns and distributed smokes to addicted soldiers, all in the patriotic spirit of aiding the war effort. The state laws prohibiting cigarettes were quickly repealed. The earlier assumption that women who smoked were somehow morally depraved also quickly disappeared by the 1920s.

Arguments that cigarettes could kill, Tate shows, were overwhelmed in the cultural avalanche of the 1920s. An advertising blitz launched by the major tobacco manufacturers actually highlighted the beneficial effects of cigarettes on one's health. In time, cigarette ads claimed that various brands soothed

throats and calmed nerves, and leading medical journals even contained cigarette ads asserting that smoking was beneficial. Health claims concerning the ill effects of cigarettes were summarily dismissed. The prescient arguments of the Anti-Cigarette League, Tate writes, were "not a failure of rhetoric or determination, but of timing" (p. 6).

Tate's evidence is strongest in bringing the heretofore ignored anti-cigarette movement to the fore. Underlying her analysis is the proposition that cigarette usage has more to do with culture than physiology. Tate could have provided more persuasive evidence, however, to explain the dramatic cultural shift that produced a society that soon celebrated smoking among all classes and races and both genders. In a relatively short time, cigarettes went from a position of considerable stigma to one of common acceptance throughout American culture. While an indignant Teddy Roosevelt may have strongly denied tobacco usage, it is hard to imagine Franklin D. Roosevelt without his famous cigarette holder. The cultural stamp of approval was best displayed in virtually every Hollywood movie from the 1920s to the 1960s, where smoking was seen as an instrument of sex appeal and rebelliousness.

Although Tate claims her study provides "lessons" for modern advocates of public health, current reformers may not find clear and convincing evidence in this book of any such lessons. It is, nonetheless, a fine study that raises a number of questions on the relative merits of addiction, mass advertising, and cultural assimilation and casts a provocative light on a little-known reform effort. Tate has produced a well-researched and very readable book that will interest a large number of American cultural and social historians.

TRACY CAMPBELL
University of Kentucky

WILLIAM HOWLAND KENNEY. *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890-1945.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 258. \$45.00.

When Thomas A. Edison created his first machine to mechanically reproduce the human voice, the famous inventor amplified more than mere sound; he accelerated complex cultural processes identified as "circles of resonance" by historian William Howland Kenney. In this comprehensive study, Kenney provides a long-overdue update of histories such as Roland Gelatt's *The Fabulous Phonograph: From Tin Foil to High Fidelity* (1955). Kenney traces multiple factors in the evolution of recorded music from 1890 to 1945, including technological innovation, the establishment of a fledgling musical entertainment industry, and the impact of influential performers, audiences, and entrepreneurs.

Structuring his interpretation around three interrelated processes, Kenney asks innovative theoretical questions about how recorded music helped construct

individual and collective memory in the first half of the twentieth century. He first examines decisions shaping the "political economy" of recordings (p. xvi). Using a 1921 Edison company survey of consumer satisfaction, as well as trade publications from several decades, Kenney provides new insights concerning market projections of phonograph and recording manufacturers. Second, Kenney considers how audiences shaped this economic exchange. Finally, he reads for content, or the musical "inscriptions" of selected recordings (p. xvi). These later two areas of analysis are difficult to document, but Kenney assembles a persuasive wealth of material from performers, producers, and entrepreneurs describing the likely relationships between producers and consumers. Kenney argues that successful recordings combined "authenticity" (sounds the audiences recognized) with "inauthentic" or surprising new sounds (p. xvi). Kenney draws on the work of theorists like Maurice Halbwachs and Walter Ong to establish the relevance of aural repetition to collective memory. This framework allows Kenney to situate recordings broadly in American life.

Chronologically, Kenney begins with industry's efforts to shift the market for phonograph recordings beyond a "phonograph parlor" amusement attractive to the "Coney Island Crowd" to more genteel, middle-class audiences. Subsequent chapters consider specific markets for "ethnic," "foreign," African-American, and "hillbilly" music as well as turning points in the industry's organization. Identifying numerous instances where the impact of phonograph recordings proved unexpected, contradictory, and unplanned, Kenney challenges the views of cultural critics like Theodor Adorno, who saw the phonograph as a monolithic standardizing influence in American popular culture. Even though recording companies dictated the reception of music through advertising and categorization, Americans negotiated the purpose and meaning of phonograph recordings within the social and economic contexts in which they lived. For example, early record companies sought to distance the phonograph from its origins in working-class amusements by promoting the genteel sounds of opera. Yet middle-class women, one of the audiences targeted for the "domesticating" influences of refined music, resisted the socially prescribed role of passive listeners by seeking work outside the home as phonograph demonstrators in department stores.

Kenney considers mixed cues provided in the visual representation of the phonograph through his nuanced reading of "Nipper," the famous listening dog icon used by the Victor Corporation (pp. 54–55). He examines how "ethnic" music markets validated vernacular music and gave immigrant performers new opportunities, yet reinforced negative stereotypes and contributed to Americanization. Similarly, phonograph recordings helped create a national audience for blues and jazz, but African-American entrepreneurs like Mayo Williams remained marginalized within the industry.

The wealth of information Kenney reports sometimes overshadows his thesis regarding collective memory. By profiling influential individuals in each chapter, however, the reader can track the complex synthesis Kenney narrates. Pioneer record producer Ralph Peer's role in manipulating the copyright laws to cheat Jimmie Rodgers out of his royalties illustrates how "hillbillies" from the rural south became a "colonial prototype" for "empires of sound" centered in the north (p. 157). We learn of Jack Kapp's crucial role in reorienting the industry away from a narrowly imagined elite audience toward a "popular music memory machine industry," thus helping the recording industry weather the Depression (p. 165).

The phonograph came of age in the first half of the twentieth century, when mechanically reproduced sound became a widespread cultural phenomenon. "The conservative function of recording technology forever reintroduced the sounds of modern America's past into its present," according to Kenney, yet "record buyers made what they wished of those sound tracings, filling their lives with a creative flow of memories that helped to define how it felt to be American" (p. 201). Kenney recognizes that the recording industry limited not only musical choices but the meanings behind memories signaled by familiar songs. Still, he soundly demonstrates that Americans used recordings both to preserve the past and to claim a modern future.

KATHY J. OGREN

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JEFF SMITH. *The Sounds of Commerce: Marketing Popular Film Music*. (Film and Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 288. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$16.50.

The study of film music is an especially challenging field of historical inquiry, one that requires an analysis of two sectors of the entertainment business and two art forms. The literature on film music is limited, and questions about the importance of music in film history abound. Jeff Smith's book is thus a welcome addition to literature, offering as it does new perspectives on this neglected subject. The book speaks primarily to matters of culture and critical analysis, but readers more concerned with the business side of film and music will find it valuable, too.

This book begins by explaining that Hollywood has long relied on popular music to market films. The author takes a close look at the structure and form of contemporary film music. In doing so, he shows how "pop scores" of the past few decades differ from their Romantic, Baroque, and classical predecessors. The scores, Smith explains, have a unique sense of rhythm and melody and a tonal distinctiveness. Smith's analysis reflects a good understanding of music itself. He has written the book for a broad audience, however, and readers without musical training should find it enlightening.

Early chapters place film scoring within the larger

commercial setting. In the late 1950s, as film companies tried to capitalize on rising record sales, they formed record subsidiaries of their own. The subsidiaries promoted movie soundtracks as well as movies themselves, but Hollywood's initial foray into the record business provided mixed results. Some music subsidiaries proved successful, while others fell by the wayside. In the late 1960s, large conglomerates like Gulf and Western and Transamerica purchased several film and record companies and thus further integrated the entertainment business. In a competitive environment, structural interactions between corporate subsidiaries grew more and more important. By the 1970s, Hollywood was manufacturing and marketing film music according to a particular formula that integrated famous composers, new musical styles, and carefully coordinated sales campaigns.

The book's middle chapters "read" films in new ways. Drawing from the field of cultural studies, Smith looks at three composers who left indelible marks on the history of film music: Henry Mancini, John Barrymore, and Ennio Morricone. Each composer helped Hollywood underline and accent traits and emotions of movie characters and storylines. To illustrate this point, Smith analyzes "Breakfast at Tiffany's," "Goldfinger," and "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly." Musical passages in these and other movies, he shows, have intertextual functions and multiple levels of meaning.

The book returns to matters of commerce in its closing chapters. In the 1970s, and 1980s, changing musical trends and new business conditions altered the nature of film scoring and film marketing. Smith offers several fascinating case studies to discuss the changing business environment. He looks at *Saturday Night Fever* (1977), for example, to explore the growing importance of soundtrack albums in Hollywood. He studies *Flashdance* (1983) to evaluate the rise of music videos in film marketing and *Pretty Woman* (1990) to discuss the potential value of movie theme songs. By the 1990s, Smith concludes, Hollywood relied on a wider range of "cross-promotional practices" than ever.

This book is an important contribution to film studies but not a masterpiece in historical literature. In shifting back and forth from history to critical analysis, Smith occasionally leaves readers without a strong sense of direction and searching for main arguments. A more glaring weakness of the book is Smith's failure to draw on major works in the field of business and economic history; he even neglects important literature in the history of marketing. The author's research is impressive, but he could have placed film scoring and film marketing within a broader economic framework that reflects general patterns of American business development. Such criticism aside, this book needs to be read, for it shows that music played a

greater role in film history than previously recognized.

JAMES P. KRAFT

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Manoa

WILLIAM B. SCOTT and PETER M. RUTKOFF. *New York Modern: The Arts and the City*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 448. \$39.95.

William B. Scott and Peter M. Rutkoff have taken on an almost impossible task: namely, to chronicle the sweep of modern art and culture in New York from the early 1900s to the mid-1970s. With a sprawling cast of characters ranging from Walt Whitman and Charles Ives to James Baldwin and Miles Davis, from Orson Welles and Clifford Odets to Elia Kazan and Arthur Miller, and from Alfred Stieglitz and Man Ray to Clement Greenberg and Diane Arbus, it is not surprising that the authors often strain to impose analytical coherence on their project. This is not a thesis-driven book in the manner of Rem Koolhaas's *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* (1978) or Ann Douglas's *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s* (1995), although it is not lacking in an argument. The authors' contribution lies in channeling a tidal wave of twentieth-century cultural history into a single volume that will prove indispensable to students and other readers who are encountering the subject for the first time. It is easy to imagine many an advanced seminar starting with this book as its foundational text.

Scott and Rutkoff have organized the history of "New York Modern" around a recurring tension between an academicist modernism that took its cues from European art and a more inclusive American aesthetic open to social realism and vernacular forms of urban expression. That tension was most evident in the rivalry during the 1930s between the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) and the Whitney Museum of American Art, which is the subject of one of the book's best chapters. As MOMA consolidated a modernist formalism in its 1932 "International Style Architecture" and 1936 "Cubism and Abstract Art" shows, the Whitney promoted a diverse group of Left-leaning artists who longed to depict the chaotic street culture of Depression-era New York. The authors drive home the theme of a conflict between "a prescriptive modernism" and an art of "volatile, uncontrollable complexity" (p. 378) in the book's last chapter, which beautifully contrasts the construction of Lincoln Center in the mid-1960s with Mimi Gross and Red Grooms's "Ruckus Manhattan" installation in 1975. "Ruckus Manhattan" was downtown's jeer at the new White City at Lincoln Center, with Gross's "Miss Liberty" represented as an African-American woman in a short skirt and platform shoes.

"Ruckus Manhattan" makes for a truly inspired conclusion to this story, but it is also a reminder of how little the book engages the now vast critical and theoretical literature on modernism, the avant garde, and postmodernism. One reading of that literature is

that New York Modern was more complexly configured than the authors acknowledge. Stuart Davis is the rare figure in this book who managed to combine modernist form, Left politics, and an openness to the urban vernacular, yet the authors would hold that he was typical of a much larger strain of New York culture. But was "Ruckus Manhattan" a defiant work in the Whitman-Davis tradition of New York Modern or an early signal of an ascendant postmodernism? Were Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray populist advocates of cultural inclusiveness or members of a coterie avant-garde movement that lived on in the careers of John Cage and Merce Cunningham? Scott and Rutkoff devote few pages to the fraught relationship in the New York imagination between "mass culture," "popular culture," and cultural modernism—a curious omission, given how much ink New Yorkers spilled on that topic over the course of the twentieth century. The exiled Frankfurt School theorists, their colleagues Robert S. Lynd and C. Wright Mills, and most of the *Partisan Review* and *politics* critics are absent from this study. Likewise, the authors pass over artists who deliberately confounded the "high-low" cultural divide. Joseph Cornell and Andy Warhol are not important to this book; nor are Groucho Marx, Frank Sinatra, and Bob Dylan, who helped define the modern from the other side of that divide. With such a full dance card, it may be uncharitable to suggest that the authors take on additional partners; still, one finds it hard to imagine how these absent moderns might be included in this particular study.

Scott and Rutkoff are alert to the ethnic complexities of what Harold Rosenberg once called "the tradition of the new." One of the most admirable features of their book is its detailed treatment of Harlem as a site for artistic experimentation. The chapters on the "second" Harlem Renaissance and the Bebop revolution are especially powerful. The brilliance of Harlem's cultural movements notwithstanding, Euro-American modernism remained a remarkably insular affair. And well into the 1970s, New York Modern—whether black or white—ignored immigrants from Latin America or Asia: "Felipe and Julia Rodriguez remained outside its frame," the authors conclude, "victims of its success. It never represented everything, nor did it speak for everyone" (p. 379). This evocative closing raises another question for future scholars, namely how "New York" became synonymous with "American culture" during the twentieth century, ignoring not only the expressive cultures of immigrants from places other than Europe but also those of people inhabiting other regions of the United States. New York no longer seems synonymous with "America"; its famed cosmopolitanism stands accused of provincialism. Now that New York Modern is history, now that much of Manhattan is indistinguishable from the New York New York Hotel and Casino at Las

Vegas, the time is ripe for a study that puts this subject in its place.

CASEY N. BLAKE
Columbia University

EDWIN J. PERKINS. *Wall Street to Main Street: Charles Merrill and Middle-Class Investors*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 283. \$29.95.

When writing about business, historians often have to decide whether to focus on the firm or the boss. Edwin J. Perkins, a specialist on the history of American banking and finance, focuses on the boss, Charles Merrill, to personalize the history of Merrill Lynch, the securities firm he cofounded in 1914. The resulting book does a very good job explaining brokerage and investment banking operations and how government regulation affected them. Although by no means uncritical of Merrill and his firm, Perkins clearly admires both for their innovations and inclusive policies. Merrill was a Wall Street outsider who succeeded in promoting the "people's capitalism," stock ownership for a broad-based middle class, sometimes by challenging the practices of the tight, conservative old guard of syndicate managers at the New York Stock Exchange.

This combination of biography and history of a business firm was made possible because Perkins received cooperation from Merrill's family and unrestricted access to Merrill Lynch's historical files. Those sources yielded personal interviews and some of Merrill's correspondence but apparently not Merrill Lynch analyses of stocks or many important internal documents. What Perkins did find especially useful in Merrill Lynch's files were five unpublished authorized manuscripts: three biographies of Merrill, one of his partner Edmund Lynch, and one history of the firm. In an appendix, Perkins provides a telling critique of those manuscripts for too often failing to frame their narratives in the most appropriate context; without recognizing the broad significance of their subjects, they gave priority to anecdotes over substance and analysis. He aims to rectify those deficiencies in his account, but he does not fully succeed.

Too often this book pursues anecdotes, particularly about Merrill's personal life, at the expense of systematic analysis of his public career; too often it offers generalizations without evidence or relevant comparisons. Perkins asserts, for example, that Merrill Lynch's research department performed well, but the book provides no meaningful evidence to support that conclusion. Perkins asserts that the firm operated internally as a meritocracy, applying no political or religious test for employment and basing promotion strictly on performance, but the book provides no evidence that he conducted a systematic analysis of its personnel practices. He does provide a frank discussion of Merrill's preference for Amherst College alumni, his prejudice regarding blacks, and the limited prospects for women, but he rightly says that prejudices were common on Wall Street. Missing are comparisons of

Merrill Lynch with the practices and performance of other Wall Street firms.

The book's account of Merrill's career during the 1930s is its weakest part. In 1930, the Merrill Lynch partnership sold its brokerage business and Merrill left Wall Street, returning only in 1940 to head what became Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Beane (later Smith). During the intervening decade, he concentrated on the management of the California retail grocery chain, Safeway Stores, that he had cofounded in 1926. Merrill mainly looked after the finance side of that business, expanding Safeway through mergers and acquisitions. But he also involved himself in the more mundane efforts to boost grocery sales, in 1932 creating the *Family Circle Magazine*. And thereafter his family fortune rested on ownership of Safeway, with his son-in-law serving for several years as the chief executive officer.

In trying to tell the story of Merrill's involvement with retail chain stores, Perkins is clearly on less familiar grounds than he is with the securities business. Both errors and omissions result. He asserts, for example, that Montgomery Ward first opened retail stores only after World War II, but the secondary sources he uses show that it opened ten stores in 1926 and by 1940 operated 648 stores. He explains how Safeway successfully challenged a California anti-chain store tax referendum in 1935, but he does not mention that in 1930 an anti-chain store referendum that aimed at restoring California's Sunday closing law also went down to defeat. Nor does he discuss how Safeway Stores dealt with the new retail clerks and the teamsters' unions. Had he used trade journals and other journalistic accounts to supplement what he found in the Merrill Lynch archives, Perkins could have provided a fuller and better-balanced account.

These weaknesses detract from what otherwise is a lively biography of an important American businessman.

ALAN R. RAUCHER
Wayne State University

LINDA PRZYBYSZEWSKI. *The Republic According to John Marshall Harlan*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 286. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

The post-World War II civil rights movement renewed interest in John Marshall Harlan, then a relatively obscure Supreme Court justice who had served at the turn of the twentieth century. The subject of recent biographies by Loren P. Beth and Tinsley E. Yarbrough, Harlan has been catapulted to almost iconic status because of his famous dissenting opinions in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and other race cases. These earlier studies are neatly complemented by Linda Przybyszewski's thoughtful analysis of the personal experiences and thought patterns that shaped Harlan's work on the Supreme Court. Rather than writing a conventional judicial biography, the author examines

the traditions and beliefs that provided the formative intellectual background for Harlan's jurisprudence.

Przybyszewski traces Harlan's understanding of the law to a cluster of inherited values. His family fostered notions of paternalism that required self-restraint and protection of the weak. A deep religious faith helped to determine his formalistic view of law and influenced his belief that American history was the unfolding of a divine plan. Harlan's strong sense of nationalism, forged in the Civil War, would lead him to urge a broad reading of the Reconstruction amendments. Przybyszewski argues that Harlan's fidelity to these foundational principles could lead to perceived inconsistencies in decisions in particular cases. In so doing, she seeks to dispel the common notion that Harlan was an enigma.

The author appropriately gives considerable attention to unraveling Harlan's racial attitudes. She points out that Harlan valued a sense of Anglo-Saxon racial identity and, by modern standards, adhered to a restricted definition of civil rights. The author characterizes Harlan as "a romantic racialist" (p. 86) who believed that all people shared a pride of race. He seemingly drew a line between equal access to public accommodations and the more intimate associations of education and marriage. It is also revealing that Harlan displayed little sympathy for the plight of Chinese immigrants in the late nineteenth century. In short, Harlan did not always exemplify the color-blind standard on which much of his modern reputation rests. Still, Przybyszewski is sympathetic to her subject's handling of civil rights issues. She points out that Harlan was among the few white leaders of his generation to wrestle with the fact of racial barriers rather than take them for granted.

Przybyszewski also probes Harlan's major decisions dealing with property rights and economic liberty. Here as well there are strains of Harlan's thinking that pulled in different directions. Suggesting his Whiggish political background, Harlan was a commercial nationalist who defended interstate commerce from the forces of localism. Thus, he felt that municipal bond repudiations undermined the national market and he fashioned the rule in *Smyth v. Ames* (1898) to protect railroads from the imposition of confiscatory state rates. Strongly influenced by the antislavery ideology of free labor, he insisted that the freedom to make contracts was an essential component of liberty protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. At the same time, Harlan had a high regard for state police power to safeguard the public health, safety, and morals, and upheld numerous regulatory measures.

Harlan had a hard time coming to terms with the new industrial economy based on large-scale enterprise. He yielded to simplistic theories of corruption and monopoly power and expressed fear that concentrated wealth threatened republican government. This concern explains Harlan's defense of the income tax in *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan and Trust* (1895) and his literal application of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to

any restraints of trade. Casting Harlan's ideas in a favorable light, Przybyszewski too readily accepts the dark view of the Supreme Court developed by the Progressives. For example, it is not clear that public reaction to the income tax decision was largely negative. Moreover, Harlan's majority opinion in *State of Minnesota v. Northern Securities* (1904) has been widely condemned by railroad historians and has not stood the test of time.

Aside from a few caveats, this fine book provides a balanced and judicious study of Harlan's jurisprudence. Drawing on overlooked sources, Przybyszewski offers fresh insights into the norms that influenced Harlan's work as a judge. She rightly stresses the difficulty of labeling Harlan in terms of modern categories. Additionally, she asks penetrating questions about the usefulness of the tests commonly applied to determine judicial greatness. This work should be of interest to a wide range of scholars.

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EDWARD A. PURCELL, JR. *Brandeis and the Progressive Constitution: Erie, the Judicial Power, and the Politics of the Federal Courts in Twentieth-Century America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. P. x, 417. \$37.50.

The Supreme Court's decision in *Erie Railroad Co. v. Tompkins* (1938) is overtly about an arcane rule concerning choice of law. Speaking through Justice Louis D. Brandeis, the Supreme Court held that in a case where federal jurisdiction is based on diversity of citizenship—that is, the parties are from different states—the federal judge is obliged to follow the law of the state in which the court sits rather than relying on the “general” law or any separate body of rules that might be followed in the federal courts.

The subject matter of Edward A. Purcell, Jr.'s book is hard to state. The *Erie* doctrine is often eclipsed by other issues of federal judicial and legislative power, and the book jumps back and forth between subjects. Chapter one explores the growing gap between electoral politics and the Supreme Court in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, with the Court seeking to preserve a vision of the government that was really a relic of the Civil War era. The Court did so by inserting itself more forcefully into constitutional adjudication and other areas. One area was substantive due process and *Lochner v. New York* (1905), which attempted to hold off the rise of the regulatory and administrative state. Another was the use of diversity jurisdiction to make essentially federal common law rules. As chapter two elaborates, an important architect of this conception of federal judicial supremacy was Justice David J. Brewer, who became the late nineteenth-century champion of *Swift v. Tyson* (1842), the decision that *Erie* overruled. Under *Swift*, the federal courts in diversity cases followed the “general law,” which was mainly another way of saying that they

were free to make their own law, with the Supreme Court as final overseer.

Chapter three then details the height of this strong concept of federal judicial power, the federal courts' expansive use of the labor injunction as a union-busting device, and the failed Progressive campaign to neutralize the Supreme Court by abolishing diversity jurisdiction. Chapters four through seven elaborate the turning of the tide. Chapter four is mainly the story of the *Erie* case and Justice Brandeis's successful efforts not merely to overrule *Swift* but also to obtain a majority of signatures for the proposition that the Constitution itself mandated the *Erie* result. As Purcell notes, there is no clause in the Constitution itself that requires federal judges to follow state law in diversity cases. Further, Brandeis's reading was probably inconsistent with the intent of the Constitution's framers. Purcell provides a fascinating, thoroughly documented look at the give and take that went on among Supreme Court justices all too aware of the political and jurisprudential importance of their decision. Their concerns were underscored by the fact that the Supreme Court had not even been asked to overrule *Swift*, and the issue was not briefed. Suffice it to say that Justice Brandeis's persuasive powers were extraordinary. Chapter five is a brief biography of Brandeis and an examination of his overall judicial and political philosophy. Chapter six examines his legal technique and chapter seven his constitutional jurisprudence.

The final chapters (eight through eleven) explore a collection of topics that can be said to characterize the post-*Erie* Supreme Court, which at least until the 1950s was far more restrained, very much more deferential to federal legislative power, and more inclined to let the states make and apply their own law.

One omission in this book seems serious. Purcell says virtually nothing about commercial law: in particular, the law of commercial contracts and commercial paper. *Erie* was a tort case in which the legal issue was whether a railroad was responsible for an injury that resulted from its own likely negligence to a tort victim who had been trespassing on railroad property. Such legal rules typically involve the interests of a single state. In contrast, Justice Joseph Story's decision in *Swift* concerned a dispute over the negotiability of commercial paper, where a uniform national rule was much more critical. It was almost surely not a coincidence that drafting of the Uniform Commercial Code began soon after *Erie* was decided, and expanded federal regulation of business and corporate law was already underway. In the 1840s, the Supreme Court had faced a developing national economy and the rise of interstate markets. *Swift* at that time performed the all-important function of giving merchants an alternative “national” set of legal rules in situations where the disputing parties were from different states.

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TRACY CAMPBELL. *Short of the Glory: The Fall and Redemption of Edward F. Prichard, Jr.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1998. Pp. x, 334. \$27.50.

From Jerold S. Auerbach to Peter H. Irons, scholars have explored the extraordinary influence of lawyers upon both the failures and successes of Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration. The New Deal was, in Auerbach's memorable phrase, "a lawyer's deal." These accounts, however, have often stressed the critical roles played by an older generation of attorneys, mostly middle-aged, who arrived in Washington to command the administration's legal legions: Felix Frankfurter, Jerome Frank, Robert H. Jackson, Benjamin V. Cohen, Thomas G. "Tommy the Cork" Corcoran, John Burns, Oscar Cox, Wayne Coy, and Charles "Whispering Charlie" Fahy.

Considerably less attention has been paid to a younger generation of attorneys who joined the New Deal around 1935 and who made their greatest contributions in the years leading up to Pearl Harbor. They were, however, an equally impressive cohort, including: Joe Rauh, the premier civil rights and civil liberties attorney; Philip Graham, later publisher of the *Washington Post*; Paul Freund, the distinguished law professor; Telford Taylor, chief prosecutor at Nuremberg; Abe Feller, future general counsel to the United Nations; and Adrian "Butch" Fisher, later dean of the Georgetown Law School. And even less has been written about the post-New Deal careers of this extraordinary group of young lawyers.

Tracy Campbell has taken a giant step toward filling this void with his superb biography of the man regarded by many of his contemporaries as the most gifted of all the younger men who served FDR: Edward F. Prichard, Jr., known affectionately as "Prich," a Kentuckian of huge physical girth and imposing intellectual and political skills but also a person of equally large defects of character that nearly destroyed his life. Based on an impressive range of both written and oral sources, this is a work to rival Sophocles in its tragic arc of one man's rise to the heights of his profession, his fall from grace and his eventual rehabilitation through self-awareness and suffering. Campbell also offers us a splendid account of policy making in wartime Washington, tantalizing glimpses into the personal relationships among the younger generation of New Deal lawyers, and a fascinating tour through the maze of personalities who shaped and misshaped the political culture of Kentucky from the Great Depression through the early 1980s.

Except among New Deal cognoscenti, Prichard is hardly a household name, but in addition to legendary academic careers at Princeton and the Harvard Law School, his resume and achievements included: a term as law clerk to Justice Frankfurter at the Supreme Court, where he attempted to prevent the disaster of the latter's opinion in the first flag-salute case; key legal posts at the War Production Board, the Office of

Production Management, the Office of Economic Stabilization, and the Office of War Mobilization, where he devised and implemented some of the nation's most pivotal economic decisions during the final months of World War II, including the overall food subsidy program; serving as assistant secretary of the Treasury under Fred Vinson, where he drafted Senator Robert Wagner's version of what eventually became the Employment Act of 1945; acting as formal and informal adviser to many of Kentucky's most powerful postwar politicians, including Earle Clements, Bert Combs, and Ned Breathitt; and being the architect of the Prichard Committee Report that formed the basis for the Kentucky Education Reform Act of 1990, one of the most sweeping revisions of public education in the nation.

But from the fall of 1948 until the late 1970s, Prichard's life was turned upside down as a result of his failed attempt to stuff ballot boxes with 254 fraudulent votes in Bourbon County, Kentucky, during a U.S. Senate primary election. This foolish caper resulted, Campbell reasons, not from cold-blooded political calculation but from the desire to win a bet in a political culture that had long tolerated such practices. Convicted largely on the testimony of a state judge to whom he had confessed his guilt in another bungled attempt to manipulate the jurist's role in a potential state prosecution, Prichard served eighteen months in federal prison and nearly thirty more years in a nightmare of the legal, financial and personal consequences that followed. Campbell also makes a convincing case that Prichard became the victim of a Federal Bureau of Investigation vendetta orchestrated by J. Edgar Hoover, whose agency had come under criticism for not pursuing far more serious claims of election fraud involving President Harry S. Truman's old political allies in Kansas City and Lyndon Johnson's dubious victory in the Texas Senatorial primary of 1948.

Until disaster struck, Prichard had never grown up, "favored and indulged beyond all reason," as he put it, by fortune and especially friends, who often covered up for his fecklessness. In the end, he was saved by his own epiphany, his wife Lucy, and those friends, especially the old and young New Dealers like Corcoran, Graham, and Rauh.

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EDWIN AMENTA. *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy.* (Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 343. \$39.50.

Edwin Amenta offers a provocative and sophisticated interpretation of New Deal social policy that led the United States, on the eve of World War II, to pledge more of its national product to social spending than any other major industrial nation. Moreover, he shows

that the United States became a world leader in public social spending on the basis of work and relief, not social insurance. By emphasizing the importance of work and relief policy as the core of New Deal social policy, Amenta challenges much of the conventional wisdom about New Deal history and the origins of the modern American welfare state.

In developing his argument, he employs institutional political theory holding that the enduring institutional characteristics of political systems and political parties are fundamental in influencing the social policy. He argues that, during the 1930s, a "reform-oriented" regime was established through the election of a Democratic president and a Democrat-controlled legislature. Supported by a wide array of groups, the New Deal was able to increase social expenditures for work and relief programs. Nonetheless, the New Deal did not develop a comprehensive welfare system, Amenta posits, because of political opposition that came from the "underdemocratized" South and the patronage-dominated political machines in the Midwest and certain northeastern states that opposed further expansion of the welfare state.

Amenta maintains that America's first welfare reform came following the Democratic sweep of Congress in the 1934 midterm elections. With a Democrat-controlled Congress, Franklin D. Roosevelt found support for the establishment of a public employment program through the Works Progress Administration (WPA). As Amenta observes, this public employment program took priority in Congress over the Social Security Act. The WPA provided direct federal control over state projects, unlike the Social Security Act that was administered by the states, mostly through means-tested Old Age Assistance and Aid to Dependent Children. As a consequence, Amenta maintains that Old Age Insurance initially was at the margins of the Social Security Act and found little resonance in Congress.

Amenta concludes that the formation of an American work and relief policy cannot be attributed to the economic crisis of the Depression. The Great Depression had an "indirect impact on the character of U.S. public social provision," but "there is no necessary connection between economic crisis and permanent public spending reform" (p. 95). For example, he poses the view that the social emergency of the Depression might have been addressed solely by temporary relief funds provided to the states and localities. Essential to understanding the unique character of New Deal social policy was the particular alignment of a Democrat president and the strong presence in Congress of agrarian and non-patronage party Democrats and third-party representatives. Added to this support for increased social spending were social movements: organized labor, Huey Long's Share Our Wealth movement, and the Townsend movement, all of which had "significant, but limited" influence (p. 108).

Amenta sees work and relief policy being consolidated during the 1937-1939 period. Although Roose-

velt experienced a number of political defeats, these failures did not necessarily lead to a political stalemate with respect to new social legislation and institutional reform. Indeed, the administration reaffirmed its commitment to its works programs, and the Social Security system was strengthened for the "unemployable." The demise of federal work and relief programs came only in the 1940s, with the resurgence of the Republican Party and organized business interests.

Amenta offers a bold, innovative recasting of New Deal social policy. Some historians will take exception to his reading of northern political machines by suggesting that these machines facilitated the entry into politics of previously inarticulate minorities, especially blacks, in the North. Furthermore, while various groups—blacks, ethno-religious minorities, farmers, blue-collar workers—had their interests better represented than ever during the New Deal, those interests and aspirations were in the direction of government benefits for themselves, not necessarily a comprehensive welfare state. Amenta's institutional political model will also be challenged by those historians who emphasize the importance of social movements, class alignments, and race and gender in shaping social policy. Finally, others might complain that the institutional model does not provide enough room for the role of political beliefs and cultural beliefs within the American polity, especially its strong antistatist traditions found in grassroots conservatism, corporate associationalism, southern regionalism, and classical liberalism. Nonetheless, whatever criticisms are made of this study, Amenta has produced an important book that is well argued, multilayered, and intellectually exciting.

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KENNETH J. HEINEMAN. *A Catholic New Deal: Religion and Reform in Depression Pittsburgh*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 287. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.50.

American Catholicism has always been a haven for the working class. In fact, the vast majority of Catholic bishops and priests in this country have come from working-class homes and knew well how hard it could be to feed, clothe, and shelter a large family. It was logical, therefore, that the Catholic Church in this country would champion programs to improve the working conditions of its flock. At no time did the church face a greater challenge in this effort than during the Great Depression. A third of the nation was out of work and millions of these workers were Catholic. What did the church do to relieve the suffering? In this impressive new study, Kenneth J. Heineman reports on what the church did in Pittsburgh, a city dominated by big steel and ethnic Catholicism.

Heineman carefully discerns the religious roots of labor activism in Pittsburgh. Indeed, he presents a

persuasive case that no steel workers union would have been possible without the work of determined Catholic priests such as James Cox, Carl Hensler, and Charles Owen Rice, among others. With the quiet support of Bishop Hugh Boyle, these priests challenged industrial leaders to follow the call of the great papal encyclicals, *The Condition of Labor* (1891) and *After Forty Years* (1931).

After an overview of the ethnic and religious landscape of Pittsburgh on the eve of the Great Depression, Heineman concentrates on Cox, the dynamic and idealistic social activist who led a pilgrimage of the unemployed to Washington to meet with President Herbert Hoover. Although Cox was attacked as an irresponsible demagogue, he became something of a role model for a group of young priests that included Hensler and Rice. It was, in fact, Rice who would succeed Cox as the moral voice of Pittsburgh labor activism. Writing in the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, Rice argued for a stronger partnership between religion and politics. "Without religion," he concluded, "every attempt at reform is doomed to failure" (p. 43).

Rice and his brother priests worked on a multitude of efforts to unionize Pittsburgh industries. They actively supported the Steel Worker's Organizing Committee and set up the Catholic Radical Alliance to train workers for social action. They joined the picket lines at the H. J. Heinz Company and at Loose Wiles Biscuit Company, which attracted national attention to their cause. These priests also supported the Catholic Worker movement and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and were vociferous in their attacks on Communist influences in the labor movement. Some of their time also was devoted to the repudiation of the notorious radio priest, Charles Coughlin, and to the church's defense against charges of anti-Semitism.

The alliance of Catholicism, labor, and politics was most evident in the elections of 1940. Not only did Franklin D. Roosevelt win a third term as president of the United States with substantial Catholic support, but a devout Catholic named Philip Murray was elected president of the CIO. "Murray's election to the CIO presidency," notes Heineman, "paved the way for other Catholics to help shape national and economic policies" (p. 194).

The era of labor activism in Pittsburgh came to an end as the United States entered World War II. Labor, management, and clergy worked together to defeat the evil Nazi empire and later the specter of godless communism. After World War II, Catholic veterans returned home to their sweethearts and to school and moved out of the working class into the corporate suites. The deaths of Boyle and Cox in 1951 and Murray in 1952 symbolized the end of an era.

Heineman has written an excellent study of labor activism and a tonic for those who would argue that the church repressed the labor movement in the twentieth century. Indeed, that was not the case in Pittsburgh. The names of Cox, Hensler, Rice, Boyle,

and Murray belong on any monument to the union movement. In Heineman's words, "Catholicism was the glue that held together a large percentage of the working class" (p. 210). As such, the church worked on both the national and the diocesan level to improve the conditions of all laborers.

TIMOTHY WALCH

Herbert Hoover Presidential Library

MICHAEL R. GREY. *New Deal Medicine: The Rural Health Programs of the Farm Security Administration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 238. \$42.50.

When most Americans (indeed most historians) think of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) they envision the haunting photographs that Walker Evans, Jack Delano, Russell Lee, and others took documenting the debilitating poverty in Depression-era rural America. Michael R. Grey provides the first historical inquiry into another important FSA program: rural health. Basing his study almost entirely on agency records, newspaper accounts, and oral histories (because of the virtual absence of secondary literature), Grey demonstrates that the FSA initiatives are not only critical to a full understanding of the New Deal but also fill important lacunae in the historical literature about the effort to achieve national health insurance in the twentieth century.

The Depression had a devastating effect on people's health, with those on relief being eighty-seven percent more likely to suffer from chronic disease than those who made \$3,000/year (p. 33). Concern for poor people's health reflected humanitarian values, but it also allowed local and county governments to use fear of contagion to justify attacks on the growing number of Hoovervilles that sprang up all across the United States. Out of these conditions, in 1933 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration intervened to provide medical care for the indigent, and in 1935 the Resettlement Administration expanded these efforts, concentrating its scant resources in the South. But it was the creation of the FSA in 1937 that made "medical care delivery a cardinal feature of the New Deal's rural rehabilitation program" (p. 47). Over the course of the next six years, the FSA established medical care cooperatives in one-third of the rural counties in the United States, primarily in the South and the West. The cooperatives were open to all FSA borrowers and their families and covered ordinary medical care, obstetrical care, emergency surgery, some hospitalizations, and ordinary drugs.

The success of the FSA in winning support from conservative legislators and an overwhelmingly conservative and individualistic medical community was based in part on the program's temporary and emergency nature and especially on the pronounced economic benefits it produced for the rural physicians whose livelihoods were suffering along with their indigent clients (p. 65). FSA leaders also involved

county and state medical societies in the planning process, ensuring that participation by clients and doctors was voluntary and allowing free choice of doctors. As a result, the American Medical Association (which was dominated by specialists in large cities), although distrustful of the federal government's intrusion into the medical care field, was forced to leave it to each county and state medical society to decide for itself whether to participate.

Although the medical cooperatives sought "to alter the pattern of physician practices . . . to improve the accessibility and quality of medical care in rural areas" (p. 15), it was the migrant health program that was the most innovative. Building on the Progressive-era model of health, it emphasized health education and prevention as well as treatment. The migrant health program also depended upon nurses (all women) and stretched professional boundaries to give them widespread clinical and administrative responsibility.

Although it is likely to remain the definitive history of these health programs for some time, Grey's study is marred by two weaknesses. First, there is virtually no discussion of the role of race. The FSA as a whole is considered one of the most progressive New Deal agencies in terms of its treatment of African Americans, yet Grey provides no analysis of the role of black physicians or clients in the health programs, which were heavily concentrated in the South. Second, Grey does an excellent job of analyzing "the venomous appropriation battles, declining budgets, hostile congressional inquiries, and highly personal attacks" (p. 132) that led to the dismantling of the program in 1946. But a comparative perspective here would have been useful. Why was the medical program able to grow (reaching its peak in 1942) when other New Deal projects were being phased out, such as the Department of Labor's Division of Labor Standards, the Federal Theater and Federal Arts Projects, or the Works Projects Administration? Even so, this is an important book for scholars of the New Deal and historians of medicine and public health.

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RICHARD W. STEELE. *Free Speech in the Good War*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. x, 309. \$45.00.

Can the federal government constitutionally place limits upon free speech, even during the crisis of war? If it can do so, what set of circumstances are necessary, and how stringent can these constraints on free expression be? These are important and enduring questions for Americans, and Richard W. Steele has set out to address the problem through a case study of the American government's actions toward dissidents during World War II. As Steele points out at the very beginning of the book, Franklin D. Roosevelt and his officials did not employ the deeply repressive measures that Woodrow Wilson's government had used during

World War I, at least in part because of a liberal backlash against the ways in which the Justice Department had abused its power. FDR and his three wartime attorneys general understood the necessity for the government to protect free speech, not destroy it. And yet, Steele argues, any comparison with the excesses of World War I neither explains nor excuses the repressive behavior that did take place during World War II. In this spirit, Steele sets out to explore the campaign against extremism and its consequences.

Steele's strategy is biographical; he examines the question of the limits placed on free speech in the United States, 1939–1945, through a discussion of FDR's three attorneys general: Frank Murphy in 1939; Robert Jackson, who served from early 1940 to mid-1941; and Francis Biddle, who took over from Jackson and remained in place through the end of the war. Looking at their records on a case-by-case basis, Steele assesses their accomplishments and failures and explores the extent to which government excesses were due to the attorneys general's own beliefs or the pressures mounted on the Justice Department by the president and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Murphy, Steele argues, addressed the problem of domestic fascism and communism as a civil libertarian. Nevertheless, under Murphy the FBI expanded its "police-state powers" (p. 17), in large measure because Murphy decided to conduct a campaign, albeit a largely symbolic one, against the left and the right. Murphy believed that the importance of civil liberties lay in its protection of African Americans and other persecuted minorities in the United States. Thus Murphy could in good conscience limit the free speech of communists and fascists without worrying about more abstract constitutional issues.

Jackson took office in January 1940, determined upon an approach to civil liberties that would be based on governmental self-restraint. Jackson disliked Murphy's campaign against un-Americanism and set about a course of tolerance for "loathsome libelers" (p. 57). He found, however, that imposing his views on the politically strong and independent J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI was difficult to do and perhaps politically unwise, especially as the Nazis pushed across northern Europe and into France in the winter and spring of 1940. Thus he made an alliance with Hoover, accepted the Alien Registration Act of 1940 and the Smith Act, and forged a series of compromises that saw him backing down from his initial principled position.

FDR chose Biddle as his final attorney general. Closer in ideals to Jackson than Murphy, Biddle also tried to act with restraint but found the politics of the FDR administration at times made moderation impossible. He had to work with Hoover, deal with an America finally at war, and follow the directions of the president. Thus Biddle found himself prosecuting Trotskyites and fascists, using postal censorship to suppress obnoxious expressions, and restraining African-American antiwar agitators.

Steele concludes that "what was lost through the pursuit of the obnoxious dissidents was not the value of their speech (it had little), but the opportunity for the wartime administration to endorse with more than mere rhetoric the principle of free expression" (p. 230). By narrowing his focus and excluding the president from all but occasional appearance, he has produced a neat, thorough, and very readable book. Whether or not he will convince his readers is another question. Steele introduces this study with the admission that the excesses of World War II were very different from those of World War I. Whether one ultimately decides that the glass was half full or half empty will probably depend more on the reader's politics and temperament than on any argument Steele makes in this well-balanced book.

HOLLY COWAN SHULMAN
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JERRY PURVIS SANSON. *Louisiana During World War II: Politics and Society, 1939–1945*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 323. \$60.00.

Given the widespread interest in how World War II affected American society, a state study such as this is a worthwhile venture. Yet Jerry Purvis Sanson's book represents something of a missed opportunity. Instead of focusing on how World War II affected Louisiana's economy and society, it devotes the first six chapters (fully half its length) to a narrative of state politics. Only the last five chapters deal with the specific impact of the war.

There are several drawbacks to this approach. One is that Sanson's political narrative, although quite detailed, does not add much that is new or unfamiliar to students of Louisiana history. Sanson recounts, clearly and competently, the story of the Louisiana scandals of 1939–1940 and their profound impact on the state's political life. He then provides a detailed analysis of the administration of reformist governor Sam H. Jones (1940–1944), followed by an account of the first two years of Governor Jimmie Davis's administration (1944–1948). Sanson plays close attention to state and congressional elections and attempts to make sense of the state's labyrinthine factional politics. However, readers who are familiar with the work of Allan P. Sindler, Perry H. Howard, Glen Jeansonne, Michael Kurtz, and Morgan Peoples will not find much to surprise them. Nor does Sanson supply new insights or reinterpret familiar material in an original way.

The weakness of the analysis constitutes another drawback to Sanson's focus on politics. Without a striking interpretation to seize the reader's attention, the narrative meanders aimlessly. Sanson draws on the notion that politics in Louisiana was characterized by "bifactionalism," with pro and anti-Longites battling it out at every election. Yet this interpretation (which goes back forty years or more) is undeveloped and, in light of the chronic instability of the alleged factions, unsatisfactory. Sanson expects the concept of bifac-

tionalism to provide clarity, but it often raises more questions than it answers. For example, the deep corruption, dictatorial power, and far-reaching influence of a local political boss such as Leander Perez cannot be satisfactorily explained in terms of pro-Longite loyalty. For the most part, however, Sanson takes the battle of ins versus outs at face value, only occasionally, as in the case of the outlandish 1943 "little war" that pitted Perez against Governor Jones, hinting at its superficiality and irrelevance. But instead of delving more deeply into such a clash—which saw Jones mobilizing the State Guard in order to oust the sheriff of Plaquemines Parish—Sanson explains it merely as another expression of bifactionalism. In the absence of either a strong interpretation of state politics or illuminating comparisons with other southern states, incidents like this make little sense, and the details of the political narrative too often waver between the bizarre and the tedious. As a form of entertainment, politics in Louisiana was undoubtedly colorful. But it was also shallow, corrupt, opportunistic, and irresponsible. Sanson provides little insight into the political culture and structures of power that made Louisiana such a travesty of democracy and good government.

Only in the second half of the book does Sanson come to grips with how World War II directly affected various aspects of Louisiana's society. Chapters on education, agriculture, industry, and civilian life offer a useful overview of the home front. However, whereas the political chapters offer rather too much detail, the social history chapters provide too little. Sanson devotes a mere thirteen pages, for example, to the problems and activities of the state's black population. Women also receive short shrift. A final chapter recounts how Louisianians reacted to the advent of peace and how they envisaged the postwar world. Assessing the war's impact, Sanson arrives at the rather bland conclusion that "Louisiana in 1945 was not the same state that it had been in 1939 when the war began" (p. 284). Yet the changes triggered by the war, he admits, had not wrought a fundamental transformation.

For its last five chapters alone, this book will merit the attention of readers who are interested in the modern South and in the domestic impact of World War II. The book's first half, however, will appeal only to die-hard fans of Louisiana politics. Instead of using the war as his defining theme, Sanson has utilized it mainly as a chronological period. The result is a book that is neither fish nor fowl and that fails to live up to the promise of its title.

ADAM FAIRCLOUGH
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GAIL WILLIAMS O'BRIEN. *The Color of the Law: Race, Violence, and Justice in the Post-World War II South*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North

Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 334. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

On February 25, 1946, an argument over repair of a radio escalated into a fight between a white man and a black man in Columbia, Tennessee. The Caucasian wound up in the hospital, and there was talk of a lynching. It did not happen because the sheriff let an African-American businessman whisk the intended victim out of town. Blacks armed themselves and fired on and wounded policemen who entered their business district. Later the Tennessee Highway Patrol stormed into that area, making arrests, abusing citizens, and looting. Surprisingly, all-white juries acquitted twenty-four of the twenty-seven black men who were tried for their alleged involvement in what became known nationally as the "Columbia, Tennessee, race riot."

Gail Williams O'Brien's book is a well-written, well-researched, and extremely thought-provoking account of this incident. Explaining the seemingly inexplicable acquittals in the Columbia cases is a formidable challenge, which O'Brien meets with superb analysis of the social composition of the community from which the jury was drawn. Her book, however, is overly ambitious. She has sought to use the Columbia case as a vehicle for explaining the impact of World War II on race relations in the South, the decline of white racist violence, the militance of some segments of the African-American community, and the impact of politics on southern law enforcement. This is a heavier load than it can bear.

The book attempts to combine social and legal history, and although O'Brien is a sometimes brilliant practitioner of the former, she is not very good at the latter. Some of the mistakes in this book, such as the humorous reference to a "would-be lunch mob" (p. 109), reveal little more than the limitations of Spell Check. Others, however, raise serious doubts about O'Brien's familiarity with and understanding of the legal system. She incorrectly identifies as the "American Association of Law Schools" (p. 226) the organization commonly referred to by the acronym "AALS" and jumbles together two levels of the federal judicial system by calling a Circuit Court of Appeals the "Fifth District Court of Appeals" (p. 302, n. 105). O'Brien appears also not to understand the difference between a motion for a new trial (made to the judge who tried a case) and an appeal (made to a higher court). Although annoying to lawyers, these are insignificant mistakes. The same cannot be said of O'Brien's repeated failure to provide proper citations for appellate court decisions, apparently because she has not looked at the opinions and has derived her knowledge of their contents from secondary and even manuscript sources. Particularly revealing is the criticism O'Brien directs at prosecutor Paul Bumpus for having "wrenched this case from its social moorings" (p. 213) by ignoring the way prior lynchings affected African-American perceptions of the events that triggered the riot. What she attributes to his legal formalism and "immersion in a

segregated white establishment" (p. 213) was just sensible trial strategy. It is, after all, a prosecutor's job to develop a theory of the case that points toward conviction, not acquittal.

O'Brien is excessively anxious to fashion a social explanation for every legal development. That is because her objective is not so much to chronicle the Columbia case as to use it to illuminate social phenomena. Unfortunately, it does not provide an ideal example of all those she wants to discuss. O'Brien thinks World War II altered profoundly the attitudes of both races in the South, but while the Columbia incident demonstrates a change in the thinking of African Americans, the evidence that it provides of an alteration in the outlook of whites is limited and unpersuasive. O'Brien is certainly correct when she argues that politics has affected significantly the way southern law enforcement deals with African Americans, but one of the principal law enforcers involved in the Columbia incident—the commander of the State Guard, Major General Jacob Dickinson—acted throughout the affair in a manner almost exactly the opposite of what political considerations seemed to dictate. Nor is that affair a particularly good vehicle for discussing either the decline in white violence against African Americans or the increasing willingness of southern courts to deal evenhandedly with interracial violence. It was followed by a decade of rampant white terrorism triggered by *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Moreover, unlike most of the cases in which the southern judicial system collaborated with the perpetrators of racist violence against African Americans, the Columbia case featured black defendants and white victims.

O'Brien's efforts to make this incident illustrate a variety of significant transformations in southern society sometimes become strained and occasionally overrun her evidence, but they make her book much more than just a history of the Columbia riot. Despite its imperfections, it is an important addition to the literature on race relations in the post-World War II South.

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TED OWNBY. *American Dreams in Mississippi: Consumers, Poverty, and Culture, 1830–1998*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. 228. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

"We are all consumers now," at least according to Ted Ownby. He sets himself the formidable task of explaining how this came about in the most unlikely of places. Eschewing older historical questions of regional distinctiveness and newer concerns that consumerism is either commodity fetishism or marketplace hegemony, Ownby sets out to "examine what goods meant to different Mississippians as individuals, within their communities, and as forms of communication and

miscommunication" (p. 3). Drawing on Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (1982) and Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (1990), he sees the story of consumer behavior as "questions of conversations" among black and white, poor and rich, male and female, young and old, urban and rural Mississippians from the 1830s through the 1990s (p. 3). Ownby argues that shopping, goods, and consumer culture promised both potential and real liberation. "Even if they offer no ultimate solutions or redemptions," he concludes, "goods allow significant forms of freedom" (p. 148). These freedoms of abundance, goods, choice, and novelty (pp. 1-2) reflected American dreams that were also much sought after by Mississippians.

The book could be divided into three sections. The first part, chapters one through three, argues that consumer culture was limited because white farmers and former slaves "so feared debt and so valued independence that they made painful efforts to limit their purchases," while wealthy Mississippians, whose power derived from "land, credit, the law, and the whip," could dispense with the "symbolic affirmation" of conspicuous consumption (p. 160). The middle section, chapter four, surveys the critical transformation of consumer culture through the advent of car dealerships, cash stores and five and dime stores, ready-to-wear clothing stores and department stores, together with mail-order catalogs and advertising from the 1890s through the 1930s. "Much of this chapter," Ownby notes revealingly, "seems less specific to Mississippi than any other section of the book" (p. 3). The book's final part focuses on how prominent Mississippians responded to consumer goods as "sources of cultural fascination, either as threats, liberation, or problems" (p. 161). While writers like Will Percy and Richard Wright wrote about the disruption of consumerism, albeit from different ideological standpoints, state reformers like Dorothy Dickens and Blues musicians like Memphis Minnie embraced consumption's "new possibilities" (p. 122). The book concludes with the struggle for and against the modern civil rights movement through black Mississippian consumer boycotts and white Mississippian counter-protest buy-ins.

This book makes some persuasive arguments: the explanation, for instance, of black Mississippians' yearly shopping as a Christmas ritual rather than wasteful consumption stereotyped by white landlords (p. 62), and the claim that one reason Mississippians limited their consumer spending was because debt and dependency threatened their local autonomy. The book is well researched, reconstructing the lives of local people from a myriad of sources including planter papers, general store records, account books, local newspapers, and county, state, and federal government documents. Ownby's local digging should encourage future research into male space at the general store (pp. 11-12); slave consumption of store

goods like snuff, tobacco, and cloth as forms of compensation (pp. 52-55); and the remarkable fifteen percent of black Mississippians who owned land by 1910 (p. 77).

Despite such arguments and impressive research, however, this reviewer is less persuaded by the explanatory power of consumer culture. Given the state's well-documented history of slavery, tenancy, and mass poverty, would one ever really buy the notion that shopping in Mississippi amounted to commodity fetishism or market hegemony? Surely the traditional absence of a cash economy and home market mitigated against the emergence of a full-blown consumer culture. While the shopping fantasies of wealthy slaveholders' daughters like Maria Dyer—"Had the blues. I bought me a dress" (p. 29)—might ring familiar to us, Ownby's evidence suggests that most Mississippians remained largely outside the pale of shopping, with African Americans not being "significant figures in the stores" (p. 95) for most of the state's history. (Perhaps this is why chapter four is "less specific" about Mississippi.) Furthermore, to single out consumer lyrics in blues music as evidence of African-American dreams both ignores the exploitative conditions that created this musical art form in the first place, as well as avoids more complicated questions concerning blues music's representation, authenticity, and community.

Finally, how useful is the notion of consumer culture for understanding the civil rights movement? Rather than emanating from the repressed dreams of slaves, blues listeners, and wannabee shoppers, was not the movement the culmination of what Charles M. Payne calls the "organizing tradition" against slavery, disfranchisement, lynching, unequal public facilities, and oppressive conditions? When black grassroots activist Anne Moody recalled it "really bothered me that they [whites] had all these nice things and we had nothing" (p. 151), she was not dreaming of more goods but voicing a deeply ingrained sense of social justice born from a knowledge and experience of long-term exploitation. After all, Moody *knew* who had really paid for Maria Dyer's dress. It seems rather ironic that a work that seeks to rid African Americans of the worst stereotypes about consumer spending should end up distorting black people's lived struggles through consumerism.

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ALESSANDRA LORINI. *Rituals of Race: American Public Culture and the Search for Racial Democracy*. (Carter G. Woodson Institute Series in Black Studies.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1999. Pp. xix, 305. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.50.

In this seven-chapter book, Alessandra Lorini presents the story of political interracial alliance in public events from Reconstruction to World War I (p. xiii). The term "public culture," as suggested by the subtitle,

should not be mistaken for "political culture" or the Habermasian "public sphere"; rather, it represents "a contested space in which collective or subjective identities fight for recognition" (p. xii). For Lorini, participation in public events offers those individuals or groups that are excluded from the formal institutional process the opportunity to demonstrate "rituals of empowerment": an individually or collectively expressed symbolic behavior that challenges the existing power structure and demand for the recognition of their own values. Following this rationale, Lorini argues that the active participation by African Americans in the public events during this period, together with the very existence of black-white interracial alliances and conflicting views and strategies as spawned by the participation, formed "the living forces expanding boundaries of democratic inclusion" (p. xiv).

To illustrate her argument, Lorini thoughtfully selects and examines a number of public events that had "national impact on definitions of race and democracy" (p. xvi). These events fall into several categories, including parades in New York City (featuring a loyalty parade in 1864 sponsored by the Union League Club that invited the participation of the city's black men and women and a celebration of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870), international exhibitions (specifically devoted to the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 and the Atlanta Exposition of 1895), academic conferences (especially those hosted by such institutions as the Atlanta University and American Negro Academy), association meetings (in particular, those of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] and the National Negro Business League), commercial culture (especially the early black musicals and theaters), and pageantry (included in the six studied events during 1909–1918 are the staging of W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Star of Ethiopia* in 1913, the NAACP's protest against the first public showing of *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915, and black "Silent Parade" in New York City in 1917 responding to the East St. Louis riot).

In each of these events, Lorini describes how African Americans determined to use the public forum to demonstrate their own understandings of such heatedly debated issues as loyalty to the Union, the role of blacks in the nation's history, the myth of racial hierarchy and, of course, the meaning of the new American democracy. Equally effective is the author's well-supported discussion of how crucially white activists or social scientists such as Mary White Ovington, Franz Boas, and Robert Ezra Park had contributed to different black-white discourses on race and democracy. The greatest strength of the book, however, lies in the author's insightful discussion of the multilayered and multidimensional tensions within the interracial alliance as the "rituals of empowerment" were formulated. Tensions existed not only along the racial line (such as that surrounding Frederick Douglass's second marriage) but also were derived from gender-based

differentiation (exemplified by Ida B. Wells's exclusion from the Executive Committee of the NAACP), as well as by the rivalry between different ideologies (such as that between Du Bois and Booker T. Washington).

The book is valuable in that it suggests a fresh perspective in examining the role of African Americans in shaping the public consciousness on America's racial democracy during the period that is conventionally regarded as nothing but a nadir for blacks. Also illuminating is the author's argument that participation in public events, in particular, by African Americans forced group recognition into public discourse and redefined the essence of participatory democracy. Several weaknesses, however, have prevented the book from securing a solid and prominent place in the historiography of the subject. First, the concept "public culture," as well as its theoretical framework, remains unconvincingly defined. It is unclear how "public culture" is distinguished from the "non-public culture." Furthermore, what is the relationship between the "public culture" as described and the politics on which it was supposed to impose impact? To be sure, Lorini's focus is on the "participatory" side of the story, but participation means to generate forces that would influence the way a democracy is undemocratically practiced. The book would be greatly enhanced if it addressed how the earlier "rituals of empowerment" had shaped the ideas, rhetoric, or practice of American democracy then and later. Finally, the potential of the book is limited by the breadth and depth of its research, which relies heavily on newspapers and weeklies and the writings of the major figures. Excessively detailed narration of the backgrounds of well-known events and historical figures—largely derived from well-known general accounts—not only creates redundancy but compromises the originality of the book as well. The absence of a bibliography certainly inconveniences any serious reader trying to locate helpful information on the subject.

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ROD BUSH. *We Are Not What We Seem: Black Nationalism and Class Struggle in the American Century*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii. 315. \$32.50.

Rod Bush offers this book as an intellectual history of twentieth-century black nationalism. What he actually presents is a polemic in defense of xenophobic fringe behavior among black radicals of the 1960s, a treatment that intentionally blurs distinctions between the Marxist left and the fascist right and also confuses his subjects' political rhetoric with their sometimes criminal activity. Bush refuses to distinguish such truly radical left activists as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers from criminal psychopaths like the Blackstone Rangers. He ignores the fundamental ideological distinctions between social democrats like the

late Kenneth Cokerel and black chauvinists like Maulana Karenga.

American black nationalism as a movement saw periods of ebb and flow from the end of the eighteenth century to the Civil War but experienced a hiatus with the coming of Emancipation. The movement was revitalized at the end of Reconstruction, then eclipsed again after the deportation of Marcus Garvey in 1927. During the 1930s and 1940s, there were various black belt schemes and a plan for a forty-ninth state, to be carved out of the segregated South. There was also Mittie Gordon's Ethiopian Pacific Movement, with its putative connections to Japanese imperialists and white supremacists. Bush shows little interest in the historical scholarship that has begun to address black nationalism in the 1930s and 1940s. He ignores expressions of Christian black nationalism in the 1960s (e.g. the Shrine of the Black Madonna) and fails to address the complicated ties between the older and newer traditions of religiously based black nationalism.

Classical black nationalists identified themselves as geographical separatists and claimed to be committed to forging a nation-state with definable geographic borders, seeking to advance, as Garvey put it, "the black man's Government . . . his King and his kingdom . . . his president, his country, and his ambassador, his army, his navy, his men of big affairs." The Nation of Islam, the Black Panthers, and the Republic of New Africa, although pale imitations of Garveyism, made the quest for a homeland central to their discontinuous but overlapping platforms.

It is not clear whether Bush understands that not every outburst of racial boosterism or ethnocultural enthusiasm can be equated with nationalism. As evidence of a nationalistic revival, he cites the ambiguous symbolism of Louis Farrakhan's so-called Million Man March on Washington in 1995. Bush holds it to be self-evident that African-American communities can and should develop as semi-autonomous enclaves. But the Washington march provided little evidence that either Farrakhan or his fair-weather supporters are committed to the political and economic goals once advocated by Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam. Farrakhan demonstrated undeniable skill as a crowd pleaser, regaling his audience with exercises in numerology and mysticism, but he had little to say concerning the Nation of Islam's traditional "do for self" capitalism.

Bush insists, correctly, that self-determination was the overriding and unifying theme of black radical ideologies in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Fair enough, but fundamental hostilities between competing activists were graphically illustrated in 1969, when two Black Panthers, Alprentice Carter and John Huggins, were murdered by members of Malauna Karenga's US organization. Bush's predictable response is that "The assassination of Carter and Huggins is generally thought by the informed public to be a case of the FBI simply exacerbating existing tensions between the two groups." So, too, he asserts, was the

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) the ultimate obstacle to a coalition between the Blackstone Rangers and the Black Panthers during the late 1960s. But attacks on the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) have universal appeal, and many Americans, including some white Republican senators and congresspersons, regard the secret police with justifiable suspicion.

There is nothing fundamentally irrational about a distrust of the national government, albeit the tradition is associated with the hypocrisy of Thomas Jefferson, John C. Calhoun, and Jefferson Davis. Americans of every political persuasion have been suspicious of the federal government. The current emphasis in American politics on localism and community control finds continuing appeal in an age of impersonal globalism, as imaginary black helicopters loom on the horizon. Ironically, the Black Panthers' obsession with the Second Amendment anticipated the rhetoric of white supremacists in the 1990s. Black "nationalist" localism eerily resembles the paranoid rhetoric of Republican conservatives, Reagan Democrats, Confederate flag wavers, and Bob Jones University. The ideology of local self-determination as the panacea for almost every conceivable human problem is a traditional Jeffersonian dogma, and Bush's notions, although couched in the rhetoric of black nationalism, conform to a standard American pattern.

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BILL V. MULLEN, *Popular Fronts: Chicago and African-American Cultural Politics, 1935-46*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 242. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Bill V. Mullen's mission is to refresh our cultural memories. He wants to remind us not only of African-American cultural production in the "Chicago Renaissance" that took place before and during World War II, but also that the U.S. Left—in the form of the Communist Party and the individuals and organizations of its Popular Front—played a significant role in the period. We need to revisit this era because "critical gaps and historical inconsistencies in accounts of Chicago's South Side cultural and political scene . . . are largely attributable to the successful erasure of the nature, influence, and practice of radical political thought and culture there" (p. 24). Mullen's task is a commendable one, for too often this period in African-American and U.S. Left history is overlooked. Further, he does us the service of linking these two histories together in detailed ways that show the ongoing, if contentious, relationship between African-American and (largely white) radical cultural and political movements.

In undertaking such an ambitious project, Mullen plays many roles: he is by turns archival historian, scholar of mass and popular culture, and traditional literary critic. Ultimately, he is most successful in

reviving the centrality of traditions of protest writing in African-American cultural history, a move that has the benefit of emphasizing the context in which artists, writers, and publishers were working.

One way in which Mullen achieves his goal is by critiquing Richard Wright's place in the African-American literary canon. Rather than accepting prevalent interpretations of Wright that "help reduce [him] to a set of Manichean dualisms" (that is, for the most part, a prewar Communist and a postwar anti-Communist), Mullen convincingly argues that the author remained ideologically leftist even as he repudiated the Communist Party. While no single chapter can wholly wrest Wright and his works out of their roles as symbols of certain types of Black Nationalism, the deemphasis of one figure's centrality to the Chicago Renaissance affords the author the opportunity to examine more closely the other sites of radical, racial protest that existed concurrently.

The bulk of this book focuses on modes of cultural production largely overlooked by literary historians: newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender*; institutions like the Abraham Lincoln School and the South Side Community Art Center, which served as training grounds and havens for both writers and visual artists; and small periodicals like *Negro Story* which Mullen credits with revitalizing the African-American short story. Its "commitment to publishing work by both black and white working-class and novice writers constituted one of the first commercial proletarianizations of African-American literature in the city's—and the country's—history" (p. 117). Via significant archival scholarship, Mullen places figures such as Margaret T. Burroughs, Fern Gayden, Ted W. Ward, Charles White, Elizabeth Catlett, and Frank Marshall Davis more centrally in our understanding of Chicago during this era. He also stresses the ways in which African-American cultural workers were influenced by, but not strict adherents to, Popular Front strategies.

While impressive in its contextualization, Mullen's analysis is perhaps too understated in giving an understanding of the historical legacy of the individuals, institutions, and events of the Chicago Renaissance. In what ways do the cultural politics of that era yield insight into the possibilities of Left/Black coalitions today? In what ways might this revised history of the Chicago Renaissance be theorized to give readers a deeper understanding of their own contemporary biases in valuing certain form of African-American cultural capital over others? Mullen addresses some of these issues both in his individual chapters and in his postscript, but not always at the length they deserve.

Perhaps the best chapter of the book is also the most traditional in its literary analysis. Mullen's discussion of Gwendolyn Brooks's *A Street in Bronzeville* (1945) is a close reading of the language of the text but also a demonstration of how Brooks's poems reflect a complex relationship to Left cultural politics and, most importantly, simultaneously offer a critique of radical African-American masculinity. As such, the chapter

insightfully illuminates Brooks's significance for her feminist and black nationalist successors as well as describing the ways in which literary representation under Popular Front influence was exclusionary in potentially detrimental ways.

By not allowing us to forget the connections and contests between the U.S. Left and African-American culture, Mullen rightly forestalls an increasingly popular tendency to naturalize African American culture into literary and historical narratives of American achievement and assimilation.

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KIBIBI VOLORIA C. MACK. *Parlor Ladies and Ebony Drudges: African American Women, Class, and Work in a South Carolina Community*. Foreword by ELIZABETH FOX-GENOVESE. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 233. \$34.00.

Kibibi Voloria C. Mack invites her readers to "follow new paths of inquiry," as Elizabeth Fox-Genovese states in a foreword to this study of class divisions among African-American women in Orangeburg, South Carolina. Mack reveals the "hidden injuries of class" as she studies the interactions between African-American employers and the women who occasionally worked as their servants. Through detailed descriptions of work patterns, households, paid employment, consumption patterns, lifestyles, and leisure, Mack has opened up new theoretical terrain concerning class formation within African-American communities.

Mack's analysis of the evidence seeks to justify the stark contrast conveyed by her title. According to Mack, upper-class African-American women employed servants and emulated "the white ideals of the cult of true womanhood" (p. 33). As a result, women's "obvious class differences prevented a sisterhood across class lines" (p. 188). Ladies and working-class drudges worked, lived, and socialized in isolation from each other. The analysis challenges assumptions about African-American solidarity created by historians who have concentrated on interactions between whites and blacks or studied only the members of a single class. Inadequacies in Mack's approach, however, prevent her from completely succeeding in that task.

As a deliberately inward-looking examination of a community in which the author herself grew to adulthood, this exploration reveals both the benefits and the limitations of such an approach. Mack clearly identifies with the "drudges" instead of the "pseudo-aristocratic" elite or even the middle-class women whom she refers to as "frolicking with their friends" (pp. 1, 173). A question might be raised as to whether the author has overemphasized internal class antagonisms while failing to pay sufficient attention to the constraints within which so-called "upper class" women operated. Claims that some elite women opted to do their own housework or took on financially unnecessary employment are made without exploring the possibility that

they were not as affluent, privileged, or secure as they may have wished their community to believe.

When Mack states that Orangeburg's "upper-class" resembled a "financially secure white middle class more than a white upper class," she misses the opportunity to interrogate her own or her community's class categories (p. 5). The evidence from family histories such as Pauli Murray's *Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family* (1956) points to the precarious position of households like those Mack characterizes as upper class. The evidence used to demonstrate upper class status—color consciousness, exclusiveness, endogamy, and membership in "high culture" churches—might be the responses of a small, beleaguered group of persons striving to keep themselves from downward mobility rather than the marks of a self-confident bourgeoisie.

Mack uses a different set of categories for African Americans than for the whites to whom she occasionally refers. Mack's argument that "people's perceptions" were as important to class identification as "objective material realities" begs the essential question as to whose perceptions should be taken into account within an economy controlled by white planters and businessmen (p. 5). The owner of a modest store, a member of a small university faculty, a tailor, a carpenter, or a seamstress would not usually be placed among the wealthy in an examination of the American class system. Stepping outside the framework of her own community might also have led Mack to recognize that class resentments emanating from working-class African Americans contributed as much to the absence of female solidarity as the snobbishness of the "parlor ladies."

Within the monograph are insights whose significance would be increased within a broader framework that explored the interaction between the African-American community and the larger political economy. The need for both "middle-class" husbands and wives to work to maintain their status connects this community's experience to external economic trends, as does the close correlation between female-headed households and poverty that Mack discovered in Orangeburg's black community. Fully developing those connections would enhance the value of Mack's study while contributing to a better understanding of gender, race, and class as those relationships have shaped American history.

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MERLINE PITRE. *In Struggle against Jim Crow: Lulu B. White and the NAACP, 1900–1957*. (The Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 81.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 181. \$29.95.

Current historical monographs are reconstructing the activism for social justice reform of the 1930s and

1940s. While earlier chronicles have detailed events mainly following World War II and the 1950s, newer narratives, like that of Lulu B. White, give us a vital connection to this ageless struggle while introducing fresh voices. What becomes so clear in the lives of White, Septima Clark, Modjeska Simkins, Juanita Jenkins, Clara Luper, Daisy Lampkins, and Ruby Hurley is that the founding years of the southern chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) saw women campaigning, crusading, fundraising, and serving as executive secretary, field workers, state conference directors, and regional directors. Their primary leadership was valued by the local and national cadres. They carved the strategies and tactics to war against unequal teacher salaries and black schools, southern mob rule, and disrespect toward black women in public institutions, whether newspapers or department stores. They created alliances with black male activists who were in the struggle, assuming positions of partnership, unafraid to stand toe-to-toe with all adversaries who threatened their quest for freedom and justice.

White, a native of Elmo, Texas, was born in 1900 to an aggressive and confrontational father and a nurturing, domestic, deferring mother. Henry and Easter Madison owned a substantial land base in East Texas that allowed them to raise twelve children with economic independence and racial consciousness. Lulu finished the public schools of Elmo and ultimately graduated from Prairie View College in secondary education. Along the way, her abilities as a debater/advocate emerged; her college mentors would direct these efforts into future race work. After graduation, Lulu taught in a small town north of Houston, leaving to pursue her dream of public service. She married one of Houston's top black benefactors, Julius White, a grassroots educated entrepreneur who moved with ease among Houston's black elite and who financed most of the local NAACP's challenges to segregation and discrimination. Lulu and Julius complemented each other's passion for immediate and full citizenship. Their style and forcefulness often upset factions of the city's old guard.

In exploring White's public life, two areas are most prominent: her life-long work with the NAACP, moving from fundraising to holding significant leadership in the state conference; and her support of the labor movement in Houston, a demand for black economic parity and the full integration of labor unions. Her affiliation with the local NAACP began with fundraising/membership drives. But the Houston chapter moved into more direct nonviolent protest than was traditional of the NAACP. The city had a significant black middle class—merchants, lawyers, teachers, ministers, business persons, journalists—who organized a Black Chamber of Commerce. Black businesses provided many public accommodations; hence, the ballot, economic options, the abolition of segregated public schools, and the end of mob rule were central organizing issues. Julius White gave his wife membership

into the elite circles and a forum for her race work. Her attacks began with the challenge to end poll taxes; the Democratic white primary; unequal pay for equally qualified teachers and administrators; the unequal facilities, school terms, and dual sessions of black public schools; and the segregated business practices of white merchants. The Houston branch recruited Lulu as a field worker and then as executive secretary. Rallies, boycotts, and demonstrations awakened the merchants to White's determination to end discriminatory practices.

After the *Brown* decision of 1954, White became bolder. Although threatened and criticized on all fronts, she never ran from a fight. This was most unfortunate in the debate over whether to build a separate black law school at Texas Southern College or to integrate the law school at the University of Texas. White's full commitment to eradicating all segregation did not allow her to follow the lead of her old friend, editor Carter Wesley. This intense debate led to long-term attacks from Wesley, labeling her a communist and eventually driving White out of the Houston's branch leadership. After years of fighting white primaries, poll taxes, mob violence, and internal bickering, White stepped down as executive secretary, while remaining the state director of branches.

Economic parity was always important to the Whites. However, "Bayou City" was similar to other southern urban areas: unions were frowned upon and, where in existence, discriminated against most black workers. White became involved in the labor movement, commencing with the Fair Employment Practices Commission. Later she became affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organization's (CIO's) presence in Houston. Due to the variety of individuals associated with the CIO groups, White was once again labeled a communist, especially by the Minute Women, a conservative white female group.

For many of her colleagues and admirers, White was just the individual to get the job done, yet the same people could not always appreciate her outspokenness and directness. Blacks either appreciated her outlandish behavior or believed her style most unbecoming for a "lady." White recognized and confronted the sexism she encountered, but her generation of female activists believed that the central issue was the elimination of racism. Toward this end, White was not beyond wlaying her adversaries in the cause of justice. She enjoyed direct association with the national leadership of the NAACP, Roy Wilkins, Hurley, Lampkins, and Thurgood Marshall. These associations gave her power to downplay the local leadership if she found the need. Her successful record in creating and resurrecting branches proved her worth. But such extensive schedules and exhaustion caused her to suffer poor health, and she died in 1957.

Lulu Madison White represents an unique generation of African-American women nurtured at the feet of earlier suffragists, abolitionists, race women, and missionaries: a generation whose members inherited

an ancestral mission to continue the struggle for freedom. Merline Pitre's work gives voices and faces to this generation of bridge women who defined the quest for equality for the post-*Brown* era. The advantage of Pitre's "freedom fighter" being southern, middle class, confrontational, and female speaks volumes in placing the participant into her own redemptive story. Such an insightful narrative will complement recent studies that are biographical or focused on small communities, grassroots organizing, and faith/religion. Such a local, state-centered work demonstrates the depth of untapped materials in the branch records of the NAACP papers. It serves as an occasion to revisit some of our early assessments of class and gender within local associations, leagues, committees, conferences, institutes, and councils whose histories are deeply rooted in violent struggles against Jim Crow.

Yet the study could have been enhanced if Pitre had sought to place White and her southern-based activism in the context of her southern female contemporaries. While there are discussions of her work with other regional/national female leaders of the NAACP and even persons like Fannie Lou Hamer (who Pitre believes is the continuation of White's spirit), other race women of White's era carried the same mission in their locales, were labeled radicals for their alliances and coalitions, had to endure others' definition of their "place," suffered betrayal, and have been marginalized in oral and record histories. Even Lulu and Julius White's successful efforts, as well as their physical survival within the race history of Texas, could be further explored.

JACQUELINE A. ROUSE
Georgia State University

CHANA KAI LEE. *For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer.* (Women in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 255. \$29.95.

Emerging from the lowliest rungs of Mississippi's segregated world, Fannie Lou Hamer became an icon of black protest during the 1960s. To many contemporaries and historians, Hamer's unswerving devotion to the dispossessed formed the gold standard for integrity by movement leaders. Chana Kai Lee's biography polishes the icon but also probes it to discover a flesh-and-blood woman whose frailties make her achievements—and her tenacity—all the more notable.

Born the youngest of twenty children in 1917, Hamer early endured hunger (dinner was "maybe some corn meal and an onion cut-up with some salt on it"; p. 3), hard work picking cotton (thirty bales a day at age six, up to four hundred bales by age thirteen; p. 4), and unrelenting repression by whites (one of whom poisoned the family's mules and cows in 1929, just as it verged on economic independence). Yet Hamer drew inspiration from her mother, Lou Ella, who taught Christian faith and love (while concealing a pistol in

the fields to safeguard her children) and who gave Fannie Lou the only black doll in her community. In 1962, workers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) visited Hamer's church and urged blacks to register to vote. That spark of respect and encouragement propelled Hamer to a lifetime of activism, first for civil rights and increasingly for educational and economic uplift.

The costs of Hamer's activism were severe. Her bid to register led to her eviction from the land where she had lived and worked for eighteen years. In June 1963, she was jailed with other civil rights workers and beaten till she was "blinded in her left eye" and her kidneys "permanently damaged" (p. 53). Hamer nonetheless remained, in the words of SNCC activist Charles Sherrod, one of the "mamas" civil rights workers depended on, "usually the militant women in the community—outspoken, understanding, and willing to catch hell, having already caught their share" (p. xii).

Lee vividly depicts Hamer's inspiring appearance on the national stage in August 1964 with the "Freedom Democrats," an interracial group who challenged Mississippi's lily-white delegation to the 1964 Democratic National Convention. Pressed by many white liberals and black leaders to accept a token offer of two nonvoting seats at the convention, Hamer instead galvanized the Freedom Democrats' rejection of anything less than racial equality. Yet as Lee reveals, the seemingly indomitable Hamer had first to weather a crisis of faith, privately beseeching SNCC's Bob Moses, "What in the world should we do?" (p. 94). But after Moses assured her that Mississippi's blacks had every right to decide their own destiny, Hamer spurned the proposed compromise as demeaning and unjust, saying, "We didn't come all this way for no two seats" (p. 99).

Lee's focus on sexual abuse as central to white racism adds an important dimension to what impelled Hamer to a lifetime of protest. Hamer learned as a child that twenty of her grandmother Liza's twenty-three children had been the products of rape by white men. In 1961, she was sterilized without her knowledge during an operation to remove a small cyst, as part of a concerted effort to curb the population of indigents and others who might burden society. Speaking at the Democratic Convention in 1964, Hamer moved a national television audience with the story of her beating by white jailers a year before, "the mos' horrifying experience I have ever had in my life" (p. 52), but privately she also deplored the "sexual deviance" of officers who had abused her (p. 59).

Lee acknowledges that Hamer's zeal did not always endear her even to fellow black leaders. When Aaron Henry, head of the Freedom Democrats in 1964, leaned toward compromise, Hamer warned that if he accepted, "I'm gon' cut your throat" (p. 99). In 1965 she urged blacks at an outdoor rally to beat up any "[Uncle] Toms" who might compromise their cause (p. 130). In 1971, a black educational activist in Missis-

issippi, Cora Flemming, found Hamer so shockingly "vicious" during a policy dispute that the two did not speak again until 1977, when Hamer was on her deathbed (p. 146).

According to Lee, Hamer comfortably contained the "paradox" of her good and bad selves (p. 131), though Hamer's bullying reveals, at least to this reviewer, not simply paradox but dispiriting contradiction. Of course, few movement workers claimed to have attained the full spirit of unfailing love and nonviolence that the early civil rights campaigns exalted and demanded. Hamer's experiences in the nation's most violent racist state, moreover, made for especially rocky soil to nurture these ideals. Still, like many crusaders throughout history, Hamer was not simply righteous but often self-righteous. Perhaps this helped fortify her to press for justice against great odds and despite constant peril. Yet it formed a chilling side to an otherwise appealing character, and one wonders whether gaining power would have eased or aggravated Hamer's flashes of intolerance and intimidation.

The contours of Lee's work fit with earlier writings on Hamer, notably Kay Mills's wonderfully rich and lively account, *This Little Light of Mine: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (1993). This book will win recognition for ably showing Hamer as a warrior at once valiant and vulnerable. As Lee observes, she "taught others how to coexist with pain and challenge" and "to live our lives with whatever we have been given, forever priming ourselves to push for a bit more" (p. 181).

ROBERT WEISBROT
Colby College

CHARLES P. HENRY, *Ralph Bunche: Model Negro or American Other?* New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 299. \$34.95.

The term "public intellectual" is usually applied to a scholar who enters public debates or addresses audiences outside of academic circles. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to reserve that distinction for those intellectuals who not only communicate with a larger public but also devote part of their lives to public service. Ralph Bunche's life reminds us of the paradoxes faced by intellectuals who serve the public by becoming civil servants, especially those who are also African Americans.

Bunche's life spanned the first three quarters of the twentieth century, beginning with a childhood spent largely in Albuquerque and Los Angeles. Educated in the 1920s as one of few black students at the University of Southern California at Los Angeles and then in Harvard's graduate program, Bunche in 1934 became the first African American to receive a doctorate in political science. Mordecai Johnson, Howard University's first black president, recruited Bunche to establish Howard's political science department. There, Bunche joined a faculty rich in African-American political and cultural thinkers, including Alain Locke,

Abram Harris, E. Franklin Frazier, Carter G. Woodson, and Charles Wesley.

According to Charles P. Henry, Bunche produced some of his most significant and provocative intellectual work during the period of his life spent at Howard in the mid-1930s and early 1940s. By focusing on this particular body of writings, Henry argues that Bunche's work deserves to be critiqued alongside that of other politically engaged African-American intellectuals. Henry's book includes useful discussions of Bunche's *A World View on Race* (1936) and his other early critiques of race as a social construction and of racism as a worldwide phenomenon. Bunche also published several important articles, including one criticizing the inherent conservatism and inequalities in a public education system dependent on local property taxes. Elsewhere, he argued that the New Deal aimed to benefit only the middle class and not the poor. These works rested on an anticapitalist and economic analysis of the plight of African Americans, an orientation that cast Bunche as a part of a group of younger radical thinkers at Howard. Bunche's most consuming intellectual projects in this period were the extensive background research and policy memoranda that formed the basis for major portions of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944), the study that recast racial inequality as a moral rather than an economic ill.

It was also in this period that Bunche began to train himself in cultural anthropology, acquiring skills which he used in groundbreaking studies on Africa. As described in Henry's book, Bunche's work on Africa ranged from critical studies of the "imperialistic administration of subject peoples" to an astute analysis of Kenyan resistance to European attempts in the 1940s to end the practice of female circumcision.

What remains unclear in Henry's account is how or why Bunche made what appears to be an abrupt shift in venue to do the work that brought him his greatest fame. During World War II, Bunche accepted positions first as an Africa specialist for the Office of Special Services, then as a State Department official assigned to help plan postwar colonial policy in Africa; at the end of the war, he became director of the United Nation's Colonial Trusteeship Department. The Nobel Peace Prize that Bunche won in 1950 was awarded for his work at the United Nations (UN) negotiating the settlement between the new state of Israel and its Arab neighbors. Bunche remained at the UN for the rest of his career, refusing to accept high-level positions at the State Department because he could not abide living in segregated Washington, D.C., a stance that he articulated in a well-publicized White House news conference.

The book's equal emphasis on Bunche's intellectual work and his diplomatic career brings overdue attention to Bunche's early life as an academic, and serves in this way to supplement Brian Urquhart's biography, *Ralph Bunche: An American Life* (1993). Still, Bunche remains an elusive subject, despite Henry's obvious

immersion in the particulars of his life. By his book's title, Henry poses the question of whether Bunche's successes made him into a "model Negro" or whether he remained cast as an "American other." Yet more than anything, this book demonstrates how these two paradigms fail to capture Bunche's variegated roles, both real and symbolic, domestic and international. Perhaps Henry's work will encourage others to pursue the unifying threads in Bunche's political thought, including during the time in his life as a public intellectual when he left the Howard faculty for the world of civil service.

BARBARA DIANNE SAVAGE
University of Pennsylvania

BARBARA DIANNE SAVAGE. *Broadcasting Freedom: Radio, War, and the Politics of Race, 1938–1948*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 391. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Richard Dalfiume has characterized the period of World War II on the homefront as the "forgotten years of the Negro revolution" (*Journal of American History* 60 [June 1968]: 90–106). It was during the war years, Dalfiume argued, that many of the arguments and strategies brought forth in the better-remembered civil rights revolution of the 1950s and 1960s were first articulated and implemented as a challenge to America's entrenched racial order. With Barbara Dianne Savage's guidance, we now see the struggle Dalfiume highlighted being fought on a front to which we have not previously had access. Taking us back into the infancy years of the mass medium of radio broadcasts, Savage chronicles the creation of a public sphere wherein the age-old symbolic play of politics and imagery took on new shapes and new force.

This book follows an imaginative, persistent, determined, and creative band of pioneer African-American artists, writers, and political activists as they attempted to create and propagate on American radio a popularly accessible, politically challenging, and at the time largely unwelcomed discourse about their identity as a people and their place in American history. Savage's telling of their story focuses in appropriate ways on sensitive whites who were allied with these black pioneers: people such as the remarkable Rachel DuBois. A particular strength of the book, however, is its bringing into focus the work of black artists and activists such as author and journalist Roi Otley and Ann Tanneyhill of the National Urban League. These African-American artists struggled, in the face of fierce resistance by the entrenched and dominant public discourse of white segregation, to use radio to build a public narrative of race that could accommodate their claims for freedom and equality.

This book is very strong in showing homefront World War II as a period when all the old verities of racial place were called into question as we fought to

make Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" something for all people to enjoy, while still denying those American freedom guarantees to our nation's African-American population. The author's reading of radio's dealings with the race issue clearly shows how the war was a sorting-out and foundation-establishing period for the civil rights agenda that emerged as the strategic direction for blacks to pursue in the 1950s and 1960s.

Savage is especially sensitive and probing regarding the nation's unreadiness to embrace what in retrospect seem to be the reasonable and modest claims being put forth by black leadership. She rightly points out the centrality of a free black press to the cause of racial justice during the war period. "If black people," she notes, "had been forced to rely on radio as their primary means of communication about the failings of the federal government, they would have been on an impossible mission since they were admitted to radio only as entertainers or as briefly invited guests expected to be on good behavior" (p. 94).

In her focus on the extent of the opposition to claims for fairness and equal treatment in radio, Savage points us at a teaching dilemma that in some ways is insurmountable. It is deeply puzzling for students who were not there to understand how a world of proscribed limitations that came into being at the end of Reconstruction could have persisted for so long and been so definitional. Yet such was the world of national radio during the war years, in big things and in seemingly little: from the difficulty of getting issues that were tearing the nation apart aired on shows presumably open by their own definition to such issues to the lower pay scale applied without a second thought to as distinguished a black commentator as Walter White.

Savage's account is especially stirring in its contextualization of President Harry S. Truman's 1946-1948 civil rights initiative, much of which came to the American people over the radio. An incredible distance had been travelled from Franklin D. Roosevelt's refusal, in spite of strong, persistent urging by blacks and their white allies, to address the nation on the issue of race to Truman's direct engagement of the issue.

Although Savage is, at times, too presentist in assessing the actions, or lack thereof, of the government officials and radio gatekeepers who determined what went out across the airwaves, this is a brilliant and provocative book. It chronicles masterfully black perceptions of the radio airwaves as a new arena in which to project the message of racial equality. Martin Luther King, Jr. stood on the shoulders of these earlier dreamers who had struggled to express their people's hopes and wishes on their nation's radio airwaves during the great struggle for freedom that was World War II. They fought their fight well, and their legacy, Savage shows so well, is the modern civil rights movement.

LAWRENCE D. HOGAN
Union County College

NANCY E. BERNHARD. *U.S. Television News and Cold War Propaganda, 1947-1960*. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Mass Communications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. 245. \$59.95.

One of the most challenging issues biographers and historians confront is whether the end justifies the means. If not, what does? Nancy E. Bernhard traces the symbiotic relationship between the emerging television networks, especially CBS and NBC, and various government agencies intent on shaping public responses to the threat of communism in the early Cold War era. Clearly, both government officials and some network executives—not excluding Bill Paley of CBS and David Sarnoff of NBC—were willing at times to broadcast stories that were produced, or approved, by the Department of Defense or other government agencies. Bernhard writes: "This book tells the story of a partnership between government information officers and network news producers to report and sell the Cold War to the American public" (p. 2) shaping television-government relationships for decades to come.

It is a very powerful story, based on extensive use of government archives, manuscript collections, oral histories, and other sources. One forgets the intense feelings generated in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when school children scrambled beneath their desks during practice alerts and some citizens built well-supplied home bomb shelters. It all comes through in this book, along with the pressures felt by journalists to present news in an objective way. One might expect that Bernhard, who is both skilled and passionate about the topic, might fall into presentism because, given that we know how the Cold War came out, many of the people who tried to shape the news professionally, such as NBC's Lawrence Spivak (NBC's "Meet the Press") or James Forrestal, the first secretary of defense, were not very sympathetic, in retrospect, to a balanced point of view. A television panelist asked a newspaper editor in 1953: "Don't you think the dangers of communism as a threat to this country and its freedoms . . . [are] more important than an individual?" But Bernhard does not expect the characters of history to know the future. This book may disturb some readers who see the extent to which journalists borrowed views from the State Department, White House, Department of Commerce, Federal Bureau of Investigation, or other agencies.

As television gained in power and acceptance, the networks pulled away from government-approved films, and showed independence, which generated official consternation. Bernhard does not find evidence of a secret conspiracy, yet the effect at times of a coordinated official response might have been the same. The author writes: "It does not diminish the horror of totalitarianism to say that the market-based system in the United States has not served freedom and democracy perfectly. Indeed, inasmuch as private broadcasters gave the airwaves over to state designs,

they duplicated totalitarian practices" (p. 7). With early network television leaders, courage was not unknown, but it was rare. Of course, no one wants to hear this. In recent months, Central Intelligence Agency documents have confirmed the role of that agency in the 1973 overthrow of the government in Chile, and in early 2000 the United States was trying to define its long-term trade relationships with China despite China's record of human rights abuses. Even in a democracy, the rule that the end justifies the means is quite common, but somehow Bernhard's book, which encourages us to learn lessons from our past, implicitly makes this point: if you are not careful, means become ends.

DONALD L. SHAW
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

JOHN EARL HAYNES and HARVEY KLEHR. *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 487. \$30.00.

The end of the Cold War should have subverted the security rationale for restricting access to U.S. and Soviet intelligence agency records. In reality, however, for the most part these records remain closed to independent research or have been heavily redacted or selectively released. This is true as well for the records of the Venona Project, under which, during World War II, U.S. military intelligence intercepted and, beginning in 1948, successfully decrypted Soviet consular reports for the years 1942–1946. These records document the espionage and intelligence activities of Soviet officials stationed in the United States and their recruitment of and contacts with Communist and radical activists (including those employed in the federal government). First released in 1995, a history of the project and a representative sample of the Venona records were reprinted in Robert Benson and Michael Warner's *Venona: Soviet Espionage and the American Response, 1939–1957* (1996).

John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr's book promises to expand on Benson and Warner's account to ensure a fuller understanding of Soviet espionage activities and the U.S. counterintelligence response, identifying the individuals (whose identities were safeguarded through code names) who engaged in espionage, how their actions compromised the nation's security, and then why U.S. counterintelligence agencies failed to contain or apprehend these activities. This promise is not realized in their tendentious, ideologically driven monograph.

The authors' original contribution includes their survey of the history of the Venona Project (how the records were created, obtained, and deciphered) and those instances when they stick close to the decrypted Venona records. Haynes and Klehr's abject partisanship, however, often leads them to making sweeping, uncorroborated assertions that are not confirmed by the Venona cables. Three quotes highlight their pen-

chant to indict. "There is every reason to believe that [Judith] Coplon gave the KGB early warning of many FBI counterintelligence operations from 1945 until she was identified in late 1948" (p. 159). "While the preponderance of the evidence argues against [Robert] Oppenheimer having been an active Soviet source, one matter cannot be ruled out. The possibility exists that up to the time he reported the Chevalier approach to security officers in 1943, he may have overlooked the conduct of others whom he had reasonable grounds to question, a possibility motivated by his personal and political ties to those persons" (p. 330). "[Michael] Greenberg, [Joseph] Gregg, and [Robert] Miller are not identified in those KGB cables that were deciphered in the Venona Project. Given, however, the high degree of corroboration of Elizabeth Bentley's testimony, her statements about these persons must be regarded as having great credibility" (p. 114).

This penchant to indict also leads Haynes and Klehr to characterize any contact with Soviet agents and the information that Soviet agents reported to Moscow as "espionage." Yet the majority of the reported information did not compromise U.S. security interests, including "analyses and commentary," reports on the plans of foreign (non-U.S.) officials, simple political intelligence, and the monitoring of Trotskyites and Russian emigrés. More glaringly, the authors offer a distorted, essentially dishonest account of the role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Justice Department in the Coplon, Remington, Hiss, and *Amerasia* cases and seem indifferent to another issue raised by the Venona cables: the failure of U.S. counterintelligence. Haynes and Klehr lamely attribute this failure to the priorities of the wartime anti-Axis alliance and the Roosevelt administration's interest in cementing relations with its Soviet ally. The reality, however, is quite different. The deciphered Venona messages, for one, confirm that the FBI was at the time monitoring the very Soviet agents directly involved in these intelligence operations. The authors, moreover, seem either unaware or purposefully ignore other evidence recorded in recently released, if often heavily redacted, FBI files documenting the intensity of the FBI's surveillance of Soviet officials and Communist activists. These records confirm that the FBI wiretapped both the Soviet embassy in Washington and Communist Party headquarters, bugged crucial meetings of Soviet and Communist underground agents, uncovered Soviet funding of the Communist Party, and had the unanticipated benefit of the 1943 defection of Soviet official Victor Kravchenko. Indicative of their biases, the authors cite a 1940 FBI report to the Roosevelt White House bragging about the FBI's intensive and successful monitoring of German agents as one reason why the FBI failed to monitor Soviet activities—yet in this same report FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover also bragged about the FBI's successful monitoring of Soviet activities. Other released FBI records document that despite the wartime alliance the FBI intensively monitored Communist activities

throughout the World War II era, including initiating in 1942 a massive investigation of Communist influence in Hollywood.

These are not quibbles over minor errors but highlight the glaring deficiencies of Haynes and Klehr's tendentious book. One can hope that more serious scholars will not only conform their conclusions to the evidence documented by the Venona records but also press Russian and U.S. officials to release all relevant records pertaining to Soviet espionage and U.S. counterintelligence. Only then will we successfully decode "Soviet espionage in America."

ATHAN THEOHARIS
Marquette University

NEIL JUMONVILLE. *Henry Steele Commager: Midcentury Liberalism and the History of the Present*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 328. \$49.95.

The problem with this curious volume is contained in the tenuous relationship between the title and the subtitle. In making the life of historian Henry Steele Commager (1902–1998) emblematic of the fate of midcentury liberalism, Neil Jumonville has written not so much a biography as a series of ruminations on, among other things, the forgotten virtues of consensus historians, the need for historians to participate in public debate, and the limitations of the present-day multicultural Left. These are defensible positions, but Jumonville is at pains to demonstrate that his preoccupations illuminate Commager's life and work. His tendency to hold that Commager's critics often had the better arguments (judgments he does not always sustain) only deepens the mystery of why he believes Commager should be reconsidered.

Commager's prominence as a historian for over fifty years certainly commands attention. Overcoming a difficult childhood, Commager was extraordinarily productive. Among his professional accomplishments were *The Growth of the American Republic* (1927), a landmark textbook coauthored with Samuel Eliot Morison; *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the 1880s* (1950), an important entry in American intellectual history; books on Alexis Tocqueville and the Enlightenment; and his editorship of "The New American Nation" series and the indispensable *Documents of American History*. Jumonville seems uncertain what to make of these achievements. He lightly praises the textbook and slights the editorial work entirely. Given the centrality of *The American Mind* in Commager's career, Jumonville handles it rather perfunctorily. He briefly notes its emphasis on pragmatism and reports the contemporary reviews before judging it analytically weak and overly general. Missing is any engagement with its thesis or specific judgments.

Jumonville's overriding interest is Commager's liberal journalism. A sensibility rather than an ideology, Commager's liberalism rejected theory (read Marx-

ism) as an a priori straitjacket, celebrated dissent because it enriched the marketplace of ideas, and sided with the "little folk" against the interests. Bringing this mixture of Thomas Jefferson and John Dewey to bear on Constitutional issues, Commager weighed in during the New Deal on such knotty problems as judicial review and executive power, reversing his position when political balances later shifted. Particularly noteworthy were his trenchant and often lonely attacks on McCarthyite loyalty tests and his early and strenuous criticism of the American war in Vietnam. On these matters, Jumonville admires Commager's commitment more than his intellectual depth. Pointing to Commager's "impatience with philosophical precision" (p. 112), Jumonville contends Commager did not address the concerns of Roger Baldwin and Sidney Hook, who saw Commager's anti-anticommunism as a naive belief in infinite tolerance that was oblivious to consequences.

Jumonville's struggle to discern Commager's significance is apparent in his inability to give a coherent account of Commager's liberalism. He initially places Commager in the Progressive camp, noting his indebtedness to Vernon Louis Parrington's view that American history was a struggle between the economically privileged and the economically disadvantaged. The Depression, he holds, forced Commager to blend Jeffersonian ends with Hamiltonian means. That characterization obscures how difficult it often is to separate ends and means and accepts at face value Commager's self-understanding. More perplexing is Jumonville's extended defense of consensus historians against their New Left critics. He seems to think that showing that Louis Hartz, Richard Hofstadter, and Henry Nash Smith had leftist backgrounds refutes charges they supported the social order. The issue, however, is the character of their work, which he does not explore. In any event, since consensus historians rejected both Commager's reliance on Progressive dichotomies and his optimism and few New Leftists rallied around his Jeffersonianism or his preference for high culture, Commager seems a bystander to this particular quarrel.

Nor does Jumonville capture Commager's significance as a public figure in his insistence that Commager's career exemplified the inherent tension between the scholarship function of objective presentation of research to peers and the intellectual one of accessibly written partisanship. This needlessly rigid framework reduces "scholarly" to "academic" and "intellectual" to "opinionated." It can not explain how Charles Beard, Hofstadter, and Commager's son-in-law, Christopher Lasch, to name three historians read by public and professionals alike, combined deep thinking, clear writing, and political commitment to reorient the understanding of the past while simultaneously advancing public debate. Jumonville's discussion invites the conclusion that Commager's contributions were not of this order. That is hardly a black mark, since few are. Had he not struggled so hard to make Commager

"representative," Jumonville might have appreciated that Commager's success as a public historian owed much to his singular, atypical character.

DANIEL H. BORUS
University of Rochester

FREDERICK J. SIMONELLI. *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 206. \$29.95.

George Lincoln Rockwell founded the American Nazi Party in 1958. Born in 1918, he grew up with an overbearing and indifferent father and a weak and docile mother. His parents divorced when "Link," as he was called, turned six. His mother then took him, along with his younger brother and sister, and moved in with her sister. For ten months of the year, the family lived with this bullying and brutish aunt; during the summer months, the children stayed with their father's family in Maine. Although the children loved being with their father's relatives (their father was both cold and emotionally distant), "Link" described his aunt's abode as a "penitentiary" (p. 10).

As both an adolescent and adult, Rockwell could not accept the legitimacy of authority except when in the armed forces. He had difficulty in maintaining cordial relations with anyone except his mother, and he spewed forth anger, hatred, and resentment toward almost everyone he encountered. He could never hold a job for long and two marriages failed. His first, in 1943, resulted in the birth of three daughters and divorce a decade later. A second marriage also produced a child and a divorce.

Rockwell's obsession with Jews emerged in the early 1950s. Although exposed to anti-Semitic sentiments in his youth, no one in the family displayed intense emotions on the subject. But for Rockwell, determined to wipe out the people whom he regarded as the cause of most of the world's misery, indifference or mildly negative attitudes could not be tolerated. He therefore set out to capture the public's imagination with a dramatic attack. "The only cure for 'Jewitis,'" he wrote, "is old Doctor Adolf's GAS-cure" (p. 47). After he founded the American Nazi Party (ANP), spies from Jewish defense organizations infiltrated it. They discovered that despite Rockwell's bluster, the organization never garnered more than about 500 followers, of whom only about 100 were active members. Therefore the research director of the American Jewish Committee urged other Jewish organizations to refrain from commenting on Rockwell and giving him more publicity. Nonetheless, a national, media-driven campaign gave the ANP and its *fuehrer* much more attention than this tiny group deserved. Rockwell's threats and promises frightened Jews in the United States until one of his fellow party members assassinated him in 1967.

Rockwell expressed opinions that no rational person could accept. During the postwar era, he obsessed

about "communist traitors" in our midst (p. 77), made references to "Martin Luther Coon" (p. 75), despised "homosexuals as one despises syphilis germs" (p. 77), and believed that "women should be trained like dogs" (p. 80). In 1966, he coined the term "White Power" in response to H. Rap Brown's demand for "Black Power." Rockwell, however, was extremely popular on the college lecture circuit, where his speaking fees kept rising in the 1960s. Whether students invited him for enlightenment or titillation is not clear.

In this first and deeply researched scholarly monograph on Rockwell, Frederick J. Simonelli has provided us with an insightful analysis. Rockwell, Simonelli argues, was "a talented adapter and pitchman . . . [He] had a knack for coming up with the right phrase, the right slogan, [and] the right image in a well-timed publicity campaign" (p. 100). All dangerous demagogues are skilled in these traits, yet except for a few, practically everyone in the United States rejected Rockwell's message. However, the characteristics that he displayed have been used by others to much greater effect. Simonelli's book is well worth reading. It provides a sensible antidote to the shrill cries of hateful leaders.

LEONARD DINNERSTEIN
University of Arizona

KATHLEEN W. JONES. *Taming the Troublesome Child: American Families, Child Guidance, and the Limits of Psychiatric Authority*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 310. \$47.50.

In 1925, prominent American psychiatrist William Healy received a letter from a distraught mother. Should her husband allow their daughter to go out "automobiling" with "Tom, Dick, and Harry . . . and getting home at two or three in the morning?" she asked. "I begged him not to allow her to go," she added. "He will tell her 'you mustn't come home so late, honey,' and perhaps two nights later she will come home later or not at all and nothing is said" (p. 128). In uncovering and analyzing such requests for help, Kathleen W. Jones's study explores one of the most striking developments to affect the twentieth-century American family: the emergence of a new relationship between middle-class parents and psychiatric experts. She explicates this relationship by focusing on the movement that came to be called "child guidance."

Jones bases her study on the records of the Judge Baker Foundation, a clinic founded by the Boston philanthropic community in 1917 and headed by Healy, a respected authority on delinquency. To gauge changes in clinical practices, she examines this institution's records for 1920, 1935, and 1945-1946, including medical histories, psychological tests, court records, and personal correspondence. Although, in the 1910s, Healy had largely understood delinquency as a lower-class phenomenon, by the 1920s his emphasis had shifted to the complaints of middle-class parents. In response, his clinic offered troubled teens a range of

services that often blended sex education, vocational counseling, and individual therapy. By the 1940s, Jones shows, the term "child guidance" had acquired even broader meanings, for it referred simultaneously to a psychodynamic interpretation of behavior, a therapeutic team approach toward resolving disciplinary problems, and a critique of contemporary parenting practices.

Jones spends relatively few pages on the theorists who most influenced practitioners such as Healy, among them G. Stanley Hall, Adolf Meyer, and Sigmund Freud. Instead, she concentrates on explicating social interactions. She closely analyzes the working relationship among psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers who constituted the "child guidance team." Jones also examines the strategies employed by therapists who often defended rebellious teens against controlling parents. "If child guidance delegitimated words like parental control and authority," she argues, it also "created a new vocabulary for the parenting role through the concept of 'emotional needs'" (p. 140).

Particularly insightful is Jones's analysis of the methods used to move child guidance messages beyond the clinic. For instance, she astutely compares the didactic parables included in many 1920s child guidance pamphlets and parents' magazines (such as "The Story of Mother Wise," which followed the travails of "Mr. and Mrs. Want-To-Do-Right") with the appeals to women produced by advertising copywriters of the same decade. In both genres, Jones argues, new authorities offered new solutions to "everyday problems." "Both advertisers and child guidance authors problematized the expressions of a child's emotional life," including crying, moodiness, nervousness, or rebelliousness, she notes (p. 102). Both tried to convince women to eschew old-fashioned ideas and instead adopt a modern approach advocated by experts. Jones's evidence blends well with other studies of this era, particularly in stressing the centrality of changing ideas about gender in shaping clinical practices. For instance, many women were acutely aware that advice from their Victorian mothers would no longer suffice for their modern daughters. Equally important was the increasing stress placed on raising a "real boy." Linked to such concerns, Jones shows, was the rise in "mother blaming" evident within psychiatric literature. Yet Jones also offers evidence of women resisting such messages, for her records show mothers who challenged professionals, ignored their advice, or simply refused to return to the clinic.

These findings lead Jones to several conclusions about this movement's impact. Although the growing number of such clinics suggests the success of the child guidance movement, equally evident are its limitations. In fact, their self-proclaimed scientific expertise notwithstanding, psychiatrists often had as little success as parents in actually changing the behavior of recalcitrant or delinquent teens. By exploring both the inherent tensions and the broader cultural concerns that shaped this new relationship between parents and

therapists, Jones's sensitive and gracefully written study offers a welcome contribution to both the history of medicine and the history of the family.

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JAMES H. CAPSHEW. *Psychologists on the March: Science, Practice, and Professional Identity in America, 1929–1969*. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Psychology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 276. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

"This study," James H. Capshew writes, "explores the complex relations that existed among professionalism, science, and ideology in American psychology during the middle of the twentieth century" (p. 5). Of the three topics mentioned, Capshew devotes the bulk of his story to the first. His is largely an account of the transformation of psychology from a laboratory-based experimental discipline into an applied service-oriented profession. The two world wars were crucial to that transformation: they offered psychologists increased resources and new opportunities, particularly those engaged in statistical and clinical studies. And in his chapters on the World War II, Capshew provides a close analysis of how the war created a special environment and how, in almost Darwinian fashion, some kinds of psychologists flourished and others fared less well. In the war's aftermath, psychologists faced a dilemma: "how to maintain an identity as a scientific discipline while at the same time provide a widening array of consulting services" (p. 244). Capshew's argument that in "reflexivity"—that is, in reflecting on themselves and their science—they found "the intellectual glue that mediated between 'scientific' and 'professional' psychology" is not convincing (p. 240). I suspect that few academic psychologists would agree with his statement that "the rhetoric of the self, of experience, of subjectivity provided an idiom for translating individual problems into the universal language of science" (p. 240).

Curiously, Capshew ends his account with the 1969 meeting of the American Psychological Association. He sees this gathering as proof positive of the profession's growing concern with its social role—as if this growing concern were the *terminus ad quem* of some "developmental logic" (p. 24). Nowhere does he discuss the Vietnam War, which pushed a number of professional organizations, the American Historical Association among them, in a similar direction. Here ideology played a key role, and here, despite his announced intention to weave it into the fabric of his story, Capshew simply leaves it out.

Another glaring omission: the man presiding over that meeting of the American Psychological Association was George A. Miller. In Capshew's book, Miller makes an appearance delivering the keynote address on "Psychology as a Means of Promoting Human Welfare"; he does not figure as a leader in cognitive

psychology and cognitive science. The book in fact ends just at the point when cognitive psychology was producing a major shift away from the prevailing behaviorism. Thus Capshew, his aim to include science in his account notwithstanding, leaves out what is arguably the most exciting work of the last forty years.

In his text, as opposed to his subtitle, Capshew does not claim to be writing the history of disciplinary practices. Still, I cannot help wanting something more ethnographic, something to evoke and convey what it was like to be working in those psychological fields that were coming to dominate the profession—if only in numbers. Capshew tries to meet this demand by including vignettes drawn from the life of Edwin Boring; but by the book's starting point, Boring was already so well established that he cannot represent psychologists-in-the-making. In short, the profession's institutions, their expansion, and their transformation—not its practices nor its theories—are Capshew's strength.

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JESSICA WANG. *American Science in an Age of Anxiety: Scientists, Anticommunism, and the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 375. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Jessica Wang's book is an important contribution to the history of American science and so to the history of the twentieth century. Linking the political with the scientific endeavors of American scientists in the Cold War, it provides a compelling account of the constraints that nationalism put on the scientific community in the atomic age. Whereas the initial bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki galvanized atomic scientists with a public political role and voice, in subsequent years scientists came to participate in the technocratic elitism of Cold War liberalism. Wang narrates this transition, carefully articulating the opportunities as well as the limitations that postwar scientists' political position provided. In so doing, she treats scientists neither as the victims nor the agents of the militarization and bureaucratization of science, but instead reform the issue in terms of the kind of scientific identity that emerged in the early years of the Cold War. This nuanced, extensively documented study thus adds significantly to our understanding of the shaping of contemporary American science and culture as it details the political processes and encounters within which contemporary American science emerged.

There is a pronounced tendency for American Cold War history to associate scientists with democracy, progress, and objectivity. From the hagiographic treatment of popular scientists such as Carl Sagan to the more serious historical accounts of the Cold War victimization of scientists like J. Robert Oppenheimer, one finds the view that American scientists successfully resisted the hysterical anticommunism of the Cold War and provided a bulwark of reason and neutrality. Such

a view, Wang points out, not only pays insufficient attention to the recent work of historians of science but also fails to connect American science with the national security state as the primary provider of research funding. In so doing, it presents the scientific community as unified and monolithic when in actuality it was diverse and fragmented. By focusing on the 1945–1950 period, Wang is able to detail the changing role of scientists in the debates that defined the Cold War political consensus. American scientists contested and affirmed this consensus as they moved from a position critical of the status quo to one that, as it relied on governmental grants and opportunities, pursued more limited policy outcomes.

Wang develops her account with five well-chosen cases of early postwar scientists harassed for their political beliefs: Eugene Rabinowitch, John and Hildred Blewett, Robert H. Vought, Harlow Shapley, and Edward U. Condon. The cases demonstrate the range of persecution and surveillance scientists endured. The scientists were at different stages in their careers. They were employed in different universities, agencies, and industries. They had varying levels of political activity. And, their harassment ranged from denial of security clearances to full-out accusation and investigation by the House Committee on Un-American Activity (HUAC). Given this monitoring, one might have expected scientists to have left positions that required them to submit to the federal loyalty and security system. Wang argues that this was not the case: not only did most of the scientists who left do so out of dissatisfaction with low pay and government bureaucracy, but the actual percentage of scientists employed by the government increased in 1950 and 1952. Indeed, even in their more active responses to the security investigations forced upon scientists, organizations such as the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the National Academy of Sciences, and the Federation of American Scientists "did little more than study the personnel security problem and recommend procedural reforms through the appropriate official channels" (p. 183). Although membership in the American Association for the Advancement of Science itself came to be suspect—because of the presence of "alleged communists or communist sympathizers" among its officers—the organization failed to undertake any vigorous public or educational effort to combat the entangled demands for loyalty and conformity that hindered its members.

Also interesting is Wang's contribution to debates over American anticommunism. Unlike recent apologies for America's Cold War stance that emphasize new evidence of communist influence and security leaks, Wang argues that, during the late 1940s, the actions of the Truman administration, HUAC, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had less to do with a considered response to carefully analyzed evidence than with domestic concerns and increasing paranoia. Using FBI documents acquired through the Freedom of Information Act, Wang narrates the Bu-

reau's extensive use of surveillance and confidential informants to monitor the activities of the Federation of American Scientists. "Repeatedly," Wang writes, "the FBI implied that there was something antidemocratic and conspiratorial about normal political lobbying conducted by the federation" (p. 78). Moreover, she argues that the emphasis on ideological risk, an emphasis that not only had a low probability of actually catching spies but clearly contradicted American claims to freedom, had a chilling, normalizing effect: only aberrant personalities could be seen as potential traitors. Wang concludes by emphasizing that the ultimate assessment of America's Cold War legacy will depend on the newly opened archives from the former Soviet Union and historical scholarship. Her excellent study should surely be counted as a major contribution to this important effort.

JODI DEAN

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JEFFREY T. RICHELSON. *America's Space Sentinels: DSP Satellites and National Security*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. xix, 329. \$35.00.

Jeffrey T. Richelson's professional insights and access to sources are extraordinary. His published work presses (and perhaps at times exceeds) the limits of classification. Years before the history of the Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) Corona reconnaissance satellites had been declassified, he wrote of the program under that name—and presented descriptions of follow-on systems, including the KH-11. Richelson stands alongside William Broad of the *New York Times* in the depth of his work. A new book by him certainly merits close attention.

This book presents an extensively researched history of a program that has received little public attention: the Defense Support Program (DSP). It has built a succession of orbiting spacecraft that had the initial purpose of providing the earliest possible warning of Soviet Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) launches, by observing the infrared emissions of their exhaust plumes following liftoff. The Midas program, precursor to the DSP and dating to the late 1950s, represented an initial effort that sought to demonstrate the pertinent technology.

This effort drew challenges from specialists who doubted that such infrared detection was feasible. The spacecraft might fail to detect missiles that used fuels with low infrared radiance, while reporting false targets due to sunlight reflected from clouds. Midas 7, launched in May 1963, set these concerns to rest. It observed nine American missile launches, including solid-fueled Minuteman and Polaris missiles that had low exhaust radiance.

A follow-up spacecraft, in 1966, detected the launch of a Soviet submarine-launched missile even though its exhaust was unusually dim in the infrared. This brought an expansion of the DSP mission, which now

grew to embrace real-time detection of further submarine launches. Such missiles, fired from close range at Washington and other coastal cities, provided minimal warning times.

An operational system entered service after 1970. Its data analysts did not merely sit in readiness for a nuclear war that never came; they stayed on their toes by observing test launches of Soviet and Chinese ICBMs and other missiles. Their spacecraft also detected nuclear tests in the atmosphere. These satellites flew in geosynchronous orbit but proved sensitive enough to track air-to-air missiles fired during Israel's war of October 1973.

When the Soviets began to deploy their Backfire supersonic bomber, the DSP system proved capable of observing the infrared emissions of their afterburners and of tracking them in flight. This brought a further expansion of the DSP, as its spacecraft followed the flights of these aircraft under a program called Slow Walker.

Although the DSP had been built and operated as a strategic asset, it took on a theater and tactical role during the Iran-Iraq War of the 1980s. These nations repeatedly attacked each other with Scud-class missiles, and DSP observed their launches. This experience proved useful during the Gulf War in 1991, as DSP extended the warning times for Iraq's Scud attacks while helping to locate mobile launch sites. DSP thus showed its value in low-level wars.

The system has relied on a controversial ground station in Australia, which drew opposition because it might have exposed that nation to nuclear attack. Richelson presents its story in detail. He also covers the efforts of recent years aimed at introducing a next-generation system. This is taking form as Space Based Infrared System (SBIRS) and is to replace DSP during the coming decade.

This book has its faults. Early chapters are hard to read, lacking smooth narrative flow. It uses an alphabet soup of acronyms, which is unavoidable in a book of this type, and provides a listing of the same that fills five pages. Yet that roster leaves out a number of acronyms that appear within the text.

But with allowance for these shortcomings, this book is important. It valuably broadens the existing literature on space reconnaissance, which until now has focused almost exclusively on photographic imagery. It also contributes significantly to an ongoing effort in the history of missiles and space flight: to document the activities of the Air Force and CIA with the same thoroughness that has long held for the work of the civilian space program of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

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JULIAN E. ZELIZER. *Taxing America: Wilbur D. Mills, Congress, and the State, 1945–1975*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 384. \$49.95.

GAYLE B. MONTGOMERY and JAMES W. JOHNSON. *One Step from the White House: The Rise and Fall of Senator William F. Knowland*. Assisted by PAUL G. MANOLIS. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 361. \$29.95.

Although Representative Wilbur D. Mills and Senator William F. Knowland had certain things in common, the same cannot be said of these two books. In their often absorbing biography of Knowland, Gayle B. Montgomery and James W. Johnson wrestle tenaciously with a bafflingly complicated individual. Along the way, one learns quite a lot about the broader character of the times within which the Californian lived, but essentially this is the story of one enigmatic man's rise and fall. Julian E. Zelizer's book, by contrast, is centrally concerned with the character of the postwar American state, and its author's interest in Mills is confined to those aspects of the Arkansan's career that illuminate this broader issue.

Montgomery and Johnson got to know Knowland as journalists on his Oakland *Tribune*, and both their profession and that personal association shine through in their book, which was written in collaboration with the senator's closest friend and with the cooperation of his family. As one might expect, their treatment is respectful and broadly sympathetic, but they also have an eye for a good story and a determination to present a well-rounded view of their subject. Knowland comes across as a personally awkward and intellectually limited man whose ascent to national prominence was made possible in part by his father's money and influence, but in further part by his own qualities of drive and resilience.

Knowland belonged more to the Taft than to the Eisenhower wing of his party and became known best for his passionate leadership of the China Lobby (he was known as the "Senator from Formosa"). That and a congenital inability to compromise made for an awkward relationship with Dwight D. Eisenhower, who once remarked that Knowland's "idea of foreign policy was to develop high blood pressure at the mention of China" (p. 147). Still, as the authors note, that very awkwardness made the Californian an admired figure on the right, leading him to believe that he might win his party's presidential nomination (the title of the book is a rather strained allusion to the possibility that Robert Taft might have chosen Knowland as his running mate had he been nominated by the GOP).

Knowland led his party in the Senate and became the dominant figure in his state during the mid-1950s, but in his bid to rise still further he made a disastrous political misjudgment that ended his career: challenging an incumbent Republican for the governorship of California in 1958, he divided the party and sent the whole statewide ticket down to defeat. Returning to Oakland to take charge of the then-powerful *Tribune*, which his family owned, this seemingly formidable and self-possessed man fell apart. The final third of the book chronicles a catastrophic story of alcohol, gam-

bling, and unwise liaisons, culminating in financial ruin and suicide. This sordid series of events is reported in straightforward journalistic style, and one is left to interpret for oneself the baffling self-destructiveness of Knowland's final years.

Scholars of the post-New Deal American state have often been preoccupied with its underdevelopment, transfixed by Depression-era possibilities of social democratic transformation that came to naught. As Zelizer remarks, these historians and social scientists "have provided a comprehensive history of the policies and policy makers who failed to achieve their goals in the twentieth century" (p. 6). By contrast, and refreshingly, Zelizer is concerned with Mills, who as longtime chair of the House Committee on Ways and Means played a pivotal role in shaping the development of federal social and economic policy after 1945. So influential was Mills, in fact, that by the 1960s he was routinely being described as the second most powerful man in Washington.

Zelizer attributes this influence to a number of factors. First, Congress retained its traditional primacy in the area of Mills's particular expertise—tax policy—despite the growing dominance of the executive branch in other spheres. Second, committee chairmen benefited from the hierarchical structure of the prereform Congress. Third, Mills had an unmatched mastery of the United States tax code and social security system. And fourth, he was a superb legislative manager whose stamina, procedural grasp, and gift for compromise impressed friends and adversaries alike.

According to Zelizer, Mills enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with members of the "tax community," a cluster of anonymous but influential bureaucrats, legal scholars, economists, and interest-group representatives who disagreed on many matters of detail but also had much in common, not least a shared belief in compensatory Keynesianism, incrementalism, specialized expertise, and the fundamental virtue of the American way of life. Mills respected and benefited from their ideas and expertise, while they learned to appreciate his intelligence, flexibility, and political acumen.

Together, Zelizer argues, they built an impressive record of legislative accomplishment that included tax reform (culminating in the 1969 bill) and a whole series of liberalizations in social security (1950, 1956, 1962, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1972). A later generation would deprecate the elitism and unaccountability of these post-New Deal technocrats, but Zelizer admires their capacity to forge "viable compromises" from the "fragmented structure of American government."

In order to recreate the policy-making world of Wilbur Mills, Zelizer has perforce to engage some rather technical debates, meaning that his book is not always easy to read. During the occasional arid passage, one rather wishes that Fanne Foxe (the Washington stripper with whom Mills became entangled in the early 1970s) had been a member of the tax community. Nevertheless, this is a book that rewards

as well as requires careful attention. For one thing, it is based on extraordinarily deep archival research and secondary reading. For another, its author is opinionated without being polemical, deftly exposing the inadequacy of the "end of reform" approach to post-war American history and offering an alternative model that is highly sophisticated and thoroughly convincing. All in all, Zelizer combines the disciplines of history and political science in ways that suggest a bright future for the emerging subdiscipline of policy history.

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ROBERT KUMAMOTO. *International Terrorism and American Foreign Relations, 1945-1976*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1999. Pp. 232. \$45.00.

Robert Kumamoto argues that American policy toward international terrorism in the period 1945-1976 depended on the range and complexity of other foreign policy interests. Unable to isolate the issue of terrorism from the "big picture" of American foreign relations, the president and the State Department had to pursue policies that were cautious, flexible, and moderate. Such "adaptability" often led allies to perceive the United States as "soft on terrorism." The need to balance policy toward terrorism against other pressing concerns, such as containment of the Soviet Union or regional stability, was determining even when Americans were targeted.

The cases analyzed in terms of this framework are the Zionist resistance to the British in Palestine, 1945-1948; the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) against the French in Algeria, 1954-1962, and Palestinian violence associated with the struggle against Israel, 1968-1976. This chronological progression allows the author to trace the historical development of policy through six American administrations. All the conflicts involved American policy toward the Middle East and represented nationalist struggles against what was perceived as foreign occupation. Furthermore, some of the organizations using terrorism subsequently acquired political power and legitimacy: through statehood in the case of Israel and Algeria and territorial "authority" in the case of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Moreover, as Kumamoto points out, all these cases were well publicized, thus facilitating the task of research. They are also much studied. The secondary literature on each is daunting, and it is fair to say that the author has not tried to encompass it, preferring instead to focus as far as possible on the inside record of American policy.

There are useful lessons to be found here. The historical analysis of these events ably demonstrates that the United States found it difficult to condemn terrorism under all circumstances. It was not possible to have a consistent counter-terrorism policy, even when Americans were victims. Successive presidential

administrations, Republican and Democrat, were often confused and indecisive. They were pressured to satisfy diverse constituencies, both domestic and foreign. The principles behind policy were contradictory, as policy makers sought to discourage terrorism but not nationalism or to criticize over-reactions on the part of allies while maintaining their security. The implementation of policy was unavoidably on a case-by-case basis. Different bureaucracies within the government often disagreed over principle and practice.

For example, in the case of Mandate Palestine, the Truman administration sought simultaneously to express humanitarian concern for European Jews, prevent Arab governments from allying with the Soviet Union, distance itself from colonialism, and maintain an alliance with Great Britain, especially in Europe. Pro-Zionist interest groups pushed in one direction, while British officials pushed in the other. Typically the United States found itself pleasing neither. During the Algerian war, although the United States tended to be sympathetic toward nationalist aspirations, both the French government and the FLN criticized the passivity of American positions. The Palestinian case is the most instructive. Kumamoto observes that from the outset the United States lacked a cohesive or reasoned policy (p. 126). Unable to procure multilateral cooperation and prohibited from an aggressive policy by the need to gauge its effects on the prospects for peace in the Middle East, the United States vacillated. Although in 1973 officials in the Nixon administration were aware of links between the Black September organization and the PLO, they still entered into secret talks with PLO representatives. The need to sustain the peace process took precedence over outrage.

Despite the value of this analysis, some problems can be noted. It is difficult to discuss policy toward terrorism, especially in light of the author's general argument, without also describing its full foreign policy context, which produces an occasionally diffuse account. Original documents are used most extensively in the first case, to a degree in the second, and least comprehensively in the third. The information presented is not necessarily novel, since much is based on published memoirs, press accounts, or, in the specific case of terrorism, secondary sources. One puzzling omission concerns the events of 1973. Kumamoto refers to the deaths in Khartoum of two American diplomats at the hands of Black September. He fails to mention that this incident marked the inauguration of the American policy of no concessions to terrorist demands, which was controversial even at the time. Furthermore, the distinctions among different organizations within broader nationalist movements deserve more emphasis.

Nevertheless, this work is an important reminder that terrorism is an old problem for American policy. Dealing with it has not become any easier.

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H. W. BRANDS, editor. *The Foreign Policies of Lyndon Johnson: Beyond Vietnam*. (Foreign Relations and the Presidency, number 1.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1999. Pp. 194. \$29.95.

Lyndon B. Johnson's historical legacy is forever linked to the Vietnam War. Early in his administration, Johnson identified Vietnam as the nation's greatest foreign policy concern, and his subsequent decision to fight a large-scale American war on behalf of South Vietnam would prove to be his political undoing; he departed the Oval Office in 1969 a man broken by the war and the deep social divisions it created. He died a scant four years later, just as the American phase of this long and bloody war was drawing to a close.

But there was more to Johnson's foreign policy than Vietnam. In recent years, several worthy studies have appeared that have gone beyond Indochina and examined the larger spectrum of American foreign policy in the years 1963–1968; in particular, there are edited volumes by the team of Warren I. Cohen and Nancy Bernkopf Tucker and by Diane B. Kunz (the latter of which also covers the Kennedy years) and a single-author study by H. W. Brands. Now Brands has returned to the subject, editing a very useful collection of essays by established specialists. Beginning with a chapter by Robert Dallek on Johnson as a world leader, the book proceeds with chapters by John Prados on the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), Thomas A. Schwartz on Johnson and Western Europe, and William O. Walker III on relations with Cuba. In the second half of the book, we find Peter Felten on the intervention in the Dominican Republic, Douglas Little on the Six-Day War, and, finally, Robert J. McMahon on the administration's relations with three Asian allies.

If a single theme runs through the essays, it is that Johnson himself dominated foreign policy making during his presidency, even as he preferred to focus his energies on domestic affairs. Maybe, but on the basis of the evidence mustered in this book it is hard to be sure. Even more open to question is the suggestion in several of the essays that the president was also a very well-informed and sophisticated foreign policy strategist. Dallek is surely correct that "the jury is still out on Johnson as a foreign policy leader" (p. 8), but for the present there still seems much to recommend the "orthodox" view that he was a parochial and unimaginative foreign policy thinker, a man vulnerable to clichés about international affairs and lacking interest in the world beyond America's shores.

Whatever the jury's ultimate verdict, it does not necessarily bear on our assessment of foreign policy in the Johnson years, and it is possible even now to reach general conclusions about a number of specific issues. With the exception of Vietnam, the record looks reasonably good. Prados makes a convincing case that the administration laid important ground work for the SALT I agreements that would come in the Richard M. Nixon presidency, and Schwartz demonstrates that

senior officials scored real successes in their efforts to keep the Western alliance on an even keel despite the numerous crises that roiled during the mid and late 1960s. The Walker and Felten essays enhance our understanding of Caribbean policy and demonstrate just how large the figure of Fidel Castro loomed in U.S. strategizing about the region. Walker concludes that, by the end of Johnson's tenure, Washington had won the battle with Castro over dominance in the Western Hemisphere, and Felten shows how the administration framed the choice in the Dominican Republic in 1965 as one between a Castro victory and U.S. intervention. On the Middle East, Little ably describes both the limits of American power to affect developments and the intense mistrust with which the Johnson team viewed Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser in the lead-up to the Six-Day War. And McMahon, a leading scholar of U.S. relations with the so-called periphery in the Cold War, sheds new light on ties with some of the Asian allies *other* than South Vietnam, specifically Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines.

But of course, South Vietnam still looms large. McMahon shows just how deeply all three of these bilateral relationships were affected by the large-scale fighting in Indochina. The same was true elsewhere. Notwithstanding the "Beyond Vietnam" focus of this volume, the war in Vietnam is an important subtext throughout the book. It deserved more explicit treatment. This is a slim volume, and I would have liked to see included a chapter—perhaps even two—that examined the wider international context of the Vietnam War and the impact it had on the broader U.S. diplomacy. If the war was in fact items one, two, and three in the administration's foreign policy deliberations after the start of 1965, what did this mean for other important policy issues? In particular, what did it mean for East-West relations, for the prospect of detente with the Soviet Union and possible rapprochement with the People's Republic of China? And what about North-South relations, the difficult frictions in the 1960s between rich and poor nations? Vietnam was a towering issue in world affairs during the second half of the decade, and greater attention to it would have made this valuable volume an even better one.

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FREDRIK LOGEVALL. *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xxviii, 529. \$35.00.

Fredrik Logevall's articulate, tightly argued, and well-documented monograph is an impressive analysis of Vietnam War policy making during what he terms "the Long 1964" (p. xiii). This period began with John F. Kennedy's decision to end support of Ngo Dinh Diem

in August 1963 and ended with Lyndon B. Johnson's ordering of the Rolling Thunder bombing operation and landing of marines at Danang in February and March of 1965. Abetted by Robert S. McNamara, Dean Rusk, and McGeorge Bundy, Johnson chose war in Vietnam over negotiations in 1965, the author concludes, primarily to avoid the personal and political stigma of a leadership failure. Considering the enormous human and social costs that flowed from the decision, it must, in Logevall's view, be judged "immoral" (p. 412). The book is something of a scholarly equivalent of "Hey, hey, LBJ! How many kids did you kill today?"

Logevall challenges historians of the Vietnam War to reexamine Johnson's Americanization of the conflict. His book deserves accolades for its solid research and bold argument. Rejecting the quagmire notion that top U.S. officials unwittingly led their nation into disaster in Vietnam, Logevall rehabilitates the so-called stalemate idea that national leaders knew there were no good outcomes available for U.S. policy but were loath to admit defeat. The cynicism of the stalemate thesis has been softened by the work of liberal-realist historians who have written that presidents meant to protect the national interest and promote democracy but made any number of cultural, strategic, or down-right stupid mistakes. On Johnson specifically, major works by Robert Dallek, Lloyd C. Gardner, and George C. Herring have examined why the president was hemmed in by limited options or was personally ill-suited to preside over a counterinsurgency war. Logevall dramatically reverses the trend of broadening responsibility for the war and places accountability directly on Johnson.

Logevall maintains that Johnson had a genuine choice. He dismisses structural explanations—such as Cold War consensus or economic imperatives—as "fuzzy" (p. xxiv) and stresses contingency: that is, the existence of real options. With evidence from U.S., British, Canadian, French, and Swedish archives and American and European newspapers, he contends that a negotiated settlement was available in "the Long 1964." Leaders of major U.S. allies, influential members of the U.S. Senate, and prominent journalists, Logevall reports, were on record as being in favor of a Laos-type neutralization of Vietnam. There are signs that Hanoi, Moscow, and Beijing were amenable to negotiations. The American public was largely indifferent, and the South Vietnamese people were growing weary of instability and violence. Kennedy and Johnson resisted negotiations, however. The best time for arranging a peaceful settlement came in the weeks following Johnson's sweeping electoral triumph in November 1964, but, Logevall maintains, Johnson had already decided to escalate. A "permissive context" (p. 403) in which international and domestic doubters failed to stand up to Johnson allowed the president to place the United States on the escalator. The war seems so clearly unnecessary as to make it nearly unfathomable how intelligent leaders could have made

such a terrible choice. Logevall discovers a number of sensible voices, but Johnson's conduct he labels a "mystery" (p. 298), explainable only by a psychological need (not fully defined) to dominate, win, and never concede defeat. While not entirely new, the argument is presented with great cogency and with new documentation of the international context of Washington's choices.

The big Texan was an imposing personality, but Johnson's power to intimidate can be overdrawn. He did not have to coerce McNamara, Bundy, Rusk, or others to accept the strategic importance of Vietnam. They all held a world view influenced by Munich, containment, the domino theory, and faith in military force. If the United States compromised without having deployed its enormous power, there would be domestic consequences (a who-lost-Vietnam charge similar to who-lost-China earlier) and an international consequence (a weakening of the deterrent effect of U.S. arms). We now know that Hanoi withstood U.S. power, but that outcome was not deemed inevitable in 1965. For Johnson, doing something was better than doing nothing.

Logevall establishes that Johnson had a choice, but did Johnson know that he had a choice? Logevall is not sure. He says that "perhaps [Johnson] understood that he could choose" (p. 374). If Johnson believed he had no choice but to pursue a war he did not want in order to protect the credibility of U.S. power and to preserve his domestic leadership to gain his beloved Great Society, then he and countless others were tragic victims of his ego and his burden of prior U.S. commitments to the fictional government in Saigon. Logevall writes that Johnson "failed to see that the international and domestic political context gave him considerable room to maneuver" (p. 392). If that is true, he was ill-served by his advisers and by his political, strategic, and personal frame of reference: that is, by the structure within which he made his decisions.

Logevall also advances a counterfactual scenario that portrays Kennedy, if he had lived, as not choosing war. It is fashioned on Johnson's idiosyncracies and will doubtless spark much discussion. More important, however, is that Logevall has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of the setting of Johnson's decisions and thus has elevated the level of debate about those decisions.

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JEFFREY KIMBALL. *Nixon's Vietnam War*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xvi, 495. \$39.95.

In many respects, the period of the Nixon presidency is the least known aspect of the Vietnam War. Although a number of senior figures in the administration, including Richard Nixon himself and his foreign policy adviser, Henry Kissinger, have written extensively on

the subject, for the most part the necessary documentary evidence has not yet been released. As a result, many of the key questions about Nixon's policies in Vietnam, including the negotiations in Paris, military operations against the North, the incursion into Cambodia, and the strategy of linkage, remain subject to debate.

In this book, author Jeffrey Kimball exposes the subject to careful scrutiny. As a presidential candidate in 1968, Nixon had claimed that he had a "secret plan" to bring the war to an honorable conclusion. Kimball demonstrates that, in fact, throughout his presidency Nixon groped desperately for a solution that could end the war while preserving the regime of Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon. At first, he placed high hopes on a negotiated settlement, but early initiatives to engage the Soviet Union through the tactics of "linkage" brought only modest results. Nixon's opening to China ultimately had greater success, although, as the author shows, the White House did not initially realize that the China card could be used not only against Moscow but against Hanoi as well.

By the fall of 1969, Nixon's hopes for a quick settlement had been dashed, and he began to seek other solutions. The public face of the administration's strategy was the concept of Vietnamization, involving a withdrawal of U.S. forces combined with efforts to strengthen the Saigon regime. But Nixon had little faith that Vietnamization by itself would succeed; according to Kimball, he favored it primarily as a means of sustaining public support for the war. Kissinger was even more skeptical, expressing the concern that U.S. troop withdrawals would only strengthen Hanoi's determination to persist in the South.

For Nixon, the key to success was the threat and use of military force to obtain concessions from the enemy and enforce the impression that he would do whatever was necessary to bring a satisfactory end to the war. In Kimball's account, the origins of the notorious "madman theory" are shrouded in mystery, although Nixon may have first recognized its potential value when President Dwight D. Eisenhower threatened the use of nuclear weapons in Korea. The concept became a central feature in Nixon's approach to Vietnam, although he was often inconsistent in putting it into practice. A proposal first broached in 1969 to intensify military pressure on North Vietnam through the use of air power and the mining of Haiphong harbor was abandoned because Nixon feared that it would seriously undermine public support for the war in the United States. Only in 1972 would he return to the idea.

The secret bombing of Cambodia and later the invasion of that country in 1970 were designed to demonstrate U.S. resolve and force meaningful concessions from Hanoi. In the meantime, Kissinger probed for signs of compromise in his secret talks with Le Duc Tho in Paris. But such early initiatives to obtain a cease-fire were abortive, for each side was still convinced that it could achieve victory on the battle-

field. It was only two years later, when both sides had begun to recognize the futility of a military solution, that concessions on both sides led to the Paris Agreement in January 1973.

Was Nixon's Vietnam strategy a success? The White House claimed that the peace settlement provided Saigon with a "decent interval" to improve its capacity for self-defense, while preventing the further spread of Communism in Southeast Asia. But a retrospective view suggests that there were serious weaknesses within the Paris agreement itself, for the preservation of Thieu in Saigon hardly compensated for the continued presence of North Vietnamese troops in the South. Within two years, Thieu's regime had collapsed and the Communists obtained their military victory. Nixon would later claim that had he remained in office, the debacle could have been avoided, but Kimball concludes that the policy itself was fatally flawed. Nixon's madman theory lacked sufficient consistency to be effective, while his "triangular diplomacy" did not bring about the concessions needed for a lasting peace. In the meantime, Nixon's devious tactics, his personality disorders, and his penchant for secrecy led to the downfall of his own presidency.

Kimball does not marshal sufficient new evidence to resolve all the lingering controversies about the Nixon strategy in Vietnam. Sometimes his manifest distaste for both Nixon and Kissinger raises questions in the reader's mind about his capacity to deal fairly with the topic. Little credit is ascribed to the fact that the administration, albeit at high cost, was able to extricate the United States from a disastrous war that it had inherited from Nixon's predecessors. Still, this book advances our knowledge of one of the key periods in the history of the American experience in Southeast Asia. It will serve as a standard account of the later phase of the Vietnam War for years to come.

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PERRY BUSH. *Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties: Mennonite Pacifism in Modern America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 362. \$39.95.

The twentieth century has presented profound challenges and opportunities to American pacifists. The futility of World War I drove unprecedented numbers of Americans into the pacifist ranks, but the specter of fascism in World War II prompted most of them to abandon war resistance. Then came the Cold War, the civil rights movement, and Vietnam—events that pushed many Americans into political activism and challenged them to examine their assumptions about the efficacy of violence.

Perry Bush's book traces the struggles of twentieth-century American Mennonites to retain their historic commitment to pacifism. As Bush persuasively delineates, nonresistance was a Mennonite theological tradition with a sociological function: it set Mennonites apart from mainstream American society. The tradi-

tional Anabaptist "two kingdoms" doctrine helped solidify Mennonite outsider status. For centuries, Mennonites had argued that the state constituted a political kingdom that enforced social order at the cost of violating the New Testament's admonitions to love one's enemies and refuse to return evil for evil. Christians, Mennonites contended, should obey the New Testament and respectfully withdraw from the inherently coercive work of government. In short, Mennonites saw themselves as a people apart, occupying one kingdom only: the nonviolent kingdom of Christ.

Bush argues that the twentieth century witnessed two crucial changes in Mennonite understandings of nonresistance. First, gradual acculturation into mainstream society meant not only that Mennonites gave up plain dress and rural identity but also that Mennonites were less comfortable dismissing the state as innately oppressive. Second, once Mennonites began to think of themselves not only as Christians but also as American citizens, they increasingly became interested in reforming American culture, rather than simply enduring it.

Not all Mennonites welcomed these developments. Bush identifies two complicating factors: the persistence of fundamentalism within Mennonite churches, with its emphasis on separatism and private spirituality; and the difficulty of answering Christian realist Reinhold Niebuhr's celebrated dictum that traditional Mennonite pacifism, while consistent with the New Testament, was necessarily politically "irrelevant" inasmuch as Mennonites, like Jesus, preferred martyrdom to civic activism.

Ironically, Bush contends, it was in large part Mennonite resistance to war and the draft that accelerated the acculturation process. The various alternative service programs offered to conscientious objectors in this century helped solidify the historic Mennonite stress on sacrificial service; these programs also integrated young Mennonite men and women into the broader spectrum of American social reform. By the 1950s and 1960s, many Mennonites (most notably, the now-famous ethicist John Howard Yoder) had come to believe that their church had a prophetic calling to witness to the state. Because Mennonites openly lived out their commitments to peace and justice, the Mennonite church could demonstrate to the world that New Testament nonresistance was both a "relevant" and an achievable social ethic. The challenge would be to maintain a distinctively Christian pacifist identity at the same time that Mennonites participated in social reform movements.

This is an important book, if for no other reason than the enormous impact that Yoder has had on the field of social ethics. Niebuhr was the most influential Christian political thinker of this century, and generations of scholars adopted his political realism. Today, however, it is no longer possible to study Niebuhr without also considering Yoder's impassioned defense of the political relevance of Mennonite nonresistance.

Though Bush does not develop this point, it is clear that the acculturation of Mennonites into American society has not only led to changes in Mennonite life and thought but also has made significant contributions to broader American conversations about peace and justice.

In his consideration of Mennonite reactions to conscientious objector programs, Bush provides an absorbing case study of Mennonite struggles to find worthwhile forms of alternative service that did not inadvertently contribute to the war effort. While Bush carefully traces the reactions of leading Mennonite thinkers to this issue, he also gives lively accounts of the difficulties individual Mennonites faced in serving others and giving the state its due without compromising their primary commitment to Christian nonresistance.

In the end, Bush's study illustrates just how perplexing such a project was, as well as how important. As Lawrence S. Witner noted in his classic *Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement 1933–1983* (2d ed. 1984), the central challenge facing American pacifists since the Great War has been to demonstrate effective ways of working for social justice that eschew violent means. In Bush's telling, modern Mennonites have pioneered just such an enterprise.

VALARIE H. ZIEGLER
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DOMINICK CAVALLO. *A Fiction of the Past: The Sixties in American History*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. 282. \$26.95.

Making sense of the 1960s is an ambitious task, and Dominick Cavallo can be commended for taking a creative stab at it. His book speaks to the question of how millions of young people seemingly separated themselves so abruptly from the conformist culture of the 1950s by adopting the radical politics that we now associate with the 1960s.

Cavallo's answer is an extension of Kenneth Keniston's thesis that 1960s-generation radicalism was less a rebellion against what the older generation stood for than it was an effort on the part of middle-class youth to act on the values that their parents had espoused but not always lived up to. Cavallo extends Keniston's analysis to argue that radicalism of the 1960s was an attempt to connect with long-standing American values of risk taking, rugged individualism, and geographic mobility. More than Marxist visions of a postcapitalist future, it was America's precapitalist "Wild West" that provided the inspiration for the political and social styles of the 1960s.

Cavallo presents his case through core chapters on the histories of the San Francisco Diggers movement, Rock-and-Roll, and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), each of which, he says, was chosen because it shows the link between 1960s youth culture and the past. The chapter on the Diggers—freelancing members of the San Francisco Mime Troupe who foreshad-

owed the counterculture movement and inspired the political style of activists like Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman—is the most interesting empirical chapter, if only because it is a seldom-told story. But all three case studies work to make the author's point that participants in these movements promoted basic middle-class values like self-reliance and personal initiative while championing democracy, localism, and individual autonomy.

Future efforts to understand the 1960s will have to pay attention to this book. But by focusing so narrowly on the counterculture, Rock-and-Roll, and SDS, Cavallo leaves too much territory unexplored. His exclusion of the civil rights and antiwar movements, moreover, raises a serious methodological question: would the inclusion of these movements in the study have undermined his thesis that the 1960s expressed, rather than rejected, the Jeffersonian values of middle-class America? His observation that the counterculture reasserted the worth of an agrarian lifestyle and anarchist political practice against the complicity demanded by modern bureaucracies, and that many young Americans were radicalized by that appeal, is well taken. But many other youths were politicized by their first contacts in the antiwar movement with Communists steeped in the antifascist culture of the World War II era and members of traditional and highly organized peace groups like Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. And, contra Cavallo's point that it was the decentralized localism expressed by the counterculture and SDS that appealed to the youth of the 1960s, one could point to the attractiveness of organizational experience and the *internationalist* approach of the political Left that drew, and held, many to the movement. Finally, the anti-imperialist analysis that informed the later and more radical stages of the antiwar movement was profoundly modernist, a fact that challenges a basic tenet of Cavallo's thesis.

The inclusion of the civil rights movement in his study would also present the author's analysis with problems. The black freedom movement gave white youth powerful lessons about the strength of community, tradition, and collectivity, lessons that cut against the grain of just about everything that middle-class America, as described by Cavallo, stood for. Far from rejecting the promise of modernism's capitalism and democracy, the civil rights movement demanded that those institutions deliver on the promise, and it was that demand that moved thousands of young Americans to activism in the 1960s.

Cavallo's slight of the civil rights movement enables him to ignore the influence of black culture on middle-class activists and, by extension, the *class* implications of that influence. In her *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class* (1989), Barbara Ehrenreich identified a convergence in influence on white middle-class youth by black and working-class culture. The medium was Rock-and-Roll, the black roots of which are

obscured by Cavallo's focus on rock's white, middle-class performers.

Cavallo's provocative thesis that 1960s-era radicalism reached into America's past to find a way out of its present is supported by the work he has done. It will be interesting to see if his conclusions hold up in the light of its application to a wider range of social movements and the challenge of alternative interpretations.

JERRY LEMBCKE

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MARIS A. VINOVSIS. *History and Educational Policy-making*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 336. \$40.00.

This book by Maris A. Vinovskis is an important contribution to the debate about the roles of historians in the policy process. Although many historians once denied that history should have any role at all in policy debates, most now accept that no historian can avoid current events. Some would argue that historians are best equipped to address the most general issues: to expose the evils of racism, gender bias, and class. Others have emphasized the historian's role as assessor of major political figures, of broad approaches to policy, of large-scale movements, of widespread follies. Vinovskis takes the position that historians can also contribute very usefully to the development and assessment of very detailed, very specific policy alternatives. His book contains half a dozen essays that argue this view.

Three essays offer historical contributions to the debates over early childhood education policy in the United States since the 1960s. In these essays, Vinovskis evaluates in detail such federal approaches as the Head Start preschool program (begun in 1965), the Follow Through early grades program (begun in 1967), and the Even Start parent-literacy program (begun in 1988). He shows how Congressional politics, state controls, school district realities, rushed and politicized evaluation research, and other factors fragmented each of these programs from the beginning and militated against effective design and continuous improvement. "After more than twenty-five years with Head Start and a federal expenditure of more than \$21 billion to serve 12 million children," he concludes, for example, "we still are not certain of the actual impact of that program." Nor do we "know which Head Start models are best suited for children in different settings" (p. 87).

Vinovskis notes at the outset that policy analysts have often ignored historians and history in general, but in his individual case studies he shows more generally that policy makers ignore analytic and evaluative work of all kinds. In the approach to education of the U.S. government, at least, research has consistently been underfunded, mixed with program development, and treated as a minor form of patronage to be allocated roughly in keeping with the size of state delegations to Congress and other political factors, not

in ways best designed to advance knowledge. In several essays, Vinovskis makes cogent cases for the usefulness of historical analysis. Economic and social historians have, he shows, made some sophisticated contributions to thinking about education as a factor in economic growth and individual economic welfare. Historians of childhood, schooling, and the life course have some valuable things to say about changing approaches to early childhood education. Emphasizing the historian's attention to context and change over time, Vinovskis offers a penetrating and appreciative critique of a recent enthusiasm for the "systemic reform" of American schools.

Vinovskis ends with an essay that advances a "life course framework" as a comprehensive and sophisticated approach to the evaluation of federal research on education. This framework may well appeal to a private watchdog group, but Vinovskis does not show how it would appeal to policy makers who have to deal with political realities. His larger points—that the devil is usually in the details and that historians are well equipped to ferret out the key details—should, however, find an appreciative audience not only among historians but among policy analysts as well.

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ELLEN CONDLIFFE LAGEMANN, editor. *Philanthropic Foundations: New Scholarship, New Possibilities*. (Philanthropic Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 420. \$35.00.

Edited collections of scholarly essays tend to be troubled enterprises. Very different scholars of diverse orientations often write on subjects that are, at best, only broadly similar. Consequently, the collection editor often feels compelled to explain why the essays belong between two covers. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann's book on the history of American philanthropic foundations is illustrative.

The volume's seventeen chapters were selected from presentations at a number of seminars and conferences that Lagemann organized through the Center for the Study of American Culture and Education at New York University. She claims that the essays testify to an increasingly dynamic field in historical scholarship that has been prompted by four concurrent developments in academia: increasing attention to the "organization of knowledge" and the fact that nonprofit foundations have contributed substantially to the way knowledge has been framed; growing interest, since the late 1970s, in specific contexts for the emergence of formal and informal institutions and institutional behaviors; efforts to "bring the state back in" to scholarly discourse and to locate foundations between government and the private sector; and a new readiness by foundation staff to open their files and archives to independent academic scholars. Owing to these factors, Lagemann insists, a formerly marginal historic

literature that tended to be uncritical of, even apologetic for nonprofit foundations has been transformed.

I am less convinced than Lagemann of this transformation. The seventeen chapters do not come together to advance a new way of looking at the history of American foundations. Lagemann divides the chapters into four parts: "Foundations as Organizations," "Early Twentieth Century Foundation Philanthropy," "Foundations and Recent Social Movements," and "Writing the History of Foundations." Yet there is precious little that links the essays in each part to one other, much less to essays in other parts. There are several essays on the Ford Foundation and social reform, for example, but they do not really address common questions. Authors attended Lagemann's conferences to present their own essays; if they subsequently incorporated aspects of the presentations of their colleagues, it is hard to detect.

Nevertheless, there is much of merit in this collection. Several of the essays are quite informative and very well constructed. Discussing the place of foundations in the American polity during the first half of the twentieth century, David C. Hammack argues convincingly that nonprofit organizations have proliferated as government has grown. Hardly a competitive "independent sector," nonprofits have serviced many government functions and policy discussions. Susan Osterlander makes an intriguing case that philanthropy does not have to be donor dominated but can involve donor-recipient dialogue and reciprocity. In the tradition of the Haymarket People's Fund, foundations can include grantees on their boards and in the grant decision-making process. Ruth Crocker makes the case for what the recent literature on nonprofits has grossly slighted: psychologically informed biographies that open broad new questions on philanthropic motivation and enterprise. Crocker's investigation of Margaret Olivia Sage has uncovered a powerful, take-charge founder of the Russell Sage Foundation, about whom we were never very well informed. Julia Grant's chapter helps us to understand why, during the 1920s and 1930s, emphasis in developmental psychology shifted from patterns of aberrant childhood to the lives of "normal" children. Prodded by Lawrence K. Frank, John D. Rockefeller philanthropies came to fund work that characterized the "privileged," white, middle-class child as developmentally "normal."

Several chapters paint a relatively new face on twentieth-century American foundations. The authors bypass not only a mid-twentieth-century historiographical emphasis on foundations as agents of genuine elite benevolence but also a 1960s-1970s view of foundations as institutions of upper-class hegemony that promoted social control of the "lower orders." With solid detail and argument, they characterize certain major foundations as agencies of progressive social activism and democracy. Meg Jacobs, for example, explains how the Twentieth Century Fund successfully responded to two items that many workers sought: employee consumer credit agencies and the rights of

employees to unionize. Similarly, Alice O'Connor narrates how, during the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Ford Foundation prompted an expanding liberal federal social service state to respond to inner-city economic deterioration and juvenile delinquency through programs that often involved cooperation with local citizens organizations. J. Craig Jenkins and Abigail Halcli tell the little-known story of social movement philanthropy since the 1950s. Agencies like the Field Foundation, the Whitney Foundation, and the New York Foundation made grants to social movement projects for civil rights, environmental protection, and restraint on nuclear testing. The commitment to these activist and sometimes controversial projects grew during the 1980s, despite hostility from the Ronald Reagan and George Bush administrations and distracting Internal Revenue Service audits.

In addition to several stellar articles, the book presents a long and exceedingly helpful annotated bibliography by Susan Kastan. Focusing on interpretive work during the 1980s and 1990s on American foundations, Kastan presents and comments intelligently on an array of books, articles, and dissertations. She cites almost every conceivable type of historical work related to foundations, including biographies and autobiographies, oral histories, research guides, and studies of management and professionalization. I recommend this annotated bibliography as one of the most helpful and comprehensive presentations on historically oriented philanthropic scholarship that is available.

Lagemann's volume should be read for the important component essays and not for any comprehensive totality. Perhaps there is no way to induce traditionally independent scholars systematically to address common problems in the history of American philanthropy. Moreover, as a work of historical scholarship, the volume has a certain dated, "old-fashioned" aspect. Institutional-organizational history is the common unit of study, but no substantial bridges are built to the postwar innovative fields of cultural and gender history. Despite many recent suggestions on the importance of interpreting the American experience in international and comparative perspective, this volume (while not a retreat to the perspective of "American exceptionalism") focuses domestically. Finally, with some notable exceptions, the authors cling to a dated "rational man" model of human psychology, ignoring exciting new thinking in cognitive, psychoanalytic, and social psychology.

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JOHN HOWARD. *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xxiii, 395. \$27.50.

This book describes homosexuality in Mississippi from the end of World War II to the early 1980s. Its author,

John Howard, has produced a study as intellectually stimulating and provocative as it is structurally curious and eccentric. Formally, the book lacks literary, chronological, or analytical consistency. Indeed, it resembles a miscellany or scrapbook more than a standard monographic study. Howard juxtaposes raw data—extensive oral interviews, for example—with theoretical analysis and his own subjective impressions. He mixes sociology and sociological data, like Mississippi's ruralness confirmed by the highest incidence of traffic fatalities in the nation, with his own personal narrative of discovering and then tracking down the aged Mississippi author of a series of 1960s-era gay romances. This potpourri brims with human curiosities worthy of Flannery O'Connor at her weirdest or Stark Young at his most feyly gentrified. One cites them almost at random, for example, Rickie Lee Smith, the sharecropper-born transsexual father of four, a couple of murder tortures, some deep, dark background on "The Ode to Billie Joe," and the life and work of Carl Corley, the gay romancer. Tossed in, too, are maps and geography indicating the physical relationships of pick-up places, hotels, and the like in Jackson, for example, and diagrams of highway rest stops where some men did more than rest.

While sometimes irksome, even the book's structure is instructive. It is not merely random enthusiasm. Indeed, Howard makes the case for the necessities of structural innovation from the nature of the material itself; queer subjects, being underground and unorthodox, require unconventional presentation: "Reading the silences," it might be called. The argument possesses merit.

For all its unorthodoxies, this book should be useful to a wide variety of scholars. To those interested in sexuality and the history of sexuality, it offers new insights on homoerotics. Foucauldian analyses identify homosexuality with high bourgeois culture; Howard's treatment of rural, provincial gay men challenges, effectively, much of this constructivist approach. Similarly, instead of the abstraction and theory that dominates the Foucauldian school, Howard, like the literary critic Leo Bersani, for example, emphasizes motives of lust and desire in driving his subjects.

Historians of American culture and politics will find much useful and important here, too. Does the conventional historical wisdom hold for the repressiveness of the Eisenhower years and the liberation of the 1960s? Howard's findings reverse this order. Before the civil rights disorders, "quiet accommodationism" characterized the response to homosexuality. The crackdown appeared later, inspired as Howard says, by the disintegration of the old racial order. While he does not make the specific case, accommodationism also seems to have reasserted itself in post-civil rights Mississippi, as Howard details such cases as the homoerotic affections of Aaron Henry, head of the state branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) until 1993; the election and reelection of the fiercely conservative and

not so quietly gay Representative Joe Henson; and the still more curious affairs of the state attorney general, later governor, Bill Allain, both in the early 1980s.

In Howard's book, historians of the civil rights movement will discover a new take on black activism and its opponents, while those interested in the more contemporary "culture wars" will be richly rewarded, too. Finally, anyone interested in southern history or the peculiar relationship between the United States and Dixie will have a field day. The very absence of Howard's specific effort to make a case for southern peculiarity—as in the case of "quiet accommodation"—even strengthens the proof for distinctive regional mores. Notably, class hierarchies and religious conservatism permeate his evidence. Not least, the author's own narrative style, his anecdotal impulses, and his almost religious earnestness in recounting his history stamp the region on the very structure of the book.

Howard's work is both charming and irritating, but more important, it is informative and freshly instructive. It deserves a very wide circulation among both professional historians and general readers.

DARDEN ASBURY PYRON
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SUSAN RESNIK. *Blood Saga: Hemophilia, AIDS, and the Survival of a Community*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 292. \$29.95.

Prior to the 1960s, few victims of hemophilia survived to adulthood. Those who did often depended on painkillers and wheelchairs, to which they had been confined by swollen, blood-filled joints. What Susan Resnik calls "the dismal era" abruptly ended in the mid-1960s. A series of medical breakthroughs turned hemophilia into a manageable chronic disease, rather like diabetes. Judith Graham Pool's 1965 discovery of the clotting potential of cryoprecipitate—the solid material remaining when fresh-frozen plasma is thawed—was an important first step. By 1968, "Factor"—concentrated preparations of the missing blood components necessary for clotting—was commercially available. Factor accelerated the healing of injuries and allowed routine operations like tooth extractions, which had previously been highly risky. Normal lives, and normal life expectancies, suddenly seemed possible. "Cryo was good but Factor was, like *Wow!*" one hemophiliac recalled. "We have reached it" (p. 93). The pronoun is tricky, as cost and access remained serious problems for many people with hemophilia. However, federal legislation enacted in 1975 provided funding for hemophilia treatment centers (HTCs), which offered comprehensive services to patients and their families. "We were in the Golden Age," one HTC director remembered, "and we were the golden boys" (p. 108).

Pride goeth before the fall. The golden boys were prescribing frequent infusions of a product made from

pooled human blood. At least one physician, Oscar D. Ratnoff, warned repeatedly of the potential for a catastrophic viral epidemic. But the therapeutic results were so favorable, the improvement in quality of life so dramatic, that few physicians or patients were willing to forego the use of the concentrates. Resistance to abandoning Factor persisted after 1982, when the Centers for Disease Control published the first cases of AIDS in hemophiliacs. "I was just told to keep treating; the treatment wasn't as bad as what would happen if we didn't treat," recalled one man (p. 133).

The results of this attitude were catastrophic. Although the use of carefully screened cryoprecipitate and heat-sterilized Factor eventually reduced the risk of iatrogenic HIV infection, it came too late for most severe hemophiliacs. Ninety percent were seropositive by the end of 1988, and their spouses, partners, and children were also at risk. They responded with stunned disbelief. How could a thing which had freed him, one informant mused, be the thing that was going to kill him (p. 133)? They also responded with anger. While Resnik is restrained and even-handed in her own assessments, she makes it clear that hemophiliacs vented their resentments against I-know-best-doctors, HIV-phobes, and gay men whose sexual liberation, in Michael Davidson's words, "had transformed their medical liberation into a nightmare" (p. 154). Much of the rage was eventually channeled into education, compensatory litigation, and legislation, notably the Ricky Ray Hemophilia Relief Fund Act, which President Bill Clinton signed in late 1998.

By then, the hemophilia scene had changed again. The increasingly effective use of protease inhibitors offered hope to those infected with HIV, while progress in gene therapy promised a cure for hemophilia itself. Indeed, the year after Resnik's book appeared, researchers in Philadelphia and California announced the results of an intriguing, small-scale trial. They injected three hemophilia-B patients with a viral "vector" for the gene which instructs cells to produce the Factor IX protein. They found encouraging results in two of the cases. Hemophilia may soon go the way of smallpox, at least in societies with access to gene therapy. Unfortunately, few of the children of hemophilia's first Golden Age will be alive to witness the triumph.

This book is a revised dissertation and, like many published dissertations, could do with less signposting and peripheral detail. The book nevertheless has three things going for it: jargon-free prose, a dramatic story, and a liberal sprinkling of oral history interviews, several of which I have quoted. Resnik used her insider's access and knowledge—she worked as the National Hemophilia Foundation's director of education—to interview hemophilia patients, clinicians, researchers, and organizers. These interviews (now housed at the Columbia University Oral History Cen-

ter) are the meat of the study, and they lend credibility and interest to a fine first book.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

THOMAS M. LEONARD, editor. *United States-Latin American Relations, 1850-1903: Establishing a Relationship*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1999. Pp. 303. \$44.95.

This subject is a tough nut for any teacher, writer, or editor. U.S.-Latin American relations are a classic case of the one versus the many, apparent unity and great diversity confronting each other with puzzlement and impatience on both sides. Geography, politics, economics, and cultural contacts force on the historian immediate decisions on organization and balance that will permanently affect everything he or she writes or says.

Editor Thomas M. Leonard and the others who helped him plan this book decided to allot a chapter to each country, excepting Central America (one chapter) and Paraguay/Uruguay (one chapter; Bolivia was ignored). This plan of organization, although logical, did not prove very realistic. Geography has placed only two Latin American countries, Mexico and Cuba, close enough to the United States for day-to-day relations creating the overarching problems that hold history together, such as wars, border quarrels, and business relations. Also, several regional questions involving the U.S. and more than one Latin American nation produce complicated diplomacy: isthmian transit problems, the War of the Pacific, and the inter-American conference of 1889-1890. In a state-by-state organization, treatment of these has to be split between Central America and Colombia in the first case and Peru and Chile in the second, resulting in considerable duplication. The conference was mostly assigned to Argentina, with a few references in other chapters.

Elsewhere, without overarching problems to hold a reader's attention, writers have had to fill their essays with short-term discussions of such matters as American trade and investment projects or the never-ending claims cases that fill most diplomatic archives. American economic expansion in the hemisphere, of course, is a major ingredient of any study of U.S.-Latin American relations. Both business contacts and some of the multifarious legal suits that they produce belong in a book like this, but repetition from one country to another makes a discussion of investments and claims into a set of variations on a familiar theme. Perhaps it would make more sense to begin such a book as this with several chapters dealing with these and other problems common to U.S. relations with Latin America and then proceed to shorter treatment of these and other matters in individual countries.

The book is more successful in solving the problem of balance than that of organization. The period

covered is one of transition from the independence movements against the British and Spanish empires to the domination of the hemisphere by a new world power. During the last two-thirds of the nineteenth century, Manifest Destiny seemed to favor the unlimited expansion of the United States, while the futures of the young Latin American nations came to seem less bright than they had at the achievement of independence. New Left writers of recent generations have been tempted to interpret this period largely in terms of conquest or exploitation by expanding Yankee imperialism. Most essays in this collection, however, offer a more balanced interpretation, with the possible exception of the criticism of the U.S. role in Cuba during and after the Spanish-American War, as covered by the chapter on that country. The authors of the essays have usually devoted more space to events in Latin America than to those in the U.S., so some pages read like a textbook on Latin American history. Since prospective American readers of the book are certainly more familiar with their own country's history, this is a reasonable emphasis, but even for these readers it would be useful to have at least some explanation of the U.S. tariff system, for example, or the development of staples in inter-American trade such as sugar, wheat, or farm machinery.

A few comments on individual chapters should be added to these general observations. Probably the best chapters overall, for inclusiveness and balance, are those dealing with Peru (which contains much on economic subjects) and Chile (which explains without justifying the long-lasting friction with the U.S.). The article on Mexico is more satisfactory on the 1850s and 1860s than that on the *porfiriato* (1876-1911), which contains crucial economic relations and makes up fully half of the period covered by the book. The chapter on Cuba provides a better account of growing U.S. trade and investments than that on Mexico. The chapter on Central America, which covers five countries and deals with railroad, mining and agricultural enterprises in addition to the canal, skips about from one subject to another in a confusing chronology. The chapter on Venezuela contains an excellent account of the boundary quarrel with Britain and the resulting crisis of 1895-1896 in Venezuela but hardly mentions developments in the U.S. that greatly influenced its Latin American policy. While devoting considerable space to economic relations, the chapters on Brazil and Argentina largely ignore the factor of American resentment at British influence. The chapter on Argentina does not even mention the Baring crisis of 1890, a turning point in Anglo-Argentine relations.

Several final remarks deserve mention. The book's print is crowded and small, discouraging casual reading. It contains no maps, although it covers a continent and a half. The index is inadequate as it is limited to

proper names, with no subject headings, making economic relations especially difficult to trace.

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JUAN PEDRO VIQUEIRA ALBÁN. *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*. Translated by SONYA LIPSETT-RIVERA and SERGIO RIVERA AYALA. (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1999. Pp. xxii, 280. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

In this book, a smooth translation of the original 1987 edition in Spanish, Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán introduces the systematic study of popular entertainments and festivals to Latin American history. The author focuses on Mexico City, the largest urban center in the Americas in the late colonial and early national periods, which comprise the era under scrutiny. He also chooses an era of changing social attitudes and official policies toward these immensely popular activities. This enables him to contrast the emphases and practices that emerged in the early independence period with their earlier counterparts and to point out that many of these changes were prefigured in late colonial governmental reforms, even when the latter were not always successfully implemented. Other historians have followed Viqueira Albán's multidimensioned study with works on diverse aspects of the theme. The literature on popular celebrations and rituals over the past decade has provided important fresh perspectives on social and cultural practices, and even on political policies and alliances.

Viqueira Albán's breadth of coverage is remarkable. An incomplete but representative list of his topics includes theater productions, the lives of performers, cockfights, organized evening strolls, tavern and café society, street festivals, bullfights, acrobats, puppeteers, charlatans, and gambling. Most of these activities intentionally reflected the strict hierarchy of estates in the society. The bullfight embodied the order of social ranks, while all processions were invariably organized according to a determined hierarchy.

In the latter part of the book, Viqueira Albán investigates the growing secularization of social and cultural attitudes, especially among elements of the elite, and the efforts of the colonial government to bring about a shift in the purpose and intensity of some of these public celebrations. Subsequent works by other scholars have deepened our knowledge of this coalition, which encompassed certain creole elites and professional men with progressive views shaped by Enlightenment literature and recently arrived colonial administrators committed to the modernization of the empire and of the colonists' attitudes. The latter argued, for example, that bullfights were bloodthirsty, appealed to the worst human tendencies, and encouraged crime and dissolute behavior. Bullfights were actually suppressed in Mexico from 1805 to 1809.

The general emphasis of these initiatives was in

support of secularization against the fervent popular religious devotion that predominated among the commoners of all ethnic backgrounds. But they also sponsored public health campaigns. Perhaps their major effort was directed against the burial of cadavers in churches and adjacent cemeteries, which aroused strident opposition among both churchmen and lay people. While the leading proponents of such reforms were characteristically well versed in Enlightenment learning, many of their supporters simply sought to have Mexico City appear as modern as any city in Europe.

While the bodies of documentation consulted by the author enable him to describe the formal organization and operation of the specific entertainments and the attitude of colonial and municipal officials toward them, they do not allow him to address the social composition or political affiliations of the protagonists on either side of the disputes over their reform. Viqueira Albán makes excellent use of the Historical Archive of the Municipal Council of Mexico City, supplemented by the Archive of the Royal Indian Hospital (the owner of the major theater of the city) and some royal decrees preserved in the General Archive of the Nation. But these holdings do not yield substantial information on the backgrounds, careers, or political alliances of the parties engaged in these very public controversies.

Viqueira Albán believes that the late eighteenth century marked "the decline of propriety," even endowing his introductory chapter with that title. In this regard, the author is adopting the perspective of prominent colonial and municipal officials of the time. However, such attitudes typified colonial administrators in virtually every era and municipality. Their views that conditions and behavior were deteriorating badly during their time in office simply cannot be taken at face value. Some more objective assessment of previous historical periods is required to substantiate the validity of such assertions.

Despite some limitations in its scope and perspectives, this book has aged very well over the near decade and a half since its initial appearance. It remains inclusive, judicious, accessible, and thought provoking. The more recent literature has expanded upon Viqueira Albán's findings; it has not eclipsed them. The book remains a fine introduction to the subject, even for established scholars, while its fluid organization and ease of writing makes it a promising volume for use in undergraduate courses.

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MARGARET CHOWNING. *Wealth and Power in Provincial Mexico: Michoacán from the Late Colony to the Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 477. \$60.00.

This case study of what has come to be called the "long nineteenth century" in current Latin American histo-

riographical discourse examines the Mexican province-state of Michoacán from the 1780s until the Revolution of 1910. It joins a number of regional studies over the past two decades that have called into question the long-standing division of modern (or national) Latin American history from the colonial epoch, based on the Independence Wars (1808–1825) as the watershed event. In the Mexican context, Margaret Chowning adds a second pivotal event: the long decade of the Reform War and the Intervention (1854–1867). Her particular focus is on the wealthy, a social strata she defines in several, often unarticulated, ways. Chowning also examines the interconnections among politics, economics, and ideologies, contending that existing Mexican historiography has generally passed over such a lengthy, in-depth, integrated study of political economy. She creatively weaves into her analysis, through the device of prologues to each chapter, one family's history over five generations.

Chowning's fundamental questions center on the extent to which either independence or the *Reforma* made a difference in the historical evolution of Michoacán, and, by implication, of the Mexican nation as a whole. Distinctively reconciling change and continuity, she contends that the experience of upward mobility of a generation of the "middle class" (owing to the dislocations of the independence wars and succeeding depression, followed by a mid-century return to prosperity) led to a successful recreation of the late imperial economy. This, in turn, limited the possibility of a new generation to achieve similar mobility, even as expectations to do so had steadily risen. This new generation (and the nation), she continues, needed either the displacement of those in power and/or a dramatic change in access to land and capital. In the Liberal *Reforma*, they found the achievable means to both. Above all, she argues, it cleared the way for the consolidation of a national state, which, so empowered, accelerated structural change. Thereafter, the Reform's success in breaking much of the church's power, and the zeal for economic progress, led Michoacán's Liberals to moderate their program and ally with the previously dominant, wealthy *hacendados*, whose economic power was shaken but not broken in the post-1867 depression. When that zeal became linked with foreign influence, and Porfirio Díaz and his network of political subordinates increasingly turned their backs on the common citizenry, Chowning contends, the "middle-class"-*hacendado* alliance in Michoacán broke down into contented *rentiers* and disgruntled entrepreneurs. Ironically, she concludes, the leaders of the Revolution of 1910 in the state were the grandchildren of the wealthy men who dominated politics from 1830 to the mid-1850s—and the children of those who had sat on the political sidelines since the Reform.

Although, in the end, Chowning seems to mark the *Reforma* as the watershed during Michoacán's long nineteenth century, the weight of her evidence and a concluding summary note point to the mid-century

economic upturn as perhaps the most decisive event in the state's evolution. It both spurred pre-1857 Liberals to undertake the Reform and influenced them after 1867 to ally with the families of the landowners who had accumulated their wealth in the preceding generation. In this, Chowning questions the general assumption, not only in Mexican history but that of Latin America as a whole, of a half-century of economic stagnation following independence. Her findings suggest that regional variation is important and that more in-depth study of political economy as to process (as versus particular regional outcome) is needed. Two long appendixes quantify the inventoried wealth of a cohort of nearly 250 wealthy individuals over four generations, reflecting the extensive state, municipal, and parochial archives consulted for this study. Nevertheless, the weight of evidence and analysis wanes markedly after 1880, leaving the final piece of Chowning's thesis less secure. In addition, the definition and analysis of social structure is blurred. After initially setting forth a two-tiered structure of the *gente humilde* and the *gente decente*, the wealthy become sorted out as "the elite," and a "middle class" suddenly appears as the aspiring protagonist. In her conclusion, Chowning notes the emergence of a middle-class self-consciousness during the Reform period. But there is no explanation (or discourse translation) of the changing use of terms or the origins of this "middle class" strata.

In its innovative questions, in its unusually creative style (particularly its opening literary prologue to the world of late imperial Michoacán), Chowning's study has a utility for Latin Americanists in general.

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PRISCILLA CONNOLLY. *El contratista de Don Porfirio: Obras públicas, deuda y desarrollo desigual*. Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Azcapotzalco. Fondo de cultura y económica, Mexico. 1997. Pp. 423.

It was a marriage made in state-private sector heaven: a modernizing dictator with a penchant for massive infrastructural projects that signaled his nation's entrance into the modern age, and a British contractor seeking profitable challenges away from home. Porfirio Díaz and Weetman Dickenson Pearson (later Lord Cowdray) collaborated on a number of important public works projects during the last two decades of the Díaz dictatorship, including Mexico City's massive Gran Canal, port facilities in Veracruz, Coatzacoalcos, and Salina Cruz, and a railway across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. In fact, Pearson received an astounding one-third of all state investment financed by public debt from 1890 to 1911. With the successful completion of each project by Pearson & Son, the Porfirian state was materially, politically, and symbolically strengthened. Priscilla Connolly's detailed examination of Díaz's and Pearson's first two collaborations—the two-million-pound Gran Canal project and the

Veracruz port works—emphasizes the reciprocal character of this relationship, what these projects meant for state formation, and how they served as a springboard for Pearson's subsequent entrepreneurial endeavors in Mexico and elsewhere.

This book, which grew out of Connolly's dissertation, frames the family-based Pearson & Son as the prototype for a new, late-nineteenth-century multinational concern: the contracting firm. Unlike railway promoters in Mexico, who received handsome subsidies from the state and subsequently operated the concessions, contractors never owned what they built, enabling them to keep initial outlays to a minimum. Railway promoters, who were equal parts supplier, contractor, and concessionaire, assumed considerably more risk than contractors, despite the lure of generous subsidies from the Mexican state for each kilometer of track laid. A contractor's profits simply depended on finding clients who had access to long-term financing and who paid for services rendered for one-time construction projects. Risks were placed firmly in the hands of the client, something that was not lost either on contemporaries or on generations of nationalistic historians since, who have criticized the Díaz-Pearson contracts as not only unnecessarily generous to the contractor but (most notably, in the case of the Tehuantepec operations) as bloated white elephants that failed to serve national interests. Some projects were more profitable than others; the Gran Canal, which took eight years to complete and involved frequent adjustments from the original plans, was not particularly lucrative, while the Veracruz and Tehuantepec projects were gift wrapped for Pearson by Díaz and his technocratic brain trust (some of whom, like Díaz's crony and son, respectively, Guillermo Landa y Escandón and Porfirio Díaz Ortega, profited quite nicely when Pearson & Son time and again secured contracts in the face of stiff international competition).

Connolly, a social scientist interested in contemporary urban problems, contextualizes the Gran Canal project masterfully, tracing centuries-long efforts by the Aztecs, Spanish colonial administrators, and their Mexican successors to cope with Mexico City's drainage conundrum caused by periodic flooding, geologic instability, and the Valley of Mexico's multiple lakes. Building on the work of Diego López Rosado and others and relying largely on documentation found in the Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de México and Pearson & Son papers, Connolly makes clear why Díaz and his *científicos* awarded the contract to a foreigner in 1889. An infusion of fresh portfolio investment from British banks (this was the first public works project paid out of public debt in Mexican history); pressure from London funding sources, indicating that it would be "helpful" to award the contract to a British concern; the indefatigable work of self-interested Mexican officials negotiating the loan and the subsequent contract; Pearson's track record with similar digs in England; a trustworthy relationship between the dictator and the

contractor (not, as some have speculated, Díaz's concern that North American investment was overrunning the country); and the regime's conviction that foreign technology and know-how were needed for these formidable undertakings all played a role in initiating a rewarding arrangement for the Mexican state and Pearson.

So intent is Connolly on theoretically, methodologically, and historically contextualizing Pearson's contracts that she spends a good half of the text situating the projects in these larger frameworks. When she turns to the initiatives themselves, the research is fascinating, especially her chapters on Pearson's subcontracting of labor. Utilizing traditional forms of labor recruitment, subcontractors brought in agricultural workers to do the heavy manual labor required for the canal project. In keeping with past forms of labor recruitment, such as the Aztec *coatequil* and the Spanish *repartimiento*, Pearson's subcontractors paid peons by the task, working the peons seasonally so that laborers were able to return to their communities in time to plant and harvest their fields. Even though Pearson brought the latest that technology had to offer to Mexico, his reliance on subcontracting meant that in this domain he adapted to local labor relations, rather than Mexico adopting capitalist forms of wage labor.

Connolly casts Pearson as the quintessential contractor, and for these early projects, he was just that. But by the end of the *Porfiriato*, he was very much a model entrepreneur, using his earlier earnings for much more lucrative investments, especially the Mexican Eagle Oil Company. By the outbreak of the Revolution, Lord Cowdray was not just a contractor but a formidable economic and political force in Mexico.

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JENNIE PURNELL. *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 271. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

The *Cristero* Rebellion that erupted in central Mexico in the 1920s does not fit neatly into the standard populist or revisionist interpretations of the Mexican Revolution, argues Jennie Purnell. Populist approaches have labeled this rural movement a rebellion of fanatics based on false consciousness inspired by a reactionary church, while revisionists, who consider the revolution simply a power struggle between national elites, have downplayed its popular character. Purnell likewise rejects analyses that stress the strength of the Catholic Church or the predominance of the *rancheros* (*mestizo* smallholders) to explain the origins of this movement in central-western Mexico between 1926 and 1929. Peasant partisanship in popular movements, she contends, is "rooted in specific histories and cultures that do not correspond well to class categories, ethnicity, or degrees of religiosity"

(pp. 9–10). The presence of three conditions accounts for the emergence for what she calls the last major popular rebellion in Mexico: the survival of a significant number of communities and their institutions related to land, religious practices, and political authority; a dense network of grassroots Catholic organizations capable of providing military support for a peasant rebellion; and a direct experience in confronting a revolutionary state in formation at the local level.

Placing her study within the postrevisionist perspective developed by Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent, the author synthesizes the populist and revisionist approaches by combining a concern for popular aspirations and movements with an emphasis on the construction of the revolutionary state. Purnell expertly weaves together a long-term analysis to explore the emergence of collective identities based on centuries-old agrarian and religious community disputes with a short-term analysis of conjunctural factors leading to rebellion in the 1920s. In so doing, she takes issue with new social movements theory, which tends to emphasize the importance of new subjectivities. The author presents very convincing evidence to support her arguments, based on exhaustive research in local, state, and national archives and extensive use of numerous community studies on Michoacán. The book is clearly written and extremely well organized, which helps the reader relate her major arguments to specific data on individual communities.

At the heart of this study is a comparative analysis of three Michoacán regions that explores how and why communities joined either the revolutionary agrarian or Catholic popular movement in the late 1920s. Indian communities in the Zacapu region suffered the near complete loss of their communal lands as well as the breakdown of political-religious institutions at the end of the nineteenth century as a consequence of Liberal privatization policies. Resentment against these state-mandated policies did not kindle a rural rebellion in 1910 as in other parts of the republic. It erupted a decade later when Governors Francisco J. Múgica and Lázaro Cárdenas spurred the peasantry to organize agrarian leagues for the purpose of implementing agrarian and anticlerical reforms. In the central highland region, Indian communities had been more successful in resisting prerevolutionary land policies. Here inter-village rivalry over land, religious practices, and political authority was the crucial factor in determining whether a community participated in the *agrarista* or the *Cristero* movement. For example, the village of San Juan Parangaricutiro had forged a collective identity around its unique popular religious experiences, which influenced it to join the *Cristero* Rebellion. On the other hand, a neighboring community, which had been locked in bitter land disputes with San Juan for centuries, took the path of *agrarismo*. Finally, the highlands of northwestern Michoacán, characterized by a *mestizo rancharo* economy and culture, joined the *Cristeros* because state agrarian and anticlerical policies threatened their traditional reli-

gious/political authorities and their belief in the sanctity of private property.

Purnell compares the *Cristero* Rebellion to other popular “counterrevolutionary” movements that emerged between 1910–1920 in protest to the arbitrary agrarian, anticlerical, and militaristic policies of revolutionary movements. In most cases, they were most concerned with preserving local religious, agrarian, and political institutions and practices threatened by a modernizing state. However, her argument would have been even more persuasive if she had included other states where radical governors did not play a key role in imposing revolutionary policies with such vigor on rural communities. Then we could assess even more accurately the role of a state in formation on the origins of popular movements.

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FRIEDRICH KATZ. *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 985. Cloth, \$85.00, paper \$29.95.

Until recently, the life of Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa remained shrouded in mystery, distorted beyond recognition by detractors and eulogists alike. The legend of *ese desconocido* (that stranger), as one historian called him, was perpetuated in *corridos* (ballads), Hollywood movies, and books with titles such as *Pancho Villa, the Fifth Rider of the Apocalypse* or *Paco and the Lion of the North: General Pancho Villa Teaches a Boy about Life and Death during the Mexican Revolution*. Villa has even ascended to the curious communion of Mexican folk saints. I recently purchased a popular novena designed to invoke his powerful spirit.

Now historian Friedrich Katz, one of the United States' most distinguished Mexicanists, has tackled the daunting task of disentangling history and myth and establishing *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist* (or, better, *wie es eigentlich geschehen ist*). While his earlier publications, and those of several of his students, have already strongly influenced the way specialists view Villa and his times, Katz finally offers us his long-awaited biography. At four pounds, nine ounces, Katz's magnum opus is what Mexicans refer to as a *ladrillo*, or brick, even superseding in sheer weight Alan Knight's *The Mexican Revolution* (1986), which, published in two volumes, came out at four pounds, eight ounces. But there is little fluff in this weighty history. Katz's study is more than a biography. Using Villa's life as leitmotif, the author depicts in meticulous detail the epic of the Mexican Revolution as experienced in one of its crucibles, the northern state of Chihuahua.

Katz is not interested in the latest academic jargon or theoretical navel staring. His prose is clear, and though he often addresses theoretical debates, he does so in a low-key, intelligible style. Katz's approach is *gründlich* and (refreshingly) Rankean. He has scoured hundreds of archives, from Ciudad Guerrero to Pots-

dam, in search of every last scrap of evidence he could lay his hands on. His adventures are described in a useful appendix entitled "On the Archival Trail of Pancho Villa." Katz often sounds like a humble Sherlock Holmes, reviewing and discarding diverse hypotheses. He is never afraid to say that he does not have an answer. Still, this habit can be wordy and even distracting at times. Katz's fascination with documents does not mean that he eschews cultural analysis. Some of the most interesting passages deal with the production and consumption of a rich variety of images of Villa, including the official *priista* Villa. Just as there are "many Mexicos," there are many Villas as well.

What has Katz contributed to our knowledge of Villa, *Villismo*, and the Mexican Revolution? The first part of his book provides a detailed analysis of the rise of revolutionary movements in Chihuahua. Chihuahua's unique sociopolitical characteristics explain its vanguard role. By 1910, tensions in the state had risen to explosive levels, spawning a revolutionary movement quite distinct from Emiliano Zapata's peasant revolution in Morelos. The deeply entrenched power of the Terrazas-Creel oligarchy provided a clear target for an increasingly alienated and quite heterogeneous "civil society," as Katz calls it. Chihuahua's free villagers lost their land, traditional rights, and sense of dignity, and many were forced to become landless rural laborers. Agrarian grievances thus played a more important role in sparking the Chihuahuan revolt than previously thought. A leading role was played by the inhabitants of the former military colonies, rugged and armed frontiersmen who had battled Apaches for centuries, in the process creating a unique cultural code of self-reliance, political autonomy, male honor, and resistance. But it was the depression of 1908 that pushed much of the state's population over the edge. Unemployed railroad and mine workers joined Mexicans "repatriated" from the United States to swell the ranks of the disenfranchised. Chihuahua's middle class, once supportive of the *pax Porfiriana*, was hard hit by new taxes and faced the authoritarianism of an increasingly ruthless and isolated political elite. Even hacienda peons, not known for their revolutionary mentality, turned against their patrons. After Geronimo's marauding Apaches were defeated in 1885, peons no longer needed the paternalistic protection afforded by the quasi-feudal haciendas. Faced with deteriorating living conditions, their ancient loyalties crumbled.

It was this diverse, cross-class coalition, first mobilized by Francisco Madero, that Villa managed to forge into the most powerful fighting machine of the revolution, the Division of the North, which in its heyday may have counted as many as 100,000 troops. Katz's rebels were hardly backward rustics. While they fought for the restoration of their traditional egalitarian frontier democracy, they also debated politics in a flourishing local press, joined the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM) in droves, were familiar with U.S. culture, and sported high literacy rates. Villa himself, an uneducated man, was a master at manipulating the

foreign media, including Hollywood. Although inspired by the past, Chihuahuans also looked forward to a process of equitable modernization.

Throughout his narrative, Katz correctly emphasizes the crucial influence of the United States, to which Villa's rise and fall can in part be attributed. Although he initially benefited from excellent relations with his northern neighbors, which ensured a reliable flow of arms, this cozy relationship also had its drawbacks. Katz argues that Villa's dependency on the U.S. explains his reluctance to subdivide the great haciendas. Relations soon cooled. The U.S. played Villa and Venustiano Carranza against each other and finally allowed *Carrancista* troops to cross U.S. territory, ensuring Villa's demise at Agua Prieta in 1915. Katz even links his death to the U.S.: "Villa's assassination was largely the result of the Mexican government's desire for recognition by the United States" (p. 805).

Katz succeeds in debunking many myths about Villa's complex personality and life history. Some will be disappointed to learn that Villa probably never shot a *hacendado* to avenge his sister's honor. Katz only discovered evidence that Villa was arrested for stealing two mules and a gun in 1898. He most likely fled as an army deserter from Durango to Chihuahua, where he divided his time between cattle rustling and legitimate work for the railroads and mines. His shooting of a government agent provoked a final break with the authorities. Villa was a brilliant strategist, an expert marksman and equestrian, and a charismatic leader. However, his composure was interrupted by occasional outbursts of extreme rage, combined with violent behavior and great cruelty. But despite his villainous reputation, Villa actually cared deeply about his troops, their families, and his many wives and lovers.

What motivated Villa, a simple, semiliterate man, to become one of Latin America's legendary revolutionaries? One factor that stands out is his profound hatred of the Chihuahuan elite and the Porfirian authorities, who forced him to lead the life of an outlaw. But Villa was no ordinary criminal or bandit. He never enriched himself, and his troops were among the most disciplined forces of the revolution. What the revolution offered Villa was a chance to start a new life and become respectable.

Did Villa adhere to something approximating a structured ideology? Central to this question is the issue of land reform. Did he favor an agrarian project similar, say, to that of Zapata? True, after becoming governor, Villa confiscated most of the landed properties of the Chihuahuan oligarchy. He strongly believed in redistributing wealth, though in practice he handed out more food and goods than land. Confiscated lands were exploited to generate revenue for Villa's military machine. It was understood that at some point in the future these lands would be divided among veterans and returned to villagers and smallholders, while the rest would be set aside to provide pensions for war widows and orphans. Landless peasants were never considered as beneficiaries. Although

Katz does his best to depict Villa as a reformer, he has to admit that Villa never was able to implement profound land reforms and later in life actually criticized the very notion. Also, many *Villista* administrators and intellectuals opposed radical agrarianism. Nor was his political position particularly "progressive." Though influenced by the democratic traditions of the military colonies and a loyal supporter of Madero, in practice Villa was no democrat.

What was *Villismo*'s long-term impact? Katz argues that Villa seriously weakened the Chihuahuan elite (though, as Mark Wasserman has demonstrated, elements of the Terrazas-Creel group were able to make a surprising comeback) and created unprecedented venues for social mobility. His desperate attack on Columbus, New Mexico, sparked a crisis in U.S.-Mexican relations, doomed the *Carrancista* regime, and may even have contributed to the radicalization of the Querétaro convention. But Katz may be going too far when he praises Villa's short-lived state government as the "first welfare state in Mexican history" (p. 817).

Due to its length, this work will have little appeal for undergraduate classroom use, although its style is quite accessible. Still, Stanford University Press is to be commended for bucking the current trend and publishing this monumental classic. Katz's tour de force will undoubtedly stand the test of time and become the definitive study of one of Latin America's most fascinating revolutionary leaders.

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DARÍO A. EURAQUE. *Reinterpreting the Banana Republic: Region and State in Honduras, 1870-1972*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xxvi, 242. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.

Darío A. Euraque offers a new interpretation of modern Honduran history. His thesis, rooted in the theory of region and state formation, is provocative but limited. Fundamentally, he attempts to explain the exceptionality of Honduras in the 1980s vis-à-vis Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala. Unlike its neighbors, Honduras experienced little civil disruption over this time. Euraque claims that liberalizing forces of labor and capital on the North Coast, centered in San Pedro Sula, dramatically affected the military reformism of General Oswaldo López Arellano in the early 1970s, thereby defusing dissension in the country a decade later.

Euraque believes the "traditional historiography" of Honduran political, economic, and social life has overemphasized certain elements of the country's history and underemphasized more compelling ones. Two issues in particular concern him. First, scholars have focused upon the absence, especially when compared with other Central American republics, of an export-based landed oligarchy in Honduras to explain social and economic change in the country. Euraque asserts

that this absence was less important than what was present. Second, they have depicted the North coast as a "banana enclave," where Honduran nationals are often viewed as mere appendages of transnational forces. Euraque argues instead that dramatic changes on the North Coast in capital—the growing influence of the Cámara de Comercio e Industrias de Cortés, for example—and in labor—the organization of workers following the General Strike of 1954—made for autonomous elites whose liberalizing efforts finally captured the attention of an increasingly institutionalized military and López Arellano in particular. The point here, according to Euraque, is that capitalists and workers of the region were "subjects of their own history," and, in the process, shaped Honduran history.

Euraque does recognize elements of dependency as related to the country's development, but he is concerned foremost with emphasizing the role of indigenous forces (individuals and organizations) in effecting economic and political change. On a micro level, his points are credible. In the area of labor, for example, there is no question that by the late 1950s individuals such as Céleo González, head of the Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Nortesños de Honduras (FESTITRANH), and Oscar Gale Varela, head of the Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Tela Railroad Company (SITRATERCO), the union of workers for the United Fruit Company subsidiary in Honduras, represented new and fresh voices in the country's polity. They were democrats, genuinely concerned about the welfare of their constituents and devoid of self-aggrandizing motives; and through the ebb and flow of the military coups of the 1960s and early 1970s, they served as forces for positive change.

Yet from a macro perspective, Euraque's ideas are less compelling. Although the fruit companies had lost much of their earlier control over the internal affairs of Honduras, other external forces filled the vacuum: the U.S. Department of State; the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA); the U.S. military training program for Honduran officers; and the hemispheric organization, Organización Regional Interamericano de Trabajadores (ORIT), partially funded by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) and with ties to the CIA. González and Gale, for example, were as anticommunist as the leadership of the Honduran military. In fact, Euraque's own explanation as to why López Arellano embraced reformism in 1972 is ambiguous. On the one hand, he emphasizes the general's eventual alliance with North Coast labor and capital. But on the other, he writes about the impact of military reformism in Panama and Peru on López Arellano, the U.S. military training emphasis on "civic action" in the region following the Cuban Revolution, and a consensus on the part of U.S. policy makers that—by reducing deep-seated poverty in countries like Honduras, especially in the countryside—served the United States' national security and economic interests. Euraque commits to sui generic explanations for change in

Honduras, but he cannot shake the specter of outside influence.

This is not to say that Honduras falls into a rigid dependency model. Change in Honduras in the post-World War II era has been marked far more by pressures and counter-pressures, both internal and external. The internal pressures, however, whether reactionary or liberalizing, are minor in relation to the external ones. Honduras may have avoided civil war in the 1980s, but in order to destabilize Nicaragua and contain Salvadoran rebels, the United States turned Honduras into a virtually occupied country as Honduras allowed itself to be used for the construction of air bases and strips, radar sites, and military encampments. Ultimately, Euraque's study crosses over into a kind of advocacy history. This is where the desire to destroy old stereotypes, understandable perhaps for reasons of national or indigenous sensibility, supercedes the broad empirical evidence.

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KATHRYN BURNS. *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 307. Cloth \$49.95, paper 17.95.

It has been a good last year or so for fresh angles on mid- and postcolonial Cuzco, and Kathryn Burns's thoughtful and well-written study of the three principal convents in the city (Santa Clara, Santa Catalina, and Santa Teresa) between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries is a large part of the reason why. Working from a great range of notarial and other archival papers, Burns dispels the notion that the lives nuns lived were only obedient and sequestered. Burns finds the cloistered women to have been shrewd interpreters of their own rules and constitutions who made "countless daily decisions about how best to perform their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience" (p. 131). Her book concentrates on the ways in which their creative decisions and redefinitions—about the collective ownership of property in particular—allowed Cuzco's nuns to become dynamic and integral players in local and regional society.

Burns walks the edge of various cliffs of romanticization and avoids falling. The same cloistered women whom she finds granting elite descendants of Inka rulers favorable financial terms and redefining poverty, marriage, and motherhood (among, other things) simultaneously mirrored society's racial hierarchies and facilitated patriarchy within their walls. Nuns were "a vital part" of "an off-center Spanish hegemony in the provincial Andes," Burns contends, "anchoring colonial rule at a highly strategic point in Spain's American empire" (p. 131).

Eschewing the dramatic events surrounding the Spanish conquest of the navel of the Tawantinsuyu, Burns turns her eye toward nunly mundanity, with the

greatest accent on the seventeenth century. It is, for Burns, a "golden age" of prosperity and influence for Cuzco's convents, a period in which the nuns were at the heart of a burgeoning "spiritual economy." While dependably prayerful and restrained by their vows, they were simultaneously engaging the service of their prayers and lives in a complex network of "fruitful, productive relationships with uncloistered men and women through the conduit of credit" (p. 6). The principal engines of the "flexible symbiosis" between the nuns and the city's elites were the "hundreds of deals struck in the *locutorios* (visitors' parlors in convents) of Cuzco" (p. 152). Enriched over the years by donations, endowments, dowries, and liens, Cuzco's nuns acquired property and extended credit to a wide array of local borrowers. The bonds of economic alliance that the nuns helped to forge were rarely divorced from their convents' fundamental purpose as an enclosure of women; the nuns held the keys not only to many borrowers' assets but also to their daughters, their secrets, and cycles of prayers.

Burns is a wonderfully expressive writer. She is present in her book, and memorably reflective on the twists and turns in her personal journey of investigation. She has a natural's feel for what to do with the details she plucks from a fragmentary record and guides into an intricate larger whole. The book is driven by Burns's consistent tracings of people's lives through their dealings: particularly the lives of nuns, but also those of laypeople with whom the sisters engaged. The author also has a keen eye for evocative spaces and moments. The *locutorio*, with its iron grille, lodges in her reader's mind as both a barrier between the nuns and the secular world and a zone of surprisingly multifaceted interaction. Similarly, Burns nicely interweaves the story of the migration of Doña Lucía de Padilla, her daughter, and some twenty-five Dominican nuns from volcano and earthquake-stricken Arequipa in 1604–1605 with that of these outsiders' "re-making" of themselves in another civic atmosphere after their foundation of the convent of Santa Catalina in Cuzco.

A great many questions are raised by this excellent book, two of which seem important enough to hold up to Burns's own high standard here. First, for all the author achieves through her emphases, I wondered if her appetite for a material kind of agency—her concentration on "Sor Juana's lesser-known side" (p. 5)—allowed for a satisfactory portrait of the concerns and activities of colonial nuns? Burns herself identifies a convergence of the spiritual and the material in her historical subjects' lives, but this interconnectedness is more often invoked than demonstrated in a book that stresses the tangle of business and property over the strivings of prayer and dedication to God. Kathryn Joy McKnight sifted different kinds of sources in her 1997 study of the Creole visionary Madre Castillo (1641–1742), to be sure, but her exploration of this nun's stretch toward contemplative exemplarity amid the

rigors of conventual stewardship suggests that a balance can be struck.

Second, I wondered about periodization in a study that stretches so ambitiously across almost four centuries. There is no missing where Burns's principal fascination lies, and her designation of a seventeenth-century "golden age" for Cuzco's nuns is entirely justified. But does it predispose her to find at least some of the disuse, decline, and decay she charts in the late colonial and early republican periods that followed? To an extent, of course, numbers, smaller-scale deals, and the rise of external threats to these institutions' very existence do not lie. Yet were there changing priorities as well as declining numbers? Was, for example, the fall in nuns' involvement in education as precipitous as the collapse of conditions that allowed them sustenance as ecclesiastical creditors?

Widening and strengthening a path blazed by Asunción Lavrin's inquiries into the economic activities of Mexican convents, Burns's book is an important contribution to the understanding of Andean and Latin American history. It should also resonate for investigators of other extra-European settings in which transplanted dimensions of Catholic Christianity flourished in their own ways. At a glance, Burns's researches into the financial engagement of nuns, and her treatment of how women in convents could simultaneously escape, reflect, and bolster wider social relationships and hierarchies, may not appear so novel to readers conversant with medieval and early modern European historiography. Yet, read more closely, the example of Burns's well-drawn historical actors—within a symbolic colonial, highly racialized and gendered environment—should inspire these students to return to their chosen realms with fresh eyes.

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ROBIN L. ANDERSON. *Colonization as Exploitation in the Amazon Rain Forest, 1758–1911*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1999. Pp. x, 197. \$49.95.

The vast Amazon basin is home to several million people, including hundreds of thousands of Native Americans. It contains much of the world's remaining rainforest and substantial portions of five countries. Remarkably, though well studied by biologists and anthropologists, it has attracted few historians despite an abundance of archival materials in both Europe and America. The publication of a serious book in Amazonian history is therefore always welcome. This one is a focused, carefully researched account, well illustrated with maps and tables, of the evolution of government policies to promote settlement and agricultural development in the modern Brazilian State of Pará (at the mouth of the great river) from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. Convinced that the boondoggles and fiascos of more recent Amazon development schemes might have been prevented had planners learned the "lessons of history,"

Robin L. Anderson concludes that *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.

The book begins with the Directorate of 1757–1798, established with fanfare under the Marquis of Pombal, by which the Portuguese colonial government sought to "rationalize" production and increase revenues after a century of squabbling and inefficiency. Military "directors" replaced Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries in the administration of some ten thousand "domestic" Indian forced laborers settled in sixty villages scattered along the lower reaches of the Amazon. Directors sought to recruit new Indian settlers; they reorganized the production of traditional goods from forest, river, and field; and they supervised annual shipments of goods by cargo canoe to the port of Belém do Pará. These were accompanied by detailed reports on village population, production, labor relations, and miscellaneous concerns, which have survived as a remarkable data series for economic and social history at the community level. An appendix explores the strengths and limitations of these documents as sources of quantifiable data and the author's statistical approach to them, though it does not convey their great value as sources for social and environmental history. The Directorate, while comparatively sustainable in ecological terms and successful in both expanding production and consolidating settlements (many of which exist still today), failed generally to open new lands, settle very many new people, expand exports significantly, or fatten the Royal Treasury.

Then, during the Napoleonic invasion, removal of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro, and establishment of an independent Brazilian monarchy, the administration of Pará was badly neglected. Further disruption resulted from a caste war in the 1830s (the *Cabanagem*), on which Anderson has written elsewhere but which is here given too-short shrift for the book's narrative purpose. The early nineteenth century allowed little progress in either the settlement or the agricultural development of Pará.

A second era of development, for which community-level data are less abundant and reliable than for the first, was that of the "rubber boom" of ca. 1850–1911. Relying now primarily on government reports and trade statistics, Anderson reconstructs the history of the new, state-sponsored colonization and settlement schemes made possible by rubber revenues, especially for the Bragantina region of Pará. These were megaprojects motivated, as before and since, by the fear of foreign encroachment and the desire to extract wealth for accumulation elsewhere—at whatever cost to Amazonian humanity and nature. The river and fertile floodplain decreased in importance; Indians, once an indispensable labor force, became a "barrier to progress." Planning ignored local conditions, needs, and initiatives. The new settlers were immigrant European and Brazilian homesteaders of sterile tracts made accessible by new roads and a rail line, expected to produce surpluses that could feed the burgeoning provincial capital and port. Private landholding grew

in importance; there were new opportunities for enrichment at the local level; a new regional middle class emerged. But planners saw no intrinsic value in the ecosystem; and nobody learned from the Indians how to prosper in a resource-poor environment. Only cleared land was deemed valuable, and it soon lost its productivity. The inevitable failures in agriculture were then blamed on the ignorance and indolence of settlers. Over the long run and regardless of regime shifts, concludes Anderson, decision makers for Amazonian development have proved freckless; they have found widespread poverty and environmental destruction an acceptable price to pay for paltry, short-term "growth."

This book needed a bit more editorial supervision. Repetition and infelicities of expression abound; arguments are unnecessarily hard to follow. Abbreviated citations (a cost-saving requirement?) will handicap scholars following in the author's footsteps. Despite these caveats, however, this is a valuable contribution to the literature on "development" in colonial and neocolonial Latin America.

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BRIAN P. OWENSBY. *Intimate Ironies: Modernity and the Making of Middle-Class Lives in Brazil*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 332. \$45.00.

This is an exceptionally subtle exploration of the mentality of the middle class in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, of the "intimate ironies" that marked its response to political openings after 1930. Most of the middle class rejected overtures by fascist and socialist parties or populist leaders. Instead, they identified with the social-service mission of an expanding state and with work in its new bureaucracies. They justified their political abstention as morally superior, nonpartisan defense of the home. Brian P. Owensby acknowledges that aversion to collective action may be common to all modern societies and limited neither to Brazil nor to the middle class. However, the contradictions between the universal "myth of the middle class" and social practice felt particularly sharp in postoligarchic Brazil, where the middle class mixed autonomous striving with deferential clientelism, yearnings for social justice with fears of working-class empowerment.

The first half of the book describes the middle class. The claim for its emergence around 1920 is the least convincing part of the argument. Owensby relies heavily on concepts such as "rise of a competitive social order" that were developed by São Paulo sociologists to account for the economic and demographic boom of industrial São Paulo and that do not account for the earlier formation of white-collar occupations and institutions in commercial-bureaucratic Rio. He avoids a clear-cut definition of middle-class status ("a social middle of urban, white, or light-skinned white-

collar salaried men and their families" [p. 45]) or of any event that crystallized collective middle-class identity around 1920. For example, were the thousands of pencil-pushing military officers in Rio de Janeiro a segment of the middle class, and were military interventions after 1922 middle-class collective action? The book seems to say they were not but does not resolve either point.

However, even if the 1920 "emergence" may be an arbitrary starting point, these chapters furnish a superb anatomy of middle-class anxieties about careers and consumerism between 1920 and 1950. The fine-grained description of everyday life and mentalities, developed in the first half of the book, is essential to the analysis of politics in the second half of the book. The ideology of moral superiority to both the uncultivated workers and the superficial rich may have been primarily sour grapes, a compensatory fantasy. But Owensby demonstrates that it conditioned the middle-class responses to populist candidates and leaders from 1940 to 1964. Often he speculates from indirect evidence such as opinion polls and election results; wherever possible, he draws on the published reflections of members of the middle class. One of the best sections of the book is an analysis of eight self-consciously "middle-class novels" published between 1933 and 1952, which shows their striking consistency in setting up plots where a man's political dilemmas are solved by his retreat to domestic values.

The second half of the book carefully runs through the gamut of political ideologies, parties, and leaders from 1930 to 1964, showing they each alienated most of the middle class by their simultaneous appeals to workers or by their inability to resonate with middle-class themes. While it does not arrive at a revisionist reinterpretation of Brazilian populism, it does weaken almost every previous claim of middle-class support for parties or candidates. And it accumulates evidence that democracy and majority rule—anything that implied effective representation of working-class interests—seemed just as threatening to the middle class as to the elite. The idea that the rise of the middle sectors in Latin America would transform oligarchical systems into democratic polities is already long discredited, but this book provides a fresh analysis of the fundamental link between private family strategies of status preservation and public political positions.

In a disarmingly self-critical footnote (p. 298, n. 11), Owensby acknowledges that this analysis is incomplete: it has ignored the Catholic Church as the primary agency that defined middle-class behavior and moralism, and it has said too little about women's lives and mentalities. Both are indeed omissions from this sophisticated analysis of "intimate ironies." There is also a puzzling omission from his otherwise excellent research. He makes virtuoso use of eclectic and oblique sources, ranging from political tracts to marketing reports and the grades awarded to exam essays in social-worker school. Why, then, did he decline to interview surviving members of middle-class house-

holds and political movements? Surely they could have provided more direct evidence, if not perfect answers, to questions such as why clerical employees avoided joining associations, or who supported populist mavericks in the 1940s. Our chance to collect oral histories of Brazil's early twentieth century will soon be gone.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

PETER HUNT. *Slaves, Warfare, and Ideology in the Greek Historians*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 246. \$59.95.

Few "facts" about the ancient world are better known than that huge Persian forces commanded by Darius and Xerxes were defeated at the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea by the Greek infantry or "hoplites" and the free poor of the Greek cities rowing in the triremes; thus the heroic efforts of its free fighters kept Greece itself free for a further century and a half. It is not so well known that the Athenians manumitted and enlisted significant numbers of slaves to fight at Marathon and buried the dead ex-slaves along with their Plataean allies (Pausanias 1.32.4–5); that the Spartans had, at Plataea, as many as seven helots (or "serfs") to every Spartiate citizen fighting alongside as light-armed troops; or that large numbers of those rowing at Salamis on the Greek side were slaves (Herodotus 8.142). In fact, a careful reading of the sources makes it clear that use of slaves in Greek warfare in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. was extremely widespread, but the ancient historians and other sources systematically avoided drawing attention to this for reasons that can only have been ideological. The Greeks who have left us the record did not wish to trumpet the debt they owed to their slaves for the cities' survival or the growth in their power. Modern historians also have mostly failed to emphasize these facts or have sought to explain them away; few have brought out their importance for understanding the nature of classical Greek slavery and its ideological underpinnings. But such neglect will be difficult to sustain as a result of Peter Hunt's important book. Coolly and elegantly written and almost wholly persuasive, it is an original and powerful contribution to the study of Greek warfare and Greek ideologies of slavery and serfdom.

Hunt pursues these themes methodically through successive, detailed studies of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. He analyzes carefully the indications embedded in these historical texts of the widespread use of slaves or serfs in warfare on land and sea, which tended to be the subject of explicit debate and concern only in times of severe military crisis. With equal care and sophistication, he situates each author within complex grids of the ideological thought patterns of Greek elites, much concerned with the polarities of

slave/free, rich/poor, Greek/barbarian, citizen/non-citizen, and democracy/oligarchy. Hunt brings out well a number of pervasive contradictions in this area, which are familiar enough in most slave systems in history: most obviously the contradiction between using slaves as fellow fighters and the pervasive conceptions of slaves—who were seen by the Greeks as mostly, and essentially, non-Greek or "barbarian"—as either cowardly and docile or as troublesome and unreliable. These two conceptions (involving both contempt and paranoia) themselves contradicted each other. Hunt is equally concerned to bring out how each ancient historian's method of dealing with, or ignoring, slave contributions to warfare reflects, and affects, his understanding of his subject and his general political ideology.

Perspectives of Spartan relations with their state serfs, the "helots," are subjected to particularly illuminating discussions. Herodotus's almost complete neglect of the role played by chattel slaves on the Greek side, at land and sea, coheres well with his frequent presentation of the conflict in terms of the natural victory of law-abiding and freedom-loving mainland Greeks over the slavish subjects of the Great King, driven into battle by the whip (e.g. 7.96, 223, 233). Yet, unusually, he mentions repeatedly the presence of the 35,000 helots at Plataea (9.10.1.28–29, 61.2, 80.1–3, 85.2); conforming to type, however, he fails to specify their actual contributions to the battle itself, preferring to report their looting and selling much of the booty they were subsequently dispatched to collect (9.80). Hunt insists that their presence be taken seriously. (See also Hans van Wees "Ideology and the Battlefield," in A. Powell, ed., *The Greek World* [1995], pp. 153–78; Van Wees arrived independently at some of Hunt's conclusions.) Hunt's ingenious suggestion is that Herodotus derived his seven-to-one ratio from information that the Spartan phalanx was standardly constituted of a front row of hoplite Spartiates and subsequent rows of helots, in accordance with the common Greek formation of eight rows. If that is right, and in view of Herodotus's specific description of these helot combatants as "light-armed" (*psiloi*), there seem to be serious implications for the nature of the Spartan phalanx in this battle. Elsewhere, Hunt argues for a more mixed Spartan phalanx, with *perioikoi* hoplites as well as helots behind the Spartiate front line (37–8, 66–7) and, at least after ca. 421, ex-helot *Neodamodeis* serving as hoplites as well. This general neglect of the helot contribution in Herodotus is ably deployed by Hunt as a further argument for the view long supported by a minority of historians that the Spartan failure to appear at Marathon was caused by the helot revolt mentioned by Plato, and indeed that we should also perhaps believe the hints (Herodotus 5.49, 9.35, and 9.64) of regular fighting between Spartans and Messenians between ca. 520 and the great earthquake of the 460s.

Thucydides and Xenophon, too, are shown to be consistently evasive and contradictory in their treat-

ment of the helots. Thucydides does emphasize the almost single-minded concern among the Spartans for security over their helots and their dependence on *Neodamodeis* in many of their campaigns, especially those some distance from home, and famously highlights the supposed cunning massacre of 2,000 helots in ca. 424 (4.80). On the other hand, while recognizing claims to Messenian "identity," he is markedly reluctant to label serving or revolting helots as Messenians, reserving that name for those ex-helots whom Athens finally settled at Naupactus. Thucydides is equally reluctant to report what was very probably an important strategic debate in Athens from at least 424 onward concerning how vigorously to foment helot revolts. This suggests that he found this particular divergence from Periclean strategy, which was in all probability promulgated by Demosthenes and Cleon, distasteful in its encouragement of liberating "slaves." Xenophon is no less ambivalent. He is prepared to recognize the military role of the *Neodamodeis*, with many of whom he himself had served in Agesilaus's army in Asia Minor, yet he refused even to mention the crucial liberation by the Thebans of the Messenian helots in 370 and the foundation of their new state at Messene.

Hunt deploys equally interesting and largely convincing arguments on many other matters, such as the widespread use of slaves in many Greek navies, including the Athenian, and the effects of changes in military practices from the Peloponnesian War onward on the ideological divide between slave and free. A brief chapter compares uses of slaves in warfare in three case studies: the "Volones" of the Roman army in the Second Punic War, the Mamluk armies in Islamic Egypt, and the American Confederate debate on enlisting their slaves in 1864. Interestingly, it is this last case that seems to have provoked ideological confusions most comparable to those of the Greek states.

Hunt succeeds in establishing two, essentially simple positions: that slave use was very frequent in Greek warfare, and that it is systematically underrepresented in the sources for ideological reasons. What is equally impressive and valuable in his book is the careful exploration of the multiple ideological contradictions in the views of Greeks generally toward the use of their slaves in war, and equally in the individual and differentiated responses of the three historians considered. The pursuit of the overall themes can become repetitive at times, and the writing can be clumsy. Some of Hunt's detailed analyses of texts will doubtless be challenged, but the book is a major contribution to the understanding of the contradictions inherent in the functioning and the ideology of slave systems.

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CRAIG A. WILLIAMS. *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity*. (Ideologies of Desire.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xii. 395. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

This book by Craig A. Williams combines lucid analysis of the protocols governing male sexual behavior in ancient Rome with comprehensive documentation from literary sources. All Greek and Latin quotations are conveniently translated. It is a landmark work of scholarship and should prove accessible to scholars of all disciplines. In addition, the book has political implications that should make it of interest to activists as well.

Williams's study focuses on the ideologies of masculinity that governed the public speech and behavior of Roman males. He has less to say about the ways Roman men experienced themselves as sexual subjects, but that is completely understandable in view of the fact that Rome lacked a tradition of private introspective writing. There are no diaries and intimate letters to round out our picture of what it felt like to be a Roman man. Given that he must confine himself to the public meanings assigned to private acts (p. 4), Williams presents a wealth of material that will intrigue the contemporary reader with its strangeness. For one thing, sexual acts between males were neither stigmatized nor idealized. When they took place between a citizen male and a social inferior, they were completely unremarkable, as long as the higher-ranking partner took the higher-ranking insertive role. What mattered was maintaining congruity between social and sexual dominance. A Roman citizen was obliged under threat of ridicule to maintain his proper place in the hierarchy of penetration, whether oral, anal, or vaginal (see the convenient chart of specialized Roman terminology on page 161). There is no trace in Roman ideology of sex as mutual surrender. To play the receptive role was to invite contestation of one's public claim to be a man. Among the upper classes, this contestation took the form of poetic or political ridicule.

Certain bodies were off limits. Williams argues that the concept of *stuprum* (illicit intercourse) referred to the sexual violation of a free-born citizen, male or female. "A man who committed *stuprum* was thought to have tampered with the idealized integrity of the Roman bloodline . . . and with the proprietary claims of other Roman men over their sons, daughters, and wives" (p. 115). A Roman gentleman raised no eyebrows if he took a pederastic interest in a slave, prostitute, or freedman, but seducing the son of a fellow citizen was a grave insult, comparable to adultery, because it deprived the young man of his future claim to unimpeachable masculinity.

Roman mores in some respects differed from the Greek (chapter two). Greek mores permitted, under certain circumstances, the public courtship of young male citizens by older men, although Greek art was coy about depicting the consummation of such relationships. Though citizen boys were off limits to Romans, everyone took it for granted that young male bodies were attractive to both men and women. Williams argues strenuously that the critical issue was the young man's status rather than his gender and that Romans

did not consider the desire of males for other males as typically Greek. ("Greek love is a modern invention"; p. 72.) In fact, Romans seem to have been more matter-of-fact than Greeks in entertaining the possibility that even older men might be objects of male desire. What the Romans had that the Greeks lacked was the god Priapus, whose aggressively erect phallus threatened trespassers in a popular form of garden statuary. (Williams does not discuss *herms* in this connection: a ubiquitous form of ithyphallic front-door statuary in Greece.) Priapus served as a source of identification for adult men who were expected to maintain at all costs, at least in public, the aggressive stance of impenetrable penetrator. Roman identification with Priapus, contrasted with Greek fetishization of the coy and beardless young male body, may explain why Romans, but not Greeks, adopted a "bigger is better" attitude in matters of genital decor.

While Romans identified with Priapus, they stigmatized effeminate males who accepted or even preferred the receptive role in intercourse (chapter four). Fear and loathing of effeminacy crystalized around the scare-figure of the *cinaedus*, whom Williams sees as originating in a kind of exotic dancer who wriggled his posterior. The *cinaedus* was imagined not only to have inverted the proper male role in sexual acts but also to be prone to transgressing gender norms more generally (chapter five). The norms he violated were not those of heterosexuality—unknown, as Williams argues, in Rome—but the norms of masculinity.

This book aims to be comprehensive, and occasionally the reader feels bombarded by a series of examples from a variety of contexts that seems to have been assembled from a stack of index cards (as on pp. 38–39). So this is, in a sense, a reference book as well as an analysis. The index of passages cited will prove useful to many scholars. Those who are unfamiliar with Roman literature may not always be able to perceive when the focus on sexuality has reduced the full range of meaning in poetic quotations. For example, two Latin poems are quoted to illustrate the Priapus mentality of "bigger is better" (p. 87), but the non-classicist reader would never know that both contain a saucy send-up of famous Homeric lines—surely an important component of their meaning. ("Look at us, reductive Romans, asserting our phallic superiority as we appropriate the Greeks.") But far more important is the cumulative effect of Williams's presentation: if the categories that we use nowadays to classify human sexual desire bear no relationship to realities in Rome, then "homosexuality" is a socially constructed category, not a transhistorical reality. Both social conservatives and practitioners of identity politics should find this conclusion of interest.

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SUSAN P. MATTERN. *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate*. Berkeley and Los Angeles:

University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 259. \$35.00.

Susan P. Mattern has made a truly significant contribution to the discussion of Roman ideology in this book. In clear prose supplemented by copious footnotes, the author moves from exploring how Roman emperors made decisions on foreign policy, who advised them, and how these advisors were educated and informed to Roman geographic perception and how this influenced decisions; strategy, especially the size and deployment of the Roman army; fiscal restraints on the pursuance of foreign affairs and military adventures; and, finally and most importantly, Roman values. The essential point that the book makes is that modern historians should remember that Rome and those with whom it dealt were honor-based societies in which the psychological dimensions of power relationships were fundamental. In an epilogue on the literary treatment of the Punic Wars, Mattern suggests that these same values also characterized republican Rome. Allusions scattered about the notes and texts, moreover, make the case that the underlying aristocratic value system long survived the end of the principate.

Other scholars, for example Edward Luttwak (*The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* [1976]), have made the general case that the size of the Roman army during the principate was inadequate to account for its success and that much depended on its ability to project fear rather than deliver force in the field. Mattern's contribution to the debate is to reveal from the sources themselves just how intrinsic the display of honor was to the Roman aristocracy, who alone advised the emperor, and to the emperor himself. The author is quite clear as to the study's dependence on ancient literature; archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic sources are noted only as summarized in secondary material.

This is a study of the mentality and vision of those making foreign policy decisions and of how their concepts of power were projected outward to "the enemy." It is not an exploration of the realities of frontier life. Of the many virtues of this book, two especially stand out: first, the attention to the psychological factors (pp. 114–122, 153) surrounding foreign affairs and military power; and second, the clear discussion of the nature and limits of ancient geographic understanding and how this unidimensional vision of the world acted to restrict the value of geographic considerations in the making of foreign policy (pp. 30, 39–40). In discussing strategy (p. 82), the author builds on her conclusion concerning ancient geographic perception and makes the case that strategy was very rarely determined by geography or projected profit; rather, it was the result of the need to demonstrate power, to exact vengeance, and to uphold the honor of the state: "The distinction between strategy and values in the Roman mind did not exist" (p. 122).

A few problems arise from Mattern's heavy reliance

on the surviving aristocratic value-statements; foremost is the minimal effort made to distinguish between propaganda and reality. Since foreign wars were singularly important vehicles for portraying one's adherence to and possession of traditional Roman virtues, the literary sources extol warfare at the expense of peace, but peace was the normal condition of life on the frontiers. As the author notes, the temptation to amplify one's personal achievements in foreign lands was irresistible (p. 33), and the genre chosen also influenced the handling of many subjects (pp. 66–75). Ultimately, however, Mattern concludes that what was considered appropriate conduct in foreign affairs endured so long not because of the rigidity of literary genre but rather because the underlying aristocratic values were themselves steadfast.

It is difficult to believe that such standard Roman attestations of honor had much to do with frontier realities. On the one hand, there are the Roman accounts of repeated destruction of entire populations, of abject humiliation of foreign leaders, of unbridled Roman arrogance, and, on the other, there is the existence of a frontier that clearly brought Romans and foreigners together from not later than the Flavian emperors. Although quite familiar with recent research on Roman frontiers, Mattern chooses to work within the very restricted sense of the frontiers inherent in Roman literary sources (pp. 100–101), since she believes this accurately reflects the understanding of the upper classes. Unfortunately, by so doing, she also embraces their vision that Rome's enemies were constantly pushing against the barriers (pp. 97–98) in order to plunder the provinces, thus providing a constant justification of war, when in fact the frontiers were generally peaceful and immigration was a fact of life. This is an important book, and its readers will learn a great deal about Roman aristocratic culture, but the enemy will remain elusive.

THOMAS S. BURNS
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JILL HARRIES. *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 235. \$59.95.

Roman emperors were law-givers, with the absolute right to decide about any question and any issue. From the period of late antiquity, the greatest monument to this image of unfettered power is the Theodosian Code, which contained full versions and excerpts from over 2500 edicts and constitutions issued since the reign of Constantine in the early fourth century. The coverage of these constitutions was overwhelming, and sometimes outright inconsistent, with decisions about big issues such as heresy and taxes rubbing shoulders with stray comments about salacious topics like pimps and prostitutes. Emperors seemed willing to comment on anything, and senators at Rome were duly impressed when the Code was published in 438 during the reign of Theodosius II: "You have removed the

ambiguity of the imperial constitutions!" They chanted this acclamation no fewer than twenty-three times.

The Theodosian Code is both the subject of and the source for Jill Harries's book. Her primary objective is to study the actual working of law and legal systems in the provinces, as distinguished from the mechanisms at the court for the making and issuing of legal opinions and imperial edicts. Diplomacy was a key: "imperial general law was . . . more often negotiated than imposed" (p. 36). Emperors were not immune to cultural pressures and ordinary lobbying, and in some respects they conceded the limits on their power each time they issued an edict. By making a decision, they had favored some and offended others. The compilation of the Code represented this inherent tension on a larger scale. Through ceremonies in the capital and their magistrates in the provinces, emperors struggled to assert their authority in an increasingly pluralistic empire. The Code was another symbol of limitless imperial power: "the book represented the emperor" (p. 65). Yet the Code also represented restrictions, because by publicizing all these earlier decisions and precedents, bureaucrats and lawyers hoped to assert the rule of law over the rule of emperors (p. 42).

Harries's chapters highlight the additional practical limitations both on imperial power and on the extension of the rule of law. Litigants themselves would choose whether to invoke laws. Judges were often amateurs, reliant upon the expertise of their advisers, uncertain about their support at the imperial court, open to complaints of favoritism and bribery. Screams of pain punctuated the interrogation of witnesses and suspects, as judges resorted to torture to ensure truthful testimony. Punishments were public, intended to shame offenders and deter spectators. Perhaps as a reaction to the painfully coercive nature of the Roman judicial system, people often settled their disputes by resorting to negotiation or extralegal arbitration. Bishops could readily serve as local arbitrators and mediators. As a result, the central administration tried to absorb the authority of bishops by recognizing the validity of decisions in episcopal courts. Roman citizens then had another reason to ignore the Roman state: "Mediation, negotiation, reconciliation were more effective means of holding a community together than a reliance on the formal legal powers conferred by the Christian State" (p. 208).

This is a truly fine study, compelling both for its careful sifting of the texts and its matter-of-fact presentation. Harries is impressed at the effectiveness of the system: "Roman law in Late Antiquity was more frequently invoked and effectively enforced than at any previous period in Roman imperial history" (p. 98). She also perceptively appreciates the significance of the compilation of the Theodosian Code as one of those "monuments of law that would transmit the intellectual heritage of Roman jurisprudence to future generations" (p. 216). Yet her own discussion nevertheless leaves a rather depressing image of emperors and their tendency to conceal the partiality of their

decisions behind the facade of law. Local notables were no less conniving: "From the perspective of the small-town politician, religious or secular, the emperor's will was a tool to be manipulated" (p. 88). At the party celebrating the publication of the Code, the senators slipped in a startling request: "We ask that no laws be promulgated in response to petitions!" Even twenty-one repetitions could not disguise the sanctimonious hypocrisy of this exhortation, since emperors, senators, imperial magistrates, local notables, bishops, everyone relied on a sense of entitlement and "used the law for their own purposes" (p. vii). In the later Roman Empire, most laws were responses to requests. The rule of law was patronage by another name.

RAYMOND VAN DAM
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THEODORE EVERGATES, editor. *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*. (The Middle Ages.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1999. Pp. 272. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

This collection argues for acceptance of aristocratic women as powerful in their own right. The volume includes essays by five authors covering Blois-Chartres, Champagne, Flanders, and Occitania: medieval venues so distinct no one historian is likely to be acquainted with all the relevant archival evidence for all of them. An integrated scholarly apparatus and bibliography draws the study together, as does editor Theodore Evergates's brief introduction, in which he challenges Georges Duby's opinion that elite women were largely the pawns of patriline. This volume takes a case-by-case approach, and the dense research reminds us that the most effective rulers in medieval France served at the comital level or even more locally. Amy Livingstone's vidames of the Chartrain provide a window into the town of Chartres and its environs, where women inherited rights, served as donors and patrons, and were expected to play authoritative roles. When they appear as signatories in charters, Livingstone can identify their roles in regard to family ties and expectations. "Through patronage and intercession, wives and mothers forged important spiritual and political ties with the monasteries of the region" (p. 72), Livingstone argues.

Karen S. Nicholas enumerates twelve countesses who ruled rich Flanders and wielded enviable power over prosperous lands and towns. When the sisters Jeanne and Marguerite of Constantinople showered Flemish towns with privileges in the thirteenth century, they set the stage for future growth and prosperity in the region while buttressing their own political positions.

Evergates's study of countesses of Champagne goes somewhat further than the others to explain partible inheritance of allods, dower, and dowry in a county lacking chronicle sources but with rich documentation and its own literary tradition. In the twelfth century, marital gifts to women increasingly included feudal

property rather than more traditional allods. Evergates argues that "[t]he dower custom had enormous ramifications, for it brought women into the extra familial network of men whose relationships were based on loyalty, military service, and feudal tenure" (p. 94).

"Adela of Blois: Familial Alliances and Female Lordship," by Kimberly A. LoPrete, presents an Anglo-Norman princess, married to the powerful Thibaudian family, who exiled her first son, made her second her husband's heir in Blois, and directed her third son, Stephen, to fight for his maternal grandfather's English throne, aided by his younger brother, Henry, bishop of Winchester. Ignoring claims of primogeniture, although they had been honored earlier by both her natal family and her cognates, she pursued her own policy until retiring to a convent in 1120. She died at about seventy in 1137 and remains one of the twelfth century's most powerful directors of political destinies.

In "Women, Poets, and Politics in Occitania," Frederic Cheyette sets some of the love lyrics of the age in context: namely, those directed to Ermengarde of Narbonne, who ruled as viscountess for fifty years over a court dominated by members of old elite families, from which local clergy and businessmen were noticeably absent. A powerful sense of dynasty prevailed, but it was not transportable by marriage in Occitania, Cheyette argues. Women like Ermengarde became important dispensers of patronage in their own right (p. 155). Troubadour lyrics accepted women as powerful patrons and celebrated them. Cheyette sets court lyrics in the milieu of politics and Occitanian law.

If there is a caution to be given about overgeneralizing the experience of medieval women, it certainly lies here. Within elite circles in France, rights and obligations were anything but consistent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; this is often brought home by the situations women faced when their husbands went on crusade. Some wielded full authority, while others faced restrictions of a customary or legal nature. Partible inheritance sustained women's roles but cut into their control as well. Women might lead battles or be restricted to dispensing charity to local communities and religious foundations. For example, Nicholas provides vignettes of twelve Flemish countesses, and none of them replicates the experience of the others. The strength of the collaborative approach in this volume lies in its individual examples: with opportunity to wield power as random as it appears to have been in medieval France, the best way to build up a picture of aristocratic women is by specific reference to their lives.

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BERENICE M. KERR. *Religious Life for Women c.1100-c.1350: Fontevraud in England*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1999. Pp. xix, 299. \$75.00.

The Order of Fontevraud was exceptional in being founded expressly for women in the early twelfth century. Other women's houses were connected with newer monastic orders such as the Cistercian with the sometimes reluctant permission of their leaders. Fontevraud adopted a strict, contemplative form of Benedictine monasticism for women with special provision for necessary male support. It was not a double order; the abbess of Fontevraud in Anjou was supreme, and in each house the brethren, who included priests to administer the sacraments and lay brothers for manual labor, were subordinate to the prioress. Strict segregation of the sexes was enforced from the outset. Many scholars have investigated the history of the mother house and the circumstances of its foundation; but studies of the English priories have been limited in scope. Berenice M. Kerr has now written a general survey of these priories from their foundation to the mid-fourteenth century. In a detailed examination of the surviving records of the houses, she has made an interesting contribution to the history of women religious in the Middle Ages.

Although the founder of the order, Robert of Arbrissel, was a hermit and charismatic preacher who attracted men and women of all social classes by his call to repentance and austerity of life, noblewomen were drawn to the order from the beginning. It was, as Kerr shows, their contribution that enabled the priories to survive and flourish even in times of war, famine, and internal crisis. The women who became abbesses of Fontevraud itself and the prioresses and influential nuns in the subordinate houses came from families whose women ruled their households at all times and were capable of managing wealthy estates when widowed. The men who helped them, both the brethren in the priories and the lay administrators whom they employed, accepted female authority even when playing a leading part in the daily running of the estates or in rescuing any priory that fell into debt. Thanks to the strong support available in the order, small priories were able to avoid the worst problems that beset too many medieval nunneries because of inadequate endowment. This is clearly shown in the history of the three English priories, which represented three different types of patronage.

The principal patrons of Westwood, the smallest priory, were all men and women of minor baronial rank and limited means. Nuneaton, on the other hand, was a house endowed by the wealthy and powerful earl of Leicester and his wife, Amice. Amesbury had the particular distinction of royal foundation. Henry II, possibly as part of his penance for the murder of Thomas Becket, replaced the nuns of an older Benedictine house by nuns of Fontevraud. They took over existing endowments and received further royal gifts. It became a house where royal princesses might take the veil; best known was Edward I's daughter, Mary. Grovebury, a small foundation consisting of a community of Fontevraud brothers under a prior, was never more than an administrative center, but it provided an

important link with the mother house and supplied able administrators to the three priories.

Kerr's monograph provides many details of the numbers and daily life of the nuns, of the monastic buildings, and of the way the estates were run. She is forced by the inadequacy of the sources to rely on comparisons with other great Benedictine monasteries such as Westminster, and these, however suggestive, cannot be conclusive. Some details of the books accessible to the nuns emerge; it appears that French was used for non-liturgical prayer and other reading. She describes the careful administration of the estates so as to make the most of all available resources. These included salt-works at Droitwich, in which Westwood had rights. Nuneaton showed some enterprise in encouraging modest urban development. The difficulties caused by war and politics in the later Middle Ages are outside the scope of this book, but within Kerr's chosen limits of time, this is a scholarly and valuable monograph. The statement that within the order "women were in control of their own destiny to an extent that was rare outside the cloister" (p. 239) might, perhaps be modified by closer comparison with the role of lay women from both aristocratic families and landed gentry. In addition to great widows like Isabella de Fortibus, the widowed and dowager sisters of nuns placed by knightly patrons in priories such as Westwood might have had a share in estate business. What Fontevraud added, as Kerr shows, was a religious life of prayer and strict observance adapted to the standard of life of the classes, whether aristocratic or gentry, from which the nuns were drawn.

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NICHOLAS WRIGHT. *Knights and Peasants: The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside*. (Warfare in History, number 4.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1998. Pp. x, 144. \$54.00.

Interesting and useful as grand narrative accounts of the Hundred Years' War can be, so complex and persistent a period of warfare as that which convulsed northwestern Europe throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries cannot be fully understood without close analysis of topics beyond the colorful panorama of high politics, diplomacy, and major campaigns. In this book, Nicholas Wright takes on one of the most significant and difficult of these topics: the relationship between the forces that fought the wars and the non-combatant population. Even the terms in the title can only be shorthand, for he is careful to emphasize the range of warriors engaged and their motives as well as the intensely local nature of much of the conflict, in which the inhabitants of the countryside were themselves not simply victims. Moreover, this warfare "was as much a state of affairs, a condition of chronic instability, as the story of an Anglo-French power struggle" (p. 5). It reminds him of wars "in the so-called 'Third World' of today" (p. 3).

Although he sometimes seems to wish that the truth were otherwise, and more in line with the ideals of clerical theorists of the era whom he has studied (e.g. p. 123), Wright knows that all his warriors—from the most aristocratic knights through varlets and freebooters to brigands—walked the “delicate boundary between loyal service and armed criminality” (p. 7) and that just war theory could either be made accommodating or could be ignored, submerged by more urgent systems of value. Warriors who are not paid regularly (and, sadly, even those who are) regularly tend to provide pay for themselves.

Wright argues that war and justice, knighthood and responsible lordship were finally not compatible, that chivalry had no significant impact on the treatment of the sub-chivalric (even if they were “friendlies” rather than subjects of the enemy). Total warfare did not begin with William Tecumseh Sherman. More than once, Wright makes the point that this late medieval warfare represents a meltdown of large-scale authority, producing conditions reminiscent of the era when medieval states were only beginning to form (an era that, following Marc Bloch, he fearlessly terms the “First Age of Feudalism”).

Ordinary folk in the open countryside were most likely to lose all if their livelihood stood inconveniently in the way of a major raid or if their nonpayment of protection money to the locally dominant military force sparked reprisals. Under such conditions, even a fortified church might become merely a charred mausoleum for many locals. Usually, the warriors wanted to fleece them, rather than kill them, though “men-at-arms were often found to be treating the peasants in their area of military occupation with a ruthlessness which was difficult to understand and which seemed to go well beyond reasonable self-interest” (pp. 49–50). For their part, the peasants’ response was not limited to suffering and enduring, although they did fortify local churches and dig underground shelters to a remarkable extent. Yet others rose in more than one rebellion, which Wright strongly links with the state of war and disorder; many of them were forced (or at least encouraged) to turn to reprisals and open brigandage themselves. Actions begun against oppressive men-at-arms from some local stronghold could easily become risings of non-noble against noble and “alternative centers of power” (p. 91) feared to be competing with traditional centers. If the Jacquerie is best known, there was more than one episode of Tuchinerie (the very term coming from the word for bandit). Some such bandits became “the enemy of all society except their own immediate community” (p. 95).

Wright has given us a valuable book on a subject of basic importance. He helps us to see beyond any supposed romance in the *chevauchée* to the gritty, local world in which force prevailed, probably emerging from some local fortification that, in effect, created another of the thousands of “frontiers” in the France of the Hundred Years’ War. Such use of force enabled bodies of armed men to appropriate the goods and

services of many, usually while claiming to act in the name of a larger allegiance.

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ANTHONY GOODMAN and JAMES GILLESPIE, editors.
Richard II: The Art of Kingship. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 299. \$70.00.

Richard II and his reign have not suffered from lack of historiographical attention in the last decade. A full-scale biography, several collections of essays, and a sheaf of major articles have kept Richard high in the popularity stakes of medieval English kings. The danger of so much scholarly attention, of course, is that it leads to over-production. This volume cannot be said to have avoided that danger. Although all the essays are elegantly written, well documented and clearly argued, as was to be expected from such a distinguished group of contributors, it is difficult to suppress the feeling that they often do no more than cross the Ts and dot the Is of earlier and more substantial work. They consolidate and occasionally refine earlier arguments; but their impact is for the most part consolidatory rather than path breaking.

But there are exceptions. The most sparkling essay in the volume is that of Richard Davies on Richard II and the church. It keeps to its title rather than becoming a discussion of the church during Richard II’s reign and is full of shrewd, tart, and even waspish comments. “Richard’s relationship with the Church was . . . a setpiece in conventionality,” he declares in his opening paragraph (p. 84): this brisk and brusque deflationary tone sets the scene for the rest of the essay. Mark Ormrod’s style is less jaunty but his conclusions—founded on a most impressive battery of statistics—are novel and important. He shows that the English customs system was by no means moribund in the late fourteenth century. On the contrary, the extension of the 1347 custom on cloth to a wider range of cloths and the adoption of tonnage and poundage as a regular system had important implications for English royal revenues. This happened during Richard II’s reign; whether it owed anything to Richard is, of course, entirely a different matter. The same may be said about Anthony Tuck’s essay: it has very little indeed to say about Richard II other than how unimportant his marriage was to the general diplomatic situation in Europe or to the balance of Anglo-French power. Where the essay is particularly suggestive—beyond reminding us of the real priorities of the house of Luxemburg—is in showing that, whatever his domestic personal views, Richard II’s rapprochement with France in the 1390s made eminent good sense in the light of the virtual collapse of the traditional English network of alliances. Finally, Michael Bennett’s essay on “Richard II and the Wider Realm” explores, and possibly occasionally exaggerates, the geographical reorientation of the royal itinerary in Richard’s reign and the king’s preoccupation with the

outer parts of the British Isles. Bennett makes an eloquent case for integrating what are sometimes seen as Richard's Cheshire and Irish policies into a more general consideration of his priorities and ambitions. Richard's failure suggests once again that he had misread the English political situation; failure there could not be salvaged by success elsewhere.

This is an important and worthwhile but not a pioneering volume. For all its considerable merits, it seems to indicate that English medieval political historiography might give kings and their characters a bit of a rest. Instead, more attention needs to be given to political culture and to the dynamics of political relationships, keeping in mind that in England the continuum from center to locality was unbroken. In the final essay in this volume, Eleanor Schiefle asserts that Richard II was "more successful in fashioning a visual image of kingship than in sustaining its gritty reality" (p. 271). We need to learn more about this "gritty reality," not only, or even mainly, in terms of kingship but also in terms of political culture and conventions.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

J. L. HEILBRON. *The Sun in the Church: Cathedrals as Solar Observatories*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 366. \$35.00.

The problem of placing Easter correctly in the calendar was the main reason why scholars from the Renaissance onward punched small holes in dark churches to direct a beam of light toward a calibrated line on the floor. This same problem, which involves reconciling lunar and solar calendars, "kept mathematics alive in the Latin West during the Dark Ages and also conveyed a little exact information about the physical world" (p. 35), according to J. L. Heilbron. In the early modern period, he argues that it created niches for science within the Roman Catholic Church, despite censorship, the Index, and the Inquisition.

When a late Renaissance scholar pierced the fabric of an Italian church and transformed it into an immense gnomon, the process took a lot of expensive engineering. Only a scientific entrepreneur with the combined skills of mathematician, courtier, and engineer could accomplish it. Heilbron explains every detail in the process. If it was done right, a small solar image would move along the meridian line on the floor and show the exact moment of the spring equinox. Easter was the Sunday after the first full moon following the equinox.

So far so good, but Christians needed to know the date of Easter in advance to set up a long annual sequence of religious events. The theory and handbooks for predicting equinoxes had been worked out in the centuries between Diocletian and Charlemagne, but with the passage of time, the Julian calendar and

solar year got more and more out of sync. John Sacrobosco figured out how to fix it in the thirteenth century, but his proposal, as Heilbron put it, reposed "three hundred years in committee" (p. 37) at the Vatican, and nothing got done. By the sixteenth century, the calendar was off by ten days of sun time, and the discrepancy was creating problems in choosing the right full moon for Easter.

At that point, Catholic astronomers started poking holes in cathedrals and transforming their dark interiors into immense gnomons by means of precisely located orifices and meridian lines set into the mosaic floors. Determining the vernal equinox for calendar reform was the prime motive, but there were others. Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli pierced the lantern of the Florentine duomo in 1475 to determine whether the inclination of the earth's axis was changing; the cathedral's architects used his gnomon to detect shifts in the immense dome. Egnatio Danti built gnomons in Florence, Bologna, and Rome during the 1570s to collect data for calendar reform, while Pope Gregory XIII finally established a Vatican commission to reform the calendar. The Gregorian calendar was adopted in Catholic countries in 1582.

The construction of ecclesiastical gnomons did not cease. Gian Domenico Cassini built a precise one in Bologna in 1655 to untangle the effects of refraction and parallax and establish a solar theory much better than those of Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler. Francesco Bianchini, the Verona polymath and Vatican courtier who travelled about with a wagonload of scientific instruments, built an elaborate and artistic Roman gnomon in 1702 to correct a problem that arose in the Gregorian calendar in the year 1700 and relate the Catholic Church to all the cycles of the world since creation. Whole troupes of astronomers around the world used gnomons and other instruments in the 1720s and 1730s in a vast project to determine the length of a degree of latitude. Mural quadrants, invented by Brahe and perfected in England, rendered the gnomon obsolete as a precision astronomical instrument around 1750, but as late as 1836, the Belgian government ordered gnomons to be constructed in cathedrals and other public places to assure that clock time was uniform throughout the realm.

Part of Heilbron's apology for Roman Catholic science in the centuries following Nicholas Copernicus and Galileo Galilei is a detailed examination of the inefficient system of Vatican censorship, which could be swayed by all kinds of pressures. From the 1670s on, Jesuits and other Catholics used Copernican astronomy freely by claiming it was merely hypothetical. There was lots of scientific activity in Italy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but Heilbron observes that "quality may not be proportional to quantity. It is not the army of sophisticates like Bianchini . . . or wafflers like Cassini, but true believers like Galileo, Kepler, and Descartes, who change the ideas of people other than themselves" (p. 218).

This is a solid and original contribution to under-

standing how science and religion interrelated, primarily in the two centuries after Galileo but also throughout the history of the Catholic Church. Woven into it is a virtual handbook of astronomy, full of insights and useful explanations for the reader who has some trigonometry. Verve, erudition, and irony characterize the style of this master historian of science, who really knows how big science works.

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Luther College

BENIGNA VON KRUSENSTJERN and HANS MEDICK, editors. *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe: Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe*. Assisted by PATRICE VEIT. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 148.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 625.

What does one expect from a book about the Thirty Years' War "from up close"? The title, reinforced by a cover illustration of soldiers plundering a village, suggests a concern with how the war disrupted people's daily lives—or, perhaps better, how people reacted to the disruptions brought about by the war. The best essays in this collection live up to that expectation, detailing such problems as the effects of mobilizing a large portion of society's males, how soldiers interacted with civilians in peace and war, and how civilians (both government and private subjects) dealt with the pervasive violence and requisitions they had to face.

One strength of this book is the attention it gives to Scandinavia. Jan Lindegren discusses the fate of Swedish soldiers: over one-third of the men aged twenty died in military service in any given year, a startling statistic. The good news for soldiers was that, once they survived the rigors of the first two years, their chances of living increased dramatically; the bad news was that, now being valuable veterans, the government almost never sent them home, even for a vacation. With so many men off fighting in Germany, the ratio of single men to single women rose drastically; in the village of Bygdeåa, it went from 1.5 to 3. The proportion of female heads of households rose proportionately, from fifteen percent to thirty-seven percent, putting women in an unusual position of authority. Karin Jansson looks at a very different effect of the military life in her article on rapes by soldiers in Sweden. She has very few cases to work with, but she makes the most out of her material. The evidence suggests that soldiers raped more violently, and more often in groups, than other rapists. They were also given harsher sentences by the courts, perhaps as a result of concern about their upsetting local order. A third article on Finnish soldiers, by Nils Erik Villstrand, is unfortunately more diffuse than the other two. The first part of his article is an interesting account of the behavior of Finnish soldiers toward civilians. Far from their notoriously cruel reputation, a Finnish garrison in Königsbafen from 1631–1634 actually fathered no children among the German women,

an impressive record for any era. The main distinction between the Finns and other soldiers, in fact, seems to be that the Finns constructed saunas.

Two essays provide more detailed insights into the effect of the war on specific areas of the empire. Erich Landsteiner and Andreas Weigl write about Lower Austria, which was more devastated by the war than historians have generally noted. Like Jansson's, theirs is a good mixture of structural analysis with narrative history. The confusing marches and countermarches of Habsburg, Bohemian, and Transylvanian troops in the years 1618–1620 show just how central a theater of war Lower Austria was. At first, both sides attempted to protect the civilians as much as possible. However, as armies grew too large for governments to support, discipline collapsed, and the towns paid the price. The account of how four different towns dealt with garrisoning soldiers is a valuable addition to our understanding of civil-military relations in the Thirty Years' War. Norbert Winnige's article on Göttingen, by contrast, focuses on the economic consequences of the war. The government managed to stay surprisingly debt-free, but at a cost: the population became more stratified economically, and the city had to get used to permanently higher tax rates. The city actually collected fewer taxes in the second half of the seventeenth century because of its war-induced economic decline, but tax rates remained at wartime levels. This provides further support to the thesis that early modern warfare was a major factor in the growth of the state.

Space limitations prevent discussion of other interesting essays in this collection, such as editor Benigna von Krusenstjern's piece on the Christian way to die or coeditor Hans Medick's essay on contemporary views of the siege and destruction of Magdeburg. The volume concludes with four brief commentaries, of which Johannes Burkhardt's is the best. Norbert Winnige closes with a proposal for a Thirty Years' War database that would be a godsend for all but the most relativistic historians.

This book is typical of other collections in that the articles are of vastly different quality, originality, and relevance. The idea of a series of articles focused around a specific theme is a good one, but too often the result is a collection of whatever research the selected scholars are currently doing. Some of the articles in the present volume cannot possibly be made to fit under its rubric; others fit but only repeat information from the author's latest book; still others are thinly supported. A large number of the articles are excellent, but the reader must sift through them to find the gems.

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JOHN BREWER and ECKHART HELLMUTH, editors. *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany*. (Studies of the German Historical Institute London.) New York: Oxford University

Press, for the German Historical Institute, London. 1999. Pp. x, 402. \$95.00.

The historical and historiographical trajectories of eighteenth-century Prussia and Hanoverian Britain have long been viewed as distinct. The former was an absolutist, bureaucratic state that had been created to support a powerful army, periodically employed in an aggressive fashion, while its British counterpart was a parliamentary, constitutionalist, commercial country with a relatively small military establishment. This contrast was seen as the origin of two distinct paths to modernity: the bureaucratic and the democratic. In 1989, the dichotomy was challenged by John Brewer's seminal *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783*, demonstrating the scale and effectiveness of the fiscal bureaucracy that permitted eighteenth-century Britain's rise as a European and world power and arguing that English developments were much closer to the continental norm.

Brewer's arguments stimulated considerable discussion and have been widely influential. This collection of essays was part of the first wave of reactions to his notion of the British "fiscal-military state," being the proceedings of a conference apparently held in 1991 but only now published. This delay, while not uncommon for such volumes, is the source of two particular difficulties. Several of the best and most enjoyable articles have been overtaken by their authors' subsequent publications. Thomas Ertman's suggestive survey of the historiography, which ends with a plea to return to Otto Hintze, the *doyen* of historians of Prussian government and comparative approaches to state-building, anticipated his *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (1997). Paul Langford's sparkling examination of "Manners and the English State" has been superseded by his own major study: *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character, 1650–1850* (2000). Second and more important, many of the essays now have a dated feel to them, with the collection appearing to belong to an earlier phase in the historiographical debate. The fundamental problems of writing comparative history also surface periodically. They are most satisfactorily overcome by David Lieberman, in his skillful comparison of German legal codification and the simultaneous consolidation of English law. Despite these drawbacks, however, the volume contains several articles of real merit and importance for eighteenth-century specialists, while the determination to examine not merely the atypical case of Prussia but also the smaller German states is welcome and successfully accomplished.

Two contributors directly address the nature of the structures historians label as "states" at this period. Jack Gunn, in a lively and highly intelligent tour through eighteenth-century Britain, makes the important point that the language and assumptions of Hanoverians could only with difficulty cope with the idea of a "state," a word often employed as an

adjective rather than a noun. While he flattens a series of targets with aplomb, Gunn is careful not to set up anything in their place and so expose himself to the kind of criticism of which he is so evidently a master. Intelligent scepticism also dominates Rudolf Vierhaus's subtle demolition of the idea, derived from Max Weber, that eighteenth-century Prussia was a bureaucratic state, a notion embedded in German historiography since the late nineteenth century. Although Vierhaus rightly points out that at this period Prussian administrators were not state officials—unlike their nineteenth-century counterparts, including Weber himself—but servants of the monarchy, he fails to investigate the significance of this for our understanding of Hohenzollern government. While noting the importance of local administration and the *Landräte* [county commissioners], he does not go on to explore their role and duties. Drawn from the local nobility and at best semisalaried, these men were the key figures in local government, although they have received insufficient attention from historians.

Three of the best articles explore this crucial connection: the link between the ambitions of central government and its ability to realize them at the local level, recently much doubted by historians of European absolutism. In different ways, Sheila Ogilvie, Christof Dipper, and Joanna Innes all highlight the importance of appreciating that eighteenth-century regimes necessarily cooperated with established agencies of government, whether urban, provincial, or Estates, and with existing social elites. Ogilvie, in an impressive and well-documented survey of Württemberg with wide implications, makes clear that the power to command obedience was less important than the ability to secure the cooperation of established authorities. This approach is mirrored by Innes's thoughtful and wide-ranging exploration of what she terms "the articulation of the English state" in the way it handled poor relief, demonstrating the crucial importance of cooperation between the various bodies and groups that were involved. In their introduction, editors Brewer and Eckhart Hellmuth rightly highlight a proposed revised definition of the "state" at this period advanced by Innes: "a conglomerate of all institutions which spend public money and exert legitimate force" (p. 20). This is a crucial insight, as applicable to eighteenth-century Germany as to Hanoverian Britain. Its widespread adoption would enable historians to go beyond the established preoccupation with formal institutions, usually those of central government, and to incorporate the informal agencies and unofficial agents of state power.

Ogilvie rightly suggests that this "corporative" strand in government also existed in Prussia, but it is not particularly evident in the essays devoted to that country. The lacuna, apparent in Vierhaus's contribution, underlines the extent to which essentially nineteenth-century perspectives still dominate writings about Hohenzollern government, while essential new research remains in its infancy. Its potential is demon-

strated by Hellmuth's illuminating exploration of the efforts to build a monument to Frederick the Great after his death in 1786. The competition to design such an edifice was dominated by individuals working for Prussia's buildings' administration, which had expanded significantly during the king's later years. Hellmuth demonstrates how the reach of the Prussian state extended further than that of its British counterpart and underlines the importance of viewing state-building as a cultural act. Other German contributors are less original. Gunther Birtsch usefully summarizes his work on the Prussian General Law Code of 1794 for an Anglophone audience, while Diethelm Klippel provides a descriptive survey of the theoretical underpinnings of the expansion of state activity and the limitations that were recognized: once again, he looks forward to nineteenth-century developments as having their origins during this period.

Brewer's original book saw war and its fiscal demands as crucial to the creation of the British state. Here he extends his own earlier work by providing a detailed if rather descriptive study of revenue officers as a new type of official who emerged in the eighteenth century. The most surprising omission from the present collection is any sustained consideration of the impact of warfare on state-building. Since, rather surprisingly, Britain was at war for considerably more than twice as long as Prussia during the eighteenth century, its absence is striking. John Childs explores the position of the army, but his essay is rambling and inchoate in structure and further weakened by quite elementary errors on German developments. Even more surprisingly, the British navy, which had featured prominently in Brewer's original arguments, is scarcely mentioned, although recent research underlines the crucial importance of naval infrastructure for the expansion of state power. No doubt it is true that state-building, in the eighteenth century as throughout early modern Europe, has too often and for too long been seen as simply a response to the increasing and varied pressures of warfare. Yet a collection of this kind that fails to address satisfactorily the role and importance of international competition in the building of Leviathan runs the risk of being viewed as a classic case of Hamlet without the prince.

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MANFRED HETTLING. *Politische Bürgerlichkeit: Der Bürger zwischen Individualität und Vergesellschaftung in Deutschland und der Schweiz von 1860 bis 1918*. (Bürgertum: Beiträge zur europäischen Gesellschafts-, number 13.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. xi, 424.

If G. F. W. Hegel was right that Minerva's owl flies at dusk, bringing self-knowledge only to those whose era is coming to an end, then the German *Bürgertum* is in big trouble. For the past decade, two massive research projects, one based in Frankfurt, the other in

Bielefeld, have been examining in great depth and detail the history of this prominent social group. Manfred Hettling's book is the thirteenth volume in the Bielefeld series; his Frankfurt colleagues (and rivals) have been no less productive.

The research strategies of the two projects reflect the terminological ambiguity of *Bürgertum*, which is both a descriptive and a normative category, a designation for a particular social and economic group and for a diffuse set of attitudes and values. The Frankfurt group characteristically begins with data on status and income, drawn from a collection of urban cases, and then moves on to politics and culture; the Bielefelders have usually been more concerned with political behavior and institutions than with demography or economics. Each approach, as the published work of the two projects demonstrates, has its advantages and drawbacks.

Hettling, although clearly a Bielefelder by training and conviction, tries to bring the two approaches together. He begins with a careful analysis of the social and political structure of Breslau and Basel from the 1860s to World War I. He then turns to the evolution of liberalism in Germany and Switzerland. He concludes with three examples of what he calls the "symbolic production [*Inszenierung*]" of political and social values: proposals to create monuments to liberal leaders; novels about artists; and two festivals, one held in Breslau, the other in Bern, on the eve of the war. Uniting these themes is Hettling's concern for the changing relationship between the individual and society, which he convincingly presents as the central question in the formation of *bürgerlich* politics and culture.

This is a consistently intelligent, carefully researched, and unfailingly interesting book. In the first place, it provides a great deal of useful information, especially about urban society and politics in Breslau and Basel. The analysis of the social composition of Breslau's electoral college and city council is astute and compelling, as is the account of liberal political institutions in Germany and Switzerland. Second, Hettling has set this empirical research in a remarkably rich and diverse theoretical and methodological context. He has read widely in philosophy, social theory, and comparative history and brings his erudition to bear with admirable skill. Finally, the author critically engages some of the most important figures in the study of German politics and society, including Lothar Gall, R. M. Lepsius, David Blackburn, and Hettling's own mentor, Hans-Ulrich Wehler. Whether or not one agrees with Hettling's treatment of these scholars, one invariably learns from his efforts to think through the theoretical and empirical implications of their research. Among its many other virtues, therefore, this book is a highly informative guided tour of recent work on the history of the *Bürgertum*.

In many ways, the book's most important weakness flows from the same source as its many strengths: Hettling is never quite able to contain the range and

variety of his material in a single, coherent argument. The three parts of the book—the urban case studies, political narrative, and cultural analyses—touch one another but are not tightly connected. All three, to be sure, are interesting and valuable, but the whole turns out to be less than the sum of its parts. Furthermore, the advantages of his comparison of Germany and Switzerland are often overshadowed by the substantial differences between the two states, of which the difference in their international position—about which Hettling says little—is the most relevant. Finally and most important, there is an unresolved tension between the political and social dimensions of the argument. The author proceeds from the assumption that “the form and structure of liberalism” can be described as “the development of *politische Bürgerlichkeit*” (p. 26). But as he himself makes clear, the relationship between liberalism and *Bürgerlichkeit* was complex: “Most liberals were *Bürger*, but *Bürger* were often not liberals” (p. 35). In Breslau, for instance, all the parties, except for the Social Democrats, were led by members of the *Bürgertum*. This simple but extraordinarily significant fact attenuates the explanatory power of Hettling’s categories in a number of ways and undermines the cohesion of the book as a whole.

The *Bürgertum*, Hettling argues in his introduction, “can only be described and analyzed . . . as a permanent process of construction, which is also a process of fragmentation” (p. 22). His book demonstrates both the advantages and the difficulties of confronting this process, in which the forces of construction and fragmentation defy the historian’s struggle for order and coherence.

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CLIVE EMSLEY. *Gendarmes and the State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 288.

The study of crime, especially in the nineteenth century, has much absorbed the interest of social historians during the last three decades. A correlate has been attention to its agents of repression, and there are excellent monographs about how modern civilian police forces were created in the major European cities. But throughout the century, most of the population remained rural, and there, apart from in Britain, enforcing the law was in the hands of a military police, the gendarmerie, which has been largely ignored by historians. This splendid work by Clive Emsley begins to remedy the neglect.

The French gendarmerie, which became the model imitated throughout Europe, had its origin in the Old Regime’s *maréchaussée*, a rural constabulary of less than 4,000 soldiers. The revolutionaries after 1789 and then Napoleon Bonaparte embraced this institution as a means of guaranteeing a semblance of order during tumultuous times, enlarged it to more than 15,000 men, gave them a new name, and established high

standards. Gendarmes were to have served honorably in the army for at least three years and be literate. They had to be capable of remarkable balancing acts: because they were responsible to both civilian judicial authorities and military superiors, because they could arrest any offender anywhere caught in the act but otherwise needed a warrant, and because while they had broad authority in the countryside, in towns however small they could act only upon the authorization of local officials. Through reference to fascinating personnel records, Emsley makes clear that these standards were often observed in the breach.

Yet order—meaning also the power of and respect for the central government—came to the countryside through the gendarmerie. Peasants resented the enforcement of conscription and of laws against poaching, but they came to appreciate the repression of brigands and of local blood feuds. Gendarmes complained that they were paid too little or too late, that the paper work burden was overwhelming, or that their horses were decrepit; some gendarmes were irresponsible, brutal, drunk, or occasionally criminal. Deficiencies aside, they were effective enough. Arrest records show that as late as 1913, when their numbers had risen to almost 20,000, gendarmes, per capita, brought more offenses before the courts than did the civilian police.

This record, even in its early stages, attracted the admiration of other continental governments. Napoleon had imposed gendarmes throughout his empire, and after he was gone, restored rulers recognized their effectiveness. Using the French model, Piedmont in 1814 established the *carabinieri*, south German states in the 1820s the *Landjäger-Korps*, and the Habsburg empire in 1848 the *Landesgendarmeriekommandos*. As in France, the gendarmes brought order and repressed crime, but Emsley demonstrates that their role in Italy and Germany had important elements of state-building. The *carabinieri* were a powerful tool of the Piedmontese monarchy before the time of Italian unification and were even more so afterward. Their brutality reminded too many of the *shirri* (Old Regime brigands who were paid to suppress other brigands), and they had trouble controlling banditry in Sicily, but they imposed an “Italian” justice to the disparate regions. In the Habsburg lands, Franz Josef and his advisers correctly understood that the military alone had saved the empire during the 1848 revolutions and concluded that a militarized police might bind it together in the aftermath. Both there and in the small German states, the gendarmes would strengthen the central government by reducing the power and influence of the great landowners. Recognizing that danger to them, the Junkers for a time severely limited the development of a Prussian gendarmerie, but after German unification they recognized that gendarmes might be used to suppress labor unrest without involving the military.

Emsley begins by concentrating tightly on France, then expands his view to the French imperium of

Napoleon, shifts to cogent case studies of Italy, Germany, and the Habsburg empire, and concludes with brief remarks about the use of gendarmes in Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Russia, Ireland, and Spain. His command of a European-wide perspective and his detailed research into so many different forms of gendarmerie will force historians to confront the importance of this institution, the influence of which has heretofore been underestimated.

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ULLA WIKANDER. *Von der Madg zur Angestellten: Macht, Geschlecht und Arbeitsteilung 1789–1950*. Translated by CHRISTINE FRÜHAUF. (Europäische Geschichte.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1998. Pp. 206. DM 19.90.

Translated from the original Swedish, Ulla Wikander's study offers the German reading public a basic introductory text on the gender division of labor over the last two centuries in Western Europe. The title captures this evolution through the figures of the domestic servant and the female salaried employee. The author looks at the gendered labor patterns in the states that today comprise the foundation of the European Union (essentially Western Europe, Scandinavia, Spain, and Italy). She is less interested in systematic national comparisons than in similarities in the gender tensions, inequalities, and contradictions produced by the twin forces of industrialization and democratization. Therefore, despite the vastly different political systems as well as the nature, pace, and intensity of economic change and development over the two centuries, the assumed shared norms about masculinity and femininity have shaped a remarkably similar evolution in the gender divisions of labor and the consequent subordination of women. According to the book's title, the study ends in the 1950s with a resegregated work force; but early in the introduction, Wikander promises to investigate changes in women's wage employ "from 1800 until the present" (p. 17). To be sure, a short epilogue draws some of the threads of her argument into the second half of the twentieth century, but the case of women's wage work in Eastern Europe since 1989 is not included in the analysis. It seems that the author has missed an important opportunity to comment on the interrelationships among market forces, democratic transformations, and gendered labor segregation, a theme of considerable importance in today's global economy.

Wikander divides the time period into three distinct chronological eras; each era, she argues, was characterized by a new fit between gendered norms and the gender division of labor. Thus, between 1789 and 1869, the norms of domesticity thwarted the doctrine of political rights and transformed an older (or was it golden?) age of gender complementarity into one of increasing polarity. Between 1870 and 1914, biological arguments about essential sex differences helped to

rearrange labor roles as they simultaneously were used to press for women's entry into public life, including new jobs in social work and teaching, for example. Finally, the period 1914–1950 saw even greater gender polarization, reinforced by rationalization and technological change as well as by mounting social opposition to married women's employment in the interwar years.

Unfortunately, the study suffers from the use of simple categories, which end up doing the work for the author. Complexities in the reciprocal ties between norms and structures are never clearly examined; "men" and "women" are shorn of other attributes that helped shape their identities. Lost, too, in this increasingly polarized world are the liminal spaces that defied the categories: lesbian subcultures, single working mothers' worlds, women's charity work, which, while unpaid, nonetheless helped constitute state institutions as well as social and national identities. The most original analysis is of wartime. Wikander complicates a picture drawn by many feminist historians of European women's work for peace and freedom after the turn of the twentieth century by offering compelling evidence from Denmark and Germany for women's multiple and sanctioned roles in national defense. By her own evidence, the normative world opens up contradictory paths for agency, in this example sustained by an ethic of care. There is very little in the study for readers interested in wider global connections; the arguments are framed solely with reference to Europe. The global patterns within which European labor participates—the massive labor migrations and the feminization of both poverty and industrial and service work—are totally ignored in the study.

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SYLVIE LEFÈVRE. *Les relations économiques franco-allemandes de 1945 à 1955: De l'occupation à la coopération*. Foreword by GEORGES-HENRI SOUTOU. (Histoire économique et financière de la France: Études générales. Paris: Comité pour l'Histoire Economique et Financière de la France. 1998. Pp. xviii, 527. 249fr.

No decade in Western Europe's twentieth-century history produced more constructive—one might say unexpectedly constructive—change than the years 1945–1955. Impressive economic and political recoveries were matched by an improbably rapid reconciliation at the international level. The "miraculous" transformation of Germany from enemy to partner and of the western half of the continent from battleground to community has attracted some of the best recent scholarship on postwar Europe. Sylvie Lefèvre's study thus enters a crowded field. Like many of the diplomatic historians who have tackled this issue, she seems to be struck in equal measure by the grandeur of the achievement and by the markedly nonlinear way in which it was achieved, emerging out of crises and

contingencies at least as much as grand visions. Her sober and very careful reading of vast governmental and business archives documents the evolution of Franco-German economic relations (primarily from a French perspective). Although she does not plunge into the interpretative controversies that have swirled around such issues as the role of American leadership in the European recovery, her research will be essential reading for other scholars interested in doing so.

The book's three-stage chronology of France's economic relationship with Germany is, broadly speaking, a familiar one. In the first stage (1945–1947), a gravely weakened victor tried to impose long-term controls on German economic power by direct occupation of German territory and by economic disarmament (detaching the Rhineland, internationalizing the Ruhr, reattaching the Saar to the French economic system). Increasingly, the ambitious and vague objectives that General Charles de Gaulle had articulated before and after France's liberation yielded to more practical and specific claims, expressed in terms of German coke and coal that France would need in order to reconstruct and modernize its industrial base. Most of these demands were blocked by France's allies. British and American misgivings about French strategy in Germany were reinforced by the deepening of the West's conflict with the Soviet Union. Step by step, the French were forced to back away from the economic disarmament strategy.

In a second, transitional period (between the announcement of the Marshall Plan and the end of the decade), successive French governments acquiesced in the inevitable fusion of the three Western-controlled zones in Germany and the creation of a West German state. Meanwhile, elements within the political elite as well as within the Planning Commissariat and the Quai d'Orsay advocated a new strategy for influencing the course of developments in Germany. This, of course, was the "European" idea. A third phase, in which this new strategy was implemented, began in May 1950, with the announcement of the Schuman Plan. The succeeding five years saw a continued normalization of economic relations between the two states (a process that had begun in the late 1940s) and a new emphasis on economic cooperation.

Lefèvre's low-key, at times slightly dry and repetitive account offers few major revelations about the key moments or the key players. She makes her most original contributions in discussing the various entr'actes: for example, the parts that businessmen, bankers, and other private groups played in reviving trade or the complex series of intergovernmental trade negotiations that took place in the early 1950s. Like other recent works (such as William Hitchcock's *France Restored: Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership in Europe* [1998]), this book gives ample reason to appreciate the resourcefulness of French economic diplomacy. However, some of Lefèvre's conclusions sound a faintly ominous note. She observes that in purely economic terms Germany gained far

more than France from the Schuman Plan. In May 1950, the French economy in general, and the French steel industry in particular, enjoyed a clear advantage. Five years later, the German steel industry had gained the upper hand. And while trade between the two nations indeed expanded, the effects were not symmetrical. France was a very important trading partner for the Federal Republic, but by the mid-1950s, the Federal Republic had become *the* most important trading partner for France. This imbalance suggested a new dependence (Lefèvre does not hesitate to use the word), a dependence that would be very familiar to students of François Mitterrand's economic experiment a quarter-century later.

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JENNIFER LOACH. *Edward VI*. Edited by GEORGE BERNARD and PENRY WILLIAMS. (Yale English Monarchs.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 210. \$27.50.

This is a posthumous biography of England's Edward VI (1537–1553). When Jennifer Loach died in 1995, she left the uncompleted manuscript. In an act of generous piety, the book has been brought to publication by George Bernard and Penry Williams, both eminent Tudor historians. Understanding this background may help the reader comprehend both the strengths and weaknesses of the book, although knowledge of the 1540s and 1550s also helps explain them. Edward VI is not a promising subject for biography as a monarch, since he never reached his majority. Consequently, any biography of Edward VI will be more about the policies enacted in his name than about the king himself. Edward is hard to bring into focus, although he did keep a diary, which allows the biographer unusual access to his adolescent perceptions of events.

Loach took on the limitations of the evidence and wrote a biography that is sometimes about young Edward VI but much of the time about what happened in his name. From these pages, he emerges as an intelligent youth who, had he lived, might have displayed talents similar to those of his father and half-sister Elizabeth. He was raised in the milieu of evangelical enthusiasm, and tutors like John Cheke made certain that he was both a Protestant and a humanist. Edward also showed signs of priggishness, lecturing his much older half-sister Mary about religion and generally acting the little king. Although undoubtedly evangelical, the Edward in this biography comes across as a boy who cared more about the exploits of his fleets and armies than about the religious revolution being imposed in his name. He may have been portrayed as young Josiah, but he did not act like it.

The biography attempts to tease out his relationships with the important people around him, especially his Seymour uncles and the duke of Northumberland.

Unfortunately, the evidence is unclear about what Edward felt about them and how they controlled him. Loach suggests that he may have been more emotionally affected by the executions of his Seymour kin than his journal suggests, but, as is often necessary in this book, she admits in the end that the evidence is too thin to be clearly convincing. Loach is more successful in her treatment of Edward's last days, showing that the king, as much as Northumberland, was clearly in favor of devising the crown to Jane Grey rather than allowing it to pass to Mary or Elizabeth Tudor. Perhaps the most original chapter is the one on Edward's court, showing us a teenage prince learning the arts of courtesy and martial games appropriate to his status.

Unfortunately, the book's scholarly qualities are uneven. One frequently feels that these chapters would have been superb lectures, but they are not yet mature interpretive statements. In particular, Loach's suggestion that young Edward, whom she calls a warrior of God in the making, may have been motivated more by loyalty and attachment to those around him than by religion needs development. One wants to know more, to see this seeming contradiction teased out. At other moments, one can blame the editors for not bringing the text up to professional standards. For instance, Loach quoted "an imaginary woman" talking to her neighbor about the changes in religion in 1549 (p. 50). In the note following this long quote, the editors report that they could not trace the source. (It is a quote from the 1562 homily "Of the Place and Time of Prayer.") Allowing the quote to remain in the text without establishing its origin and applicability to 1549 damages the reliability of the argument.

Bernard and Williams deserve great thanks for rescuing this text, warts, virtues, and all. Although sometimes flawed, it provides an excellent overview of the politics of the 1540s and early 1550s and a clear demonstration of how confusing it can be for the historian when a nation has a child for its king.

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DAVID CRESSY. *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 351. \$35.00.

David Cressy has been reading the sixteenth-century equivalents of the police blotter and the *National Inquirer* and has constructed from such materials this curious and entertaining book. On the most superficial level, it seems to be aimed at a different audience than the usual one for a monograph; there is a buxom woman on the jacket, but no jacket on the woman. But Cressy has no titillation in mind; he contends that the various episodes he has diligently rescued from archival obscurity are revealing precisely because of their marginality. They illuminate, he claims, the "stresses and strains" of an England that, from 1550 to 1650, was "beset by moral, spiritual, and religious difficulties,

economic and demographic problems, [and] cultural and political crises" after a "traumatic" shift from Catholicism to Protestantism (pp. 2–3).

The first seven chapters are devoted mainly to abortions, monstrous births, uncertain paternity, and the intrusion of a man dressed as a woman into the birthing room. The most remarkable of these leads off the book: the alleged birth of a cat to Agnes Bowker in 1569. Bowker was an unmarried domestic servant; her feline delivery, Cressy plausibly speculates, might have been a story "midwived" by her, aided by those who attended her, to avoid a charge of infanticide and the complications of establishing paternity. But he takes a surprisingly historicist view of the story. Perhaps a beast had intercourse with her; people in the sixteenth century thought this was not impossible. "It is not necessarily helpful to say that women do not give birth to cats," he notes (p. 25). Of course, the point of discussing this story is to illustrate the beliefs that would make it at all credible, but Cressy repeatedly refers to the "delivery of a cat" as if it had actually occurred.

The last eight chapters take us into what Edmund Burke called "the petty wars of village vexation," especially as they broke out in or about church. Here we find clergy at odds with their parishioners and desecrations of various sorts. These include irregular burials, "baptisms" of animals, and the familiar complaints and actions of Puritans against Laudian railed-off altars, the theater (with William Prynne the scourge of players), and—after the English Civil War had broken out—a sect called Adamites, who were alleged to worship in the nude. Cressy says about the Adamites that "Radical sectarians who took off their clothes were no more common than women who gave birth to cats" (p. 285), which (if true) means that the book begins with an event that could not have happened and ends with a sect that did not exist.

Although Cressy is a pioneer in history *wie es niemals gewesen*, he is of course justified in studying what people thought did happen, or at least might have happened. He is also as devoted as the strictest Rankean to archival research and, considering the obscurity of the subjects and the usually insuperable difficulty of determining who in court was telling the truth, has admirably explained the contexts in which the stories unfold.

What the book as a whole adds up to is another question. Cressy generally presents his material with minimal "processing," which leads to long (sometimes over-long) verbatim passages of Elizabethan prose, not to mention his all too willing suspension of disbelief in cross-species births. More seriously, one wonders how much his travesties and transgressions require us to alter our interpretation of prerevolutionary England. Although he often emphasizes how outrageous the behavior he describes would have been to contemporaries, and how conflict-ridden England was, Cressy also characterizes it as an "orderly, Protestant, hierarchical society" (p. 1). All societies have many of the

problems he describes. Furthermore, in the conclusion he shows that many Englishmen responded to the travesties and transgressions with typical English sangfroid. Perhaps the often hysterical tone of his clerical sources, in particular, was contrived to jolt the stubborn good sense of their lay audiences.

This book takes an honorable place in the genre of microhistories. Its defects—if they are defects—are generic and are probably defects of its qualities.

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MELINDA S. ZOOK. *Radical Whigs and Conspiratorial Politics in Late Stuart England*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1999. Pp. xxi, 234. \$37.50.

The history of political thought in the latter half of the seventeenth century has been so dominated by the colossal figure of John Locke that other important figures of the period have frequently been overlooked. Melinda S. Zook's book offers a corrective, by providing a wide-ranging introduction to the world (and the work) of radical Whigs in the critical decade between 1678 and 1689. That world, as presented here, was a relatively cohesive one, formed through a network of personal and professional associations and shaped by shared interests and common responses to the critical issues of the day.

The central players in the tale are four men whose names may be unfamiliar but whose influence in Whig circles was undoubtedly pervasive, and in Zook's view, formative. They were Thomas Hunt, William Atwood, the Reverend Samuel Johnson, and Robert Ferguson. (Locke himself is treated as a peripheral figure throughout.) These four were prolific writers who continued to publish throughout the crisis years, providing a wealth of political literature from which a coherent ideology gradually evolved. Their radicalism coalesced around the issue of James Stuart's possible exclusion from the succession, but their responses to exclusion then determined their reaction to (and/or participation in) the Rye House plots, Monmouth's rebellion and the Glorious Revolution. Zook argues convincingly that there was a remarkable consistency of response to these events and that those responses should be treated as part of a continuum marking the emergence of what she calls a "revolution culture." What these men shared was a firm belief in government as a man-made, historical construct. They rejected the premise of a divinely ordained monarchy and instead embraced the premise of government by popular consent, and specifically government by contract, whereby the people contracted with a specific monarch to protect their rights and liberties under the law.

Not all of Zook's radicals arrived at their conclusions by the same route. Some, like Hunt, were "rationalists," depending for their arguments on reason and principles of natural law, while others, like

Atwood and Johnson (as well as William Petyt and James Tyrell) were "constitutionalists," who venerated England's ancient constitution and argued for the supremacy of the law—that is, English common law—as the ultimate standard against which royal initiatives were to be measured. Regardless of the specific reasoning employed, the ultimate conclusion reached by these authors (and a number of others mentioned in passing) remained the same. Magistrates who had violated the law forfeited their contract and could be resisted, if necessary by force and violence. Indeed, Zook distinguishes the Whig radicals of her study from other Whig supporters of exclusion on this very basis: their willingness to employ armed resistance to achieve their political ends. Certainly with regard to her four principals, the case is well made. During the decade in question, these men remained remarkably consistent both in word and deed, and the level of their commitment to their principles was doubtless enormously persuasive. These men were not just polemicists; they were activists who served, as is were, on the "front lines" of their cause and willingly endured the hardships that inevitably accompanied their activism, from corporal punishment, to imprisonment, to exile. The example they set has to have created a lasting impression on their wider audience—including, one must assume, Locke.

The fascinating exception is Ferguson, here referred to as the "Plotter." Prior to 1689, he was the most outspoken and reckless of the Whig radicals, a popular leader who endured exile and abject poverty for his troubles. After 1689, he altogether abandoned his Whig heritage and became an ardent Jacobite. His apostasy is extraordinary and certainly challenges some of the general arguments made here, but it is never properly explained or analyzed. Perhaps the sources do not allow it, but Ferguson's later history certainly warranted fuller treatment. It might also have been worthwhile to relate in more detail the development of Whig radicalism of the 1680s to its historical antecedents. Clearly, the fundamental platform of Whig radicals in this period—not least the elements of contractarian government and resistance theory—had been articulated much earlier, by a variety of sources, during the English Civil War and Revolution. Some sense of the historical evolution involved would have been illuminating.

All the same, Zook's case is cogently argued and artfully presented. If a picture of later Stuart radicalism without Locke at its center seems an anomaly, so be it. However influential he may have been in the long term, Zook has demonstrated that he was not alone in laying the foundations for late seventeenth-century Whig ideology.

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BARBARA J. SHAPIRO. *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550–1720*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 284. \$42.50.

More than thirty years ago, Barbara J. Shapiro drew attention to certain intellectual and human linkages between "Law and Science in Seventeenth-Century England" (*Stanford Law Review* 21 [1969]: pp. 727–66). She has subsequently elaborated that theme in three monographs, each exploring the transmission of legal concepts to and from other discourses, notably those of natural and moral philosophy, religion, history, and literature. Although the work under review is the most recent of the trilogy, it follows on from *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of the Relationships between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law, and Literature* (1983) rather than "*Beyond Reasonable Doubt*" and "*Probable Cause*": *Historical Perspectives on the Anglo-American Law of Evidence* (1991), which primarily addressed notions of evidence and proof in Anglo-American law and their shaping by external influences, including theology and philosophy as well as borrowings from Roman and canon law.

The present book returns to Shapiro's earlier perception that a greatly expanded realm of "factual" but not absolutely certain knowledge was a defining characteristic of early modern English epistemology and natural philosophy. The novel contribution of this volume derives from its claim that specifically legal concepts of fact, and procedures for finding or verifying facts, were "first extended into other disciplines that dealt with human actions and then to the 'facts' of natural and divine phenomena" (pp. 32–33). Hence the notorious empiricism of English culture and thought from the late seventeenth century onward reflects the pervasive influence of English law and legal institutions.

While civilians distinguished matters of fact from matters of law, only the common law maintained an institutional distance between them, reserving the determination of fact to lay juries and of law to professional judges. Fact, in this context, meant any human action or, more specifically, an event constituting a crime of which a defendant stood accused. By the sixteenth century, jurors no longer represented the local knowledge of the community where a fact occurred but were essentially evaluators of oral and written testimony that sought to prove or disprove matters of fact. Following procedures and rules designed to minimize self-interested bias on the part of witnesses within a framework that emphasized impartiality as the supreme judicial virtue, early modern English courts functioned as sites of knowledge production, in which some matters of fact were proven, with others held uncertain or false. High levels of participation in the legal process made for widespread experience of and confidence in the law's fact-finding methods, thereby facilitating the spread of similar concepts and techniques to other intellectual and social spheres.

Having thus established the legal origins of "fact," the rest of the book traces its diffusion and redefinition, from purported human action to proven natural

phenomenon, across the disparate genres of history, chorography, travel writing, journalism, natural philosophy, and theology, concluding with a brief account of the post-Lockean cultural elaboration of "fact" in eighteenth-century fiction and satire. A significant subtext is dissatisfaction with what Shapiro characterizes as "The Gentlemanly Thesis" (p. 139) of Steven Shapin and Simon Shaffer. Against their suggestion that Restoration scientists regarded social rank as the prime indicator of an observer's trustworthiness or lack thereof, she asserts the equal significance of such mundane considerations as expertise, experience, and opportunity, while also pointing to the ambiguous social standing of many professional men involved in the Royal Society's deliberations.

Commanding both a formidable range of reference and a lucid prose style, Shapiro has something interesting to say about almost every topic she touches. Yet the cornerstone of her ambitious thesis remains somewhat less than secure. Wholly reliant on printed sources, she finds it difficult to establish the precise mechanisms by which the law's influence worked on other realms of enquiry, to demonstrate that the direction of intellectual transmission was invariably from the legal to non-legal spheres, or to penetrate the mysteries of early modern court procedure. There are also occasional gaps in her otherwise remarkable mastery of the secondary literature, particularly with regard to the growing body of work by Christopher W. Brooks, Christine Churches, Henry Horwitz, Craig Muldrew, and others on the cultural and social context of early modern English litigation. Nevertheless, Shapiro's book can be recommended as essential reading for anyone concerned with the intellectual history of early modern England.

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CARL B. ESTABROOK. *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces, 1660–1780*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 317. \$60.00.

Americans are increasingly making an important contribution to the investigation of English towns in the early modern period. To the work of David Harris Sacks on ports, Catherine F. Patterson on urban patronage, Paul D. Halliday on post-Restoration boroughs, and Kathleen Wilson on politics and culture in eighteenth-century towns, one can now add Carl B. Estabrook's wide-ranging and innovative study of town and countryside relations in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Deploying an extensive knowledge of the secondary literature and detailed research on a number of key local sources, Estabrook takes issue with what he sees as the main thrust of established views on the subject: that there was a close interpenetration of urban and rural connections, and that after the Restoration, with the so-called urban renaissance, the initiative in this relationship, the

balance of power as it were, moved strongly to towns, which increasingly dominated and indeed "urbanized" their rural hinterlands. Rather, Estabrook argues from his study of Bristol and its adjoining villages in North Somerset and South Gloucestershire, urban and rural relationships were often detached, with villages retaining a considerable degree of autonomy from their city neighbor, by 1700 an increasingly important provincial capital and Atlantic port. Divergence was spawned by institutional divisions with city charters, guilds, and other civic agencies protecting and promoting the interests of Bristol's citizens at the expense of outsiders; in the countryside, parish vestries and manorial courts likewise spawned localism and xenophobia. The major contrast between urban and rural space—the former in a city like Bristol densely occupied with marked social segregation in contrast to the villages—was reinforced for most of the period by the absence of suburban development. Urban and rural credit networks were relatively independent and had their own distinctive traits (thus female lending was much more common in the city, rural lending was more circumscribed). Village traders coming to Bristol preferred to do their business together in particular locations on the outskirts, selling to rural consumers who thus avoided going into the heart of the city. There were separate social spheres, too. Most Bristolians married someone from the same city parish rather than from the neighboring countryside. In the case of those apprentices and servants who flocked to town, a high proportion came not from nearby villages but from further afield, and, for those who did come, their stays were alienating and brief. As for the new "Consumer Revolution," its impact on Bristol's countryside, so far as probate inventories reveal, was muted and selective. Despite the city's importance as a printing and book-selling center, rural book-ownership was falling, and villagers preferred traditional religious works, not the wave of new secular publications produced in Bristol. Yet, as Estabrook observes, there were growing strands of interaction by the later eighteenth century. Dissenters, Quakers, and, later, Methodists recruited and organized beyond parish and city boundaries. Literacy created its own networks of educated people, and improved roads aided access to town (for sociable events). The spread of suburban villas with their picturesque gardens eventually elided those distinctions of urban and rustic space that were so important earlier and so fundamental to the book's argument.

Estabrook has presented a provocative thesis that deserves to be taken seriously, although I have some reservations. Although well researched, the evidence used is selective and sometimes problematic. Little is said, for instance, of the numerous county societies for which Georgian Bristol was notable: bodies like the Society of Gloucestershire-men, which brought together city merchants and well-to-do men with county connections with gentry and others from that shire for annual dinners, processions, sermons, and fundraising to relieve poor migrants and their families. Recent

work on marriage horizons has highlighted the dangers of using marriage registers, and the quality of probate inventories, a major source for this book, was generally deteriorating by 1700. It is also arguable whether the contrast between Bristol and its hinterland is, in part, misconceived. The city was ringed by a series of small market towns, and it is these that may have provided the crucial bridge between villagers and urban society. In a perfect world, a three-fold comparison of city, small town, and village might have proved more instructive. But Estabrook has certainly started an interesting debate.

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ANITA GUERRINI. *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment: The Life and Times of George Cheyne*. (Oklahoma Project for Discourse and Theory. Series for Science and Culture, number 3.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2000. Pp. xx, 283. Cloth \$25.95, paper \$15.95.

In this well-researched and well-written book, Anita Guerrini provides a coherent narrative of the life and work of George Cheyne, a popular physician of Bath in the early eighteenth century and an early proponent of the application of Newtonian ideas to medicine. Cheyne lived in an age in which scientific medicine was in its infancy, in which there was constant shifting between traditional and modern paradigms, and a struggle to translate theories into practice. The more qualitative views of matter of the seventeenth-century iatrochemists were vying with mechanistic and quantitative approaches, yet there was then no clear boundary between these perspectives. Furthermore, questions of how one could obtain the greatest certainty and clarity in understanding nature were still being debated.

As Guerrini reveals, Cheyne's medical perspective was more influenced by his religious and moral views than by any specific application of Newtonian principles to his medical decision making. Although modern researchers most frequently point to Cheyne's connection to the Newtonian physician Alexander Pitcairne, Guerrini shows how Cheyne's pronouncements on treatment were significantly shaped by his early exposure to the ideas of contemporary religious mystics.

The personal aspects of Cheyne's life—one filled with struggles over chronic depression and severe obesity—also color his work. Guerrini carefully describes Cheyne's own medical history and shows how his own woes resulted in his infusing a high degree of compassion and empathy into both his dealings with patients and his practical writings. Finally, his decision to settle and establish a viable medical practice in Bath, at a time when the curative mineral waters there were becoming quite popular and physicians in that town were beginning to see profit in linking their services to the water cure, also gives us insight into his approach to treatment.

To describe fully Cheyne's practical views, Guerrini shows how one must understand the blending of his religious convictions with the realities of bodily dysfunction. Cheyne felt that moderation and temperance offered a path both toward health of the body and purification of the soul, while excess not only led to bodily afflictions but was a crime against God. He urged individuals to take responsibility for maintaining that discipline and constancy needed to save their physical and spiritual selves. He emphasized the use of a light diet of white meats and vegetables, consumption of water (especially the mineral water of Bath), and avoidance of alcohol as the best means to health, and he interpreted this regimen as a moral imperative. This self-help approach, as Guerrini notes, was unique among physicians of Cheyne's day.

Through Guerrini's narrative, we see how the tenor of life in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century influenced Cheyne's perspectives. In this age of social, religious, and intellectual upheaval, a broad range of competing theories developed, amplifying the need, particularly in medicine, to define a rational basis for practice. Cheyne, as others, found in the simple and unifying principles of Newton a means of organizing physiological concepts. His theoretical medical works took an iatromathematical view, arguing that through mathematical precision one could best achieve certainty regarding the operations of the body in health and disease.

However, despite the desire to blend mathematics, mechanics, and medicine into a complete and rational system, as Cheyne and other early medical Newtonians like Pitcairne had hoped, theory could offer little insight into practice. In fact, from the description of Cheyne's views provided in this book, his theory seems so divorced from his practical views that it is difficult to see how the one could substantively affect the other.

Cheyne's theoretical medical writings may have been more an effort to gain credibility within the community of physicians than to shape his treatment of patients. In the area of treatment, Cheyne turned inward to his religious views and personal experiences. His works on regimen were written to appeal to his patients in Bath (and perhaps also served as a means of personal catharsis). The differences in the two audiences for these works may explain why Cheyne's various writings often seem so disparate.

Guerrini's book is extremely successful in providing a contextual overview of the world of the early eighteenth-century medical practitioner. She also indicates Cheyne's own contributions to later thought on mental health, in which the interrelationship of mind and body were more deliberately explored. This book provides us a particularly provocative window into the medical past of Western Europe.

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E. A. SMITH. *George IV*. (Yale English Monarchs.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. xiv, 306. \$35.00.

"An old, mad, blind, despised, and dying king" is Percy Bysshe Shelley's opening to "England in 1819." The king was George III. The poet's sobriquet for his heir, George IV, the prince regent since 1812, was at least as disparaging: "Swellfoot the Tyrant." Sir Lewis Namier and his successors rehabilitated George III's reputation, so much so that even American schoolchildren may no longer connect him with tyranny. George IV is a tougher assignment, not in terms of correcting the charge of tyranny, which can hardly be taken seriously, but in rescuing him from an exclusive identification with the opulence and dissipation associated with Regency England. He suffers, as well, for having reigned at a time when Britain experienced an accelerated rate of social and political change, to which George, first as prince regent, then as king, accommodated only with reluctance. While he does not emerge from E. A. Smith's study as an attractive character, George IV is endowed by his biographer with a tad of human sympathy—an achievement of sorts, given the connotations implicit in J. B. Priestley's *The Prince of Pleasure* (1969). Indeed, this reappraisal of George IV—a contribution to Yale's "English Monarchs" series—is perhaps overly generous in attributing to the king a significance greater than he deserves.

Smith is an accomplished scholar of the period, his perceptive examination of *Whig Principles and Party Politics: Earl Fitzwilliam and the Whig Party* (1975) having been followed by *Lord Grey, 1764–1845* (1990), as well as studies of Queen Caroline's trial and the nineteenth-century House of Lords. He places his subject in the tradition of filial opposition, or "reversionary interest" politics with which students of eighteenth-century Britain are so familiar, the renovated Carlton House symbolic of an heir's defiance. The dynamic between disapproving father and unworthy son, dutiful king and disappointing prince, carries the reader through Charles James Fox's India Bill, the regency crisis of 1788, and the aftermath of the French Revolution, which drew George closer to his father's politics if not to his austerity. Smith recounts the luxury, flamboyance, and impetuosity of the prince's private and public life: the protracted courtship of and secret marriage to Maria Fitzherbert, the disastrous match with Caroline of Brunswick, and the subsequent relationships with Lady Hertford and Lady Conyngham. In accordance with their mutual antagonism, it was appropriate that the national bereavement that accompanied George III's death in 1820 should be followed by the generalized indifference that his son's demise occasioned a decade later.

Smith makes a good case for George IV's achievements as a patron of the arts, his extravagance having become identified with his time. The architecture associated with his reign as both prince and king conjures up the style of an age on which he left his imprint. From the construction of the Pavilion at

Brighton to the later renovations to Windsor Castle and Buckingham House, George's legacy as prince and king is preserved in England's public architecture. He distinguished himself in his support of literature and the visual arts as well, and enriched the royal collections.

His political role and constitutional significance is far more controversial. Here was a sovereign whose unpopularity was dramatized in the spectacle staged in the queen's trial, and who presided, however unwillingly, over two decades of dramatic changes—from Trafalgar to Peterloo to Catholic Emancipation. Having dumped the Whigs when he became regent in 1812, he retained the services of Lord Liverpool and then supported George Canning, whom he had once despised. But for Canning's untimely death, Smith unpersuasively suggests, George IV "might be celebrated as a truly effective constitutional monarch" (p. 235). As it turned out, he bitterly gave the royal assent to Catholic Emancipation before his reign ended in prolonged seclusion at Windsor Castle. The author's generosity in judging him may be excessive, if only by default. Noting that "his reign marked a vital stage in the transition from the personal role of the king to the rule of the Cabinet and Parliament," Smith suggests that while George was not instrumental in producing or guiding that process, "he helped to make the birth possible" (p. 287). The reader is left with the ambiguity characteristic of nineteenth-century litotes: "his reign left a not unworthy legacy to his country" (p. 284).

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NICHOLAS ROGERS. *Crowds, Culture, and Politics in Georgian Britain*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. ix, 291. \$75.00.

Nicholas Rogers has long produced significant work on the social history of eighteenth-century British political life. Now he has united many of his insights in a compelling argument for the central place of crowds in politics. He does so by avoiding the often rigid theoretical constraints that have shaped previous work on crowds and riots. Instead, we get a subtle look at how crowds (not *the* crowd) interacted in varied ways with other kinds of political activity: elections, journalism, parliamentary maneuvering, and litigation. The result is a book that drives home the point that crowds mattered because they provided the environment in which common people acted on their concerns about naval impressment, high food prices, or the corruption imputed to royal ministers. Rogers demonstrates that crowd participants were crucial actors in a vibrant, inclusive political world and thus joins other historians in undermining notions of a torpid eighteenth century dominated by an *ancien régime* elite.

Rogers lays out his analytic debts and intentions in the introduction. He follows Georges Lefebvre—and, one might add, David Underdown—in seeing crowds as a cultural phenomenon manifesting a collective

mentality, in this case, one shaped by traditional celebrations of public anniversaries and other festivals. Unlike George F. E. Rudé, who only saw crowds in confrontation with those above, Rogers identifies a "complex reciprocity" (p. 10) between crowds and political elites. Crowds did not simply react to outside forces; they interacted with them: crowd action shaped elite action as well as the other way around. Here, Rogers comes closest to E. P. Thompson, though he prefers something more subtle to Thompson's bipolar view of plebeian crowds' engagement with social elites. Rogers recognizes extensive middling sort involvement in crowds, in the traditional culture that shaped crowds, and in mediating between the political needs of those beneath and those above them socially.

Separate chapters on specific examples of crowd motivations follow, exploring Jacobitism, hardships created by war and dearth, impressment, Admiral Keppel and the American war, anti-Catholicism, and women's roles in crowd action. This sequence concludes with a chapter on the crowds that championed Queen Caroline in 1820. For Rogers, these crowds showed how the nineteenth century would differ from the Georgian age. Pursuing specific reforms, fueled by a radical press, and led by a network of political clubs, nineteenth-century crowds became more confrontational, diverging from a seventeenth/eighteenth-century tradition in which the culture of crowds drew on everyday life and customary forms of public celebration.

Rogers has written a book rich in details. The trawl made through provincial newspapers is impressive. Better still, and unlike others who study popular politicking in this first great age of the newspaper, Rogers has worked with a broad array of manuscript material too. In particular, his use of court records suggests two important points. First, depositions give us the words, ideas, and passions of people in the crowd and those who observed or confronted them. No matter how large, a crowd was always made of individuals: it was not an amoebic social organism but a collection of distinct personal anxieties and political passions. The chapter on popular responses to naval impressment, with its extensive use of Admiralty court archives, makes this point with particular force. Second, the use of court records calls our attention to the fact that crowd politics interacted with other kinds of politics: in this case, with the politics of the law. Crowd action was often illegal action, or at least action whose legality could only be determined through prosecutions. Crowd action thus became legal action as politics moved from the street to the courtroom.

As Rogers notes, this book is really "a series of essays" (p. 17), and at times, one wishes they were tied together more tightly. Greater cohesion might have been achieved by addressing more thoroughly scholarship about popular politics by Kathleen Wilson, Linda Colley, or H. T. Dickinson—to name only a few—that supports or differs from some of Rogers's contentions. Likewise, Rogers notes that crowds of the eighteenth

century "were very much a product of a seventeenth-century inheritance" (p. 17). Again, without exploring the work of historians like Underdown and Tim Harris, one cannot appreciate fully how much of an inheritance there was and thus the extent to which we should view the political potency of eighteenth-century crowds as novel. But these are minor quibbles set against Rogers's accomplishment in a book that will certainly help to shape future work on popular participation in the life of the nation.

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HEATHER SHORE. *Artful Dodgers: Youth and Crime in Early Nineteenth-Century London*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, for the Royal Historical Society. 1999. Pp. xiii, 193. \$55.00.

Juvenile crime in the early nineteenth century—as now—provoked high measures of despair. The respectable classes believed that if children and young people who were "at risk" were not saved and readjusted to decent society, they would inevitably mature into hardened criminals. Heather Shore's focus is the "juvenile offender," a term that only achieved its present currency and the status of a label in the early nineteenth century. In this lively and engagingly written book, she builds on the well-tested foundations of published research and offers, if not a new interpretative field, then certainly a new collection of primary source materials from which conclusions can be reached. Shore explores shifts in the attitudes of the establishment toward juvenile delinquency in the early nineteenth century but, more significantly, she also examines the lives of the young offenders themselves. Although the study is largely centered on nineteenth-century London, it has wider and more contemporary resonances, all of which emanate from Shore's main purpose: to incorporate the young offender's point of view in a revised examination of juvenile crime.

Shore creates a sensible structure for her thesis by skillfully juggling theory and evidence. The introduction sets out her main intentions, the sources used, and the historiography. The main thrust of the book challenges traditional middle-class perceptions about juvenile crime by setting them against the testimony of young criminals. Thereafter the debates surrounding the treatment of those same offenders are rehearsed and reevaluated. Various explanations are given for the causes of crime, many of which sound uncannily familiar to contemporary ears: inadequate parenting, inadequate education, lack of religious training, and the degrading effects of popular culture.

The juveniles' own explanations for their behavior are, on the whole, consistent with the perceptions of the elite. What is strikingly evident is that crime, or at least detected crime, was essentially committed by the working-class male; the crimes of young females and the crimes of middle and upper-class males were

generally not recorded. The crimes committed were generally the actions of unruly youths characterized by what we would recognize as typically laddish behaviour. Most young men were tried for petty larceny; very few were indicted for anything more serious. Once arrested, tried, and convicted, there were a number of options for sentencing: the list included imprisonment (with occupational training), execution, and transportation. By 1847, seventy-six percent of juvenile criminals were given a custodial sentence. Children were sent to prisons, houses of correction, reformatories, industrial schools, and voluntary associations. They could also serve time on the notorious *Eurylus*, a juvenile convict ship where young boys were subjected to grievous bullying by other prisoners. In prison, offenders were subject to solitary confinement or physically beaten: the birch, the rod, or the cat were seen to be effective as a short sharp shock. Sometimes boys received rudimentary training to work on farms, while girls were trained as domestic servants. Children could be sentenced to death by hanging; yet, in a chilling note, Shore confirms that none of the 103 children under fourteen years of age who were sentenced to death between 1801 and 1836 at the Old Bailey was in fact executed.

Transportation to the colonies increasingly became a favored method of juvenile punishment and reform: it was seen as an appropriately severe punishment that carried the added benefit of providing the young convict with opportunities for a new life. Sentences involving transportation, therefore, were couched in the quasi-noble rhetoric of sending children off to a fresh start in the colonies, and the language of transportation was gradually upgraded to approximate the language of colonial emigration.

This book is predominantly about young male crime. The female voice is under-represented, and only a few examples are used. Perhaps Shore could have elaborated on the implications of some of her most interesting appendixes in the main body of her text: one the distribution of sentences by gender, where it is clear that many more young men were sentenced to whipping, to death, or to transportation than young women. It would be interesting to reflect on the reasons for this and to consider why punishment was so clearly differentiated by gender. I regret that Shore decided not to use the new analytical categories developed by feminist historians to examine the processes of arrest, trial, and detention.

Nevertheless, this is a fine book which deserves to be read by all those hardened professional or potential students of nineteenth-century England. It is based on a wide range of well-marshalled primary evidence that emphasizes the voice of young offenders rather than the more familiar views of those who arrested, tried, and sentenced them. It is highly readable and will make an important companion to the forthcoming series of books on the history of crime that Judith

Rowbotham and Kim Stevenson are presently editing.

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JEFFREY A. AUERBACH. *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. pp. viii, 279. \$40.00.

The 1851 Great Exhibition is in every sense a familiar landmark in Victorian history. That enormous greenhouse, the Crystal Palace, has become a pictorial shorthand for the triumph of Britain's industrial revolution. The event constitutes the hinge of the nineteenth century, the moment when the dissention and dislocation of the early factory system turned into the stability and prosperity of the mature industrial economy. At one level, Jeffrey A. Auerbach is willing to endorse the grandeur of the event. His study is full of superlatives and fine illustrations. He is as convinced as the exhibition's most enthusiastic promoters that the Crystal Palace was an achievement without precedent and with few comparable successors. For the British reader, for whom the Millennium Dome is becoming an epochal disaster, the account of how the Society of Arts anchored its enterprise in the national consciousness is both sobering and illuminating. Whereas the exhibition's organizers prided themselves on the absence of any public subsidy, the Blair government has been forced to make another multimillion-pound grant in order to prevent the Dome's immediate bankruptcy.

Auerbach's ambition, however, extends well beyond mere celebration. His central concern is with the meanings embodied in the Great Exhibition. The real significance of the event lies in the way in which it both exposed and negotiated deep divisions about the nature of the mid-Victorian society and economy. The didactic function of the exhibition was fulfilled in more complex ways than the organizers can ever have anticipated. At every level, from the definition of labor and production to the place of Britain in the international order, conflicts of interpretation were exposed by the process of planning and managing the event. The lessons that the Crystal Palace taught the nation were deeply ambiguous and their temporary reconciliation in Hyde Park in the summer of 1851 all the more remarkable. And the lessons the event holds for the modern reader are far more interesting than the somewhat two-dimensional perspective that informs most other accounts.

In its conception, the book is an exemplary piece of cultural history. Auerbach is sharply aware that seeing the Great Exhibition as a kind of text requires a close engagement with the political, economic and social forces of the period. The first section of the book comprises a detailed study of the organizational process in the three years preceding the exhibition itself. He is able to highlight the stunning optimism of Henry Cole and his collaborators, who conceived this celebration of the productive nation amidst deep fears in

1848 that the world's first industrial economy was becoming completely unmanageable. Particularly fascinating amid the woes of the unloved Millennium Dome is the sophistication of the public relations campaign that was mounted across Britain. Three hundred local support committees were kept supplied with speakers and literature. They were required to embrace as large a cross-section of the local community as possible, with participation frequently stretching to the borders of the lumpen proletariat. Each committee was charged with raising money, proposing exhibits, and facilitating the travel to London of what eventually amounted to one-fifth of the entire population, by far the largest peacetime migration in the country's history. Auerbach is able to show that the rural areas were less enthusiastic than the urban and that the driving liberal message of free trade and enterprise received a mixed reception in many localities. But, in the terminology of modern management, it was a textbook example of how to create ownership for what was at the outset an immensely risky enterprise.

Partly because of the bulk of the existing literature, some aspects of the exhibition receive little attention. Auerbach is more illuminating on the Crystal Palace as an organizational than an architectural triumph. There remain difficulties in establishing just what the less articulate millions made of their attendance, and at times inference has to substitute for what is generally a closely documented analysis. But in the nuanced exploration of how the event provoked and reconciled conflicts among manufacture, commerce, and service industries, among aristocratic, middle-class, and working-class participants, between competitive confidence and insecurity and between assertive nationalism and peaceful internationalism, Auerbach fully justifies his claims for the protean quality of the 1851 Great Exhibition.

DAVID VINCENT
Keele University

PETER T. MARSH. *Bargaining on Europe: Britain and the First Common Market, 1860-1892*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 246. \$30.00.

This is an important study of Britain's evolving commercial relationship with Europe following the negotiation of the Anglo-French Treaty of 1860. Rooted in an impressive range of archival and secondary sources, the book provides an essential complement to Anthony Howard's *Free Trade and Liberal England, 1846-1946* (1997) by focusing attention on the European experience of tariff policy. Peter T. Marsh presents an excellent account of the development of commercial policy in France and Germany (the key European powers) and the manner in which their changing priorities impacted on British policy makers. At the inception of the Anglo-French Treaty, the British aim was to encourage intra-European trade as a decisive contribution to collective prosperity and the maintenance of international peace and goodwill. These

objectives were shared by Napoleon III, although he hoped that the negotiation of bilateral treaties with other European powers would also help to enhance French power and influence.

By the 1870s, substantial reductions in European tariffs had been consistent with a sustained expansion in visible trade. The guiding principles of British policy were distinctive in that they were based upon a mixture of liberal economic idealism (tariffs hurt the initiator) and pragmatism. In the latter respect, British policy makers came to believe that tariffs were inimical to the interests of the industrial economy, given the country's increasing dependence on imported foodstuffs and raw materials. In practical terms, therefore, British tariff reductions were applicable to all countries and confined to items not produced in Britain in order to avoid any semblance of protection for the industrial sector. Unfortunately, as Marsh is at pains to emphasize, these "ethical perspectives" effectively neutralized the country's bargaining power in commercial policy. This was especially the case from the 1870s, when a combination of falling prices and profits encouraged the continental states to embrace protectionism in the interests of domestic producers. European policy makers may have favored the maximum freedom of trade, but, in the final analysis, their commitment to economic liberalism was heavily qualified. British politicians from Gladstone to Granville, with their doctrinaire commitment to unilateral free trade, failed to comprehend the political dimension to European tariff policy, thereby disabling the Foreign Office in its commercial dealings. Unable to manipulate a post-1880 tariff structure dominated by Germany and confronted by the American tariff, Britain turned to slower-growing and less prosperous imperial markets, with deleterious consequences for long-term economic growth and industrial efficiency.

In his conclusion, Marsh draws some pertinent comparisons between Britain's experience of "the first Common Market" and its contemporary relations with the European Union. At first sight, the limitations of British influence in the earlier period are at odds with the country's relative economic strength today. The movement toward freedom of trade, moreover, was a British initiative. But as in the case of more recent concerns, Liberal free traders were every bit as averse to any loss of national sovereignty in economic policy making as modern-day Conservative eurosceptics. In short, Britain's engagement with "the first Common Market" sheds intriguing light on the historical roots of the country's intermittently fraught relationship with its successor.

MAURICE W. KIRBY
Lancaster University

JANE LONG. *Conversations in Cold Rooms: Women, Work and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Northumberland*. (Royal Historical Studies in History, New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, for the Royal Historical Society. 1999. Pp. xii, 241. \$75.00.

Jane Long asks her readers to cross the thresholds and "re-enter" (p. 4) the cold rooms of the poor, to listen to the conversations of working-class women and look again at the ways in which Victorian observers and historians have represented them. "Material existence and cultural representation," she argues, "were inextricably linked, conditioning what was possible, and how those possibilities were perceived, not only by bourgeois observers but by poor women themselves" (p. 34). To retrieve working-class women's agency and to avoid replicating the categories and assumptions of the past, Long therefore employs a discursive approach. But for Long, the material is as important as the ideal. Each chapter is empirically situated, on top of which, covering working-class women's experience in urban and rural Northumberland, Long demonstrates an invaluable awareness of the cross-cutting issues of regionality/regional identity and the relationship of region to nation. In this way, the book works far beyond the bounds of its county.

In the first chapter, Long argues strongly that there is no fixity of femininity, that constructions of womanhood change over time and vary between classes and, although widely popularized, are simultaneously contested and negotiated. In looking specifically at the construction of female working-class identities, Long heeds Joan Scott's assertion that historians should look at the construction of the woman worker (that is, identify the discourse of the period and scrutinize it, not reproduce it [p. 132]). Long applies this to the impoverished woman as well as the woman worker. She also recognizes that the formation of identity—the determination of who was seen to conform and who was marginalized—was spatially and materially, not just ideologically, delimited. And, following on from her metaphor of the threshold, Long maintains a constant sensitivity to the spatial throughout the book.

Gendered models of women's history and feminist philosophy, as well as social history, influence Long's approach. In chapter two she therefore begins by analyzing the "disordered body." This category, which she uses throughout, refers to the tendency of Victorian observers to set disordered nature against ordered culture. Long then begins to look at specific groups of women, beginning in chapter three with the women working in Newcastle's white-lead industry. In the next chapter, Long looks at the "bondagers" who worked on Northumberland's farms. By establishing the complex connections between urban and rural Northumberland in these two chapters, she avoids setting rural against urban. However, the advantages and the disadvantages of a regional approach can also be seen. Although there is considerable empirical detail on the history of the bondager and although Long is good on the complexities of identity that existed in the region, she seems less aware of the national context. The bondager is treated here as "quintessential" (p. 96), whereas the "gangers" of Norfolk were seen to be far worse at the time: hence an act regulating their employment in 1867.

Having covered women engaged in legitimate paid work, and argued that the workplace in urban and rural Northumberland "was a primary site in which gender identities were actively elaborated" (p. 198), Long moves on in the next two chapters to tackle the gendered conceptualizations of poverty. In chapter five, copious examples taken from the documentary evidence enable Long to discuss women's negotiation/resistance within the institutions of the poor law. Chapter six focuses on private charitable relief. Philanthropy, Long argues, relied on moral definitions of women/womanhood. Drawing on the model of melodrama (using the work of Martha Vicinus) to look at the treatment of the poor, Long discusses the scripts and roles given to applicants, recipients, and donors. Nonetheless, as at work, tensions existed within the working class as well as between the working class and the elite.

Throughout the book, Long is at pains to argue that women were never the victims of the discursive situations they entered. However, she struggles both to find women's own voices and to use the evidence she has to cross the class and gender divides she identifies. These difficulties are longstanding within women's history, as she acknowledges, and in her conclusion Long considers them in light of women's relationship to history and progress. The paucity of sources and the historian's relationship to those sources are key here. It is therefore important, Long argues, to go back and question those sources again, to look for new sources, and to try and hear for ourselves those elusive conversations in cold rooms, to question the categories we inherit and the stories we tell.

KAREN SAYER
University of Luton

ERIKA DIANE RAPPAPORT. *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 323. \$35.00.

While shopping is sometimes misconstrued as a trivial historical subject and frivolous pastime, recent studies of consumerism have demonstrated its importance to the demand side of the industrial revolution and Foucauldian expressions of power. Erika Diane Rappaport's book is a theoretically informed study of shopping and other activities that enabled "the West End ... to be defined as an especially pleasurable place for bourgeois women" (p. 4). In particular, Rappaport endeavors to show how "gender was central to the commercialization of England's capital city" (p. 4).

Reworking Michel Foucault on pleasure but rejecting Jürgen Habermas on public space, Rappaport argues that public space and gender identity were in essence produced together. As the city became a "pleasure zone," the shopper was designated as a pleasure seeker. Two chapters examine department stores: Whiteley's, which opened in 1863, and Selfridge's, which opened in 1909. In these chapters,

Rappaport is at pains to separate herself from previous studies of department stores which have accepted "entrepreneurial rhetoric" (p. 10). Instead, for Whiteley's, she examines a variety of discourses mostly from the Bayswater press. The critical voices of conservative publicans, upper-class magistrates, liberal journalists, and politicians who painted department stores as the "halls of temptation" (p. 39) are set against discourses, mostly by women, which depicted the department store as an emancipatory space of power and pleasure. For Selfridge's, which initiated a "new era of shopping" through a focus on windows as theater and shopping as a welcoming experience, Rappaport directs her analysis toward the company's promotional material. Selfridge's, Rappaport suggests convincingly, adapted "the excessive verbiage of the advertorial, as well as the tropes of the urban sketch, the guidebook and the feminist tract" (p. 159) to depict emancipated women who might embrace comfort but also sensual pleasures. Other chapters are loosely connected to themes of commercialization and opening public space to women. A chapter on resting places shows how women's clubs, and even public toilets, eased the migration of women into masculine space. Chapter four on "Metropolitan Journeys" examines guides to London, both literary and physical. For example, Rappaport's study of the representations of the city in women's magazines, such as the *Queen*, reveals views of the city as an exhibition and shoppers who, in the language of imperial exploration and urban ethnography, search for "local color" or "hunted for a bargain" (p. 131). At a more concrete level, Rappaport shows how the Lady Guide Association (founded 1888, the year of the Jack the Ripper murders) challenged the idea that London was a dangerous place for women by presenting respectable solitary women in public spaces as shopping and sightseeing experts. Chapter two looks at consumer credit, largely through an examination of the changing laws and five case studies that show women disobeying husbands, buying what they wanted, even cheating retailers, especially in situations of marital discord or uneven socioeconomic backgrounds. A final chapter examines musical comedies, especially *The Shop Girl* (1894) and *Our Miss Gibbs* (1909), in which shopping and shop girls figure prominently and in which the consuming girl is admired for her sexual attractiveness and social mobility. Here Rappaport takes on some theories of spectatorship which have claimed that the spectator was always conceived as masculine by arguing that theatrical managers, writers, and retailers constructed a female spectator (p. 192). Rappaport ends with the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) smashing shop windows in 1912 as "an effective reworking of entrepreneurial discourse," for it would be political rights not department stores, that would bring female emancipation (p. 217).

This book is meticulously researched, but at times ideology and primary sources do not mesh well. This is especially apparent in chapter five on Selfridge's, where Rappaport uses material from the extensive

company archive. Rappaport concedes that the archive "reveals the history that Gordon Selfridge wanted historians to tell" and qualifies her use of it by saying that she has "attempted to explain rather than accept [Selfridge's] narrative" (p. 176), but inevitably she presents the "entrepreneurial rhetoric" that she rejects elsewhere. Further, the claim that many female investors "undercut any simplistic dichotomy between male producer and female consumer" (p. 170) might be more convincing if there was evidence that women directly influenced Selfridge's promotional material. Despite such problems, this is an intriguing book that is strongest in presenting a number of discourses about commercialization and in giving ample voice to the bourgeois women who as shoppers and pleasure seekers came to occupy and construct urban space.

LORI LOEB
University of Toronto

JULIA BUSH. *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power*. (Women, Power and Politics.) London: Leicester University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 242. \$75.00.

This work makes a valuable contribution both to the burgeoning literature on women and imperialism and to that more generally dealing with upper middle-class and upper-class women in Edwardian England. Focusing as she does on the personalities and the social, familial networks of the Edwardian women who were most prominent as proponents and propagandists of empire, Julia Bush combines wonderful descriptions and portraits of particular women with a detailed analysis of various societies—the Girls' Friendly Society, the Victoria Society, and the Primrose League—through which women's imperial activities were organized. This approach serves to show how closely imperial activities were enmeshed with the social and personal lives of many of the women involved and the ways in which personal attraction to or enthusiasm for Cecil Rhodes or Alfred Milner contributed to political and ideological enthusiasm for the empire.

Although the book refers to much of the recent literature on women and imperialism centering on India, its major focus is South Africa because, as Bush argues, the South African War of 1899 to 1902 was "a transformative event for organized female imperialism" (p. 43). The war provided many upper-class women with new activities in terms of travel, propaganda, and relief work. Seeking to visit relatives serving in South Africa or simply to see the action at close hand, so many lady patriots traveled to South Africa as to rouse the concern of Queen Victoria and produce a public rebuke to women war tourists from Milner. Rather than retreating, however, the female imperialists set up the Victoria League to promote imperialism and became involved in other imperial organizations as well. Although the involvement of Millicent Garrett Fawcett in the South African War is well known, this book adds much interesting detail about the South African experiences and imperial activities of lesser-

known women, including Violet Cecil (who later married Milner) as well as Violet Markham, Laura Ridding, Louisa Knightley, Margaret, Countess of Jersey, and the redoubtable Ellen Joyce.

Bush is particularly interested in the ways in which questions of gender underlie the behavior and approach of what she refers to as the "lady imperialists": while becoming involved in political questions, all of them sought to conduct themselves in ways appropriate to their sex, concentrating on spreading their views through personal relationships, the provision of hospitality, and behind-the-scenes organization. Most of these women sought to develop or to participate in specifically female organizations, seeing them as the best way to develop a distinctly womanly imperial contribution. Maintaining separate women's organizations was sometimes difficult, however, in view of the need to finance organizations, to develop a sufficient public profile, and to resist the overtures from larger and wealthier organizations like the British Empire League, which sought to gain women's support but rejected the idea of separate women's societies. There were also problems in attaining their stated goals. Although interested in providing imperial propaganda, most of the women in leadership roles in the Victoria League or the Girls' Friendly Society preferred domestic events and social occasions to public meetings and felt particularly uncomfortable speaking in public. They relied on male relatives and public figures to deliver their messages and hence had little impact on the wider public.

There were other difficulties, too: although ostensibly wishing to form links with women in the dominions, the lack of knowledge about emerging colonial nationalisms and the unquestioned assumptions that Britain set the standard and that British women should be the leaders in all societies or schemes led to tensions and difficult relationships with South African, Canadian, and Australian women. Although Bush sees emigration schemes as the great success of the female imperialists, it was here that these tensions came most clearly to the fore, with British women often being critical of the wages and conditions provided for the women they encouraged to emigrate while Canadian women's organizations were deeply concerned about the caliber of women being sent out. But despite the discussion of certain tensions between male and female imperialists and between British women and their counterparts in the dominions, the story as presented here has little real conflict and never questions the comfortable and confined life of the lady imperialists or their apparent conformity to the gender ideals of their times. Yet one wonders about the tensions involved in a situation in which male imperialists were, as Bush makes clear, so anxious about the possibilities of sexual contact between English women and African men.

The constant repetition by women like Violet Markham of the repugnance white women felt toward Africans seems by its very excess to raise questions. As

Bush is aware, a work that focuses so closely on the aims and ambitions, the trials and tribulations of the British women who supported Britain's imperial designs and were impervious to the needs, wishes, ideas or sufferings of those over whom the empire held sway runs the risk of replicating that very blindness. It is hard not to feel that there is more in many of the situations and comments discussed here than meets the eye. Bush deals well with the question of how female imperialists divided over the question of women's rights, with some supporting and others opposing the suffrage campaign. But she has less to say about the kinds of personal freedoms—imaginative, social, and sexual—that imperial ideals offered women—and that were played out in some of these organizations.

BARBARA CAINE
Monash University

JOHN BURNETT. *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. viii, 254. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.99.

Britain may have floated to greatness on a sea of wonder-working potables. Rum fueled the sailors, beer (according to popular song) fortified the soldiery at Waterloo, and strong drink sustained the navies who built the great canal and railway networks. Gin intermittently threatened the ruination of the working classes, but in the long haul of industrialization their one, all-purpose elixir proved to be tea, another almost sacramental beverage that saw the nation through the Blitz. Less epic but no less epochal was the state's provision of free school milk that ensured the welfare of its young. While these phenomena are well established in the national mythology, they have received little sustained academic attention outside a specialist literature, with the notable exception of Brian Harrison's magisterial *Drink and the Victorians* (1994). Less voluminously, but no less instructively, John Burnett provides a history of drinks in Britain over the last three centuries, adding water, wine, and soft drinks to the list above while demonstrating the enviable mastery of widely drawn materials that distinguished his previous work on the history of food and standards of living.

In emphasizing the ever-changing dynamics of taste and its cultural and material construction, Burnett identifies two great transformations in national drinking habits: a "hot beverage revolution" gaining momentum in the eighteenth century with the growing consumption of tea and coffee, and a "cold drinks revolution" in the late twentieth century signaling the marked shift to soft drinks. His account of the former aligns with newer interpretations of modern consumerism in pushing its threshold back into the late seventeenth century and claiming bourgeois adoption of the new drinks as creative cultural politics rather than mere emulation of fashionable taste. In partial explanation of the latter great transformation, Burnett offers the novel proposition of a "heating revolution"

in Britain that reduced the demand for warming drinks to withstand the weather and unheated buildings. Drinks that refreshed rather than fortified became the appropriate complement to more comfortable homes.

While the thesis of successive major revolutions in consumption gives the book a bold profile, the running argument is sensitive to the finer variables of taste and the complex determinants of change among an ensemble of drinks that complement and compete with each other. The rise of cold soft drinks has been spectacular, but then the consumption of most beverages has increased considerably since the late 1950s due to higher disposable incomes and more sophisticated and diversified popular tastes. Alcoholic drinks have held up against soft drinks, although preferences have changed. Burnett claims cider—Vinetum Britannicum—as a native success story, but European travel has converted imported table wine into a new national drink, while boosting lager sales ahead of traditional domestic beers. Continental influence has also contributed to the advance of coffee against tea. These changes variously confirm or qualify the argument for a revolutionary shift from hot to cold; what they demonstrate in general is a century-old trend in the function of drinks, from an integral, prescribed component of specific dietaries and occasions to an item of lifestyle choice.

As Burnett notes, such choice has been increasingly market driven under the soft but insistent lash of advertising. There is, however, no sustained analysis of the social context and appeal of advertising, particularly its potent visual imagery, which is acknowledged only in illustrations for the outside of the book. "Drinking by the eye" became a significant message from the 1860s as manufacturers emphasised the greater purity of mineral waters and pale ales newly visible through clear glass, encouraging another long-term transformation in the shift in taste from heavy to lighter drinks. The claims of health and moderation were subsequently inflected with appeals to pleasure, sexuality, personal identity, and discrimination, as advertising grew in prominence both as agent and index to modernity and social change. Though Burnett briefly invokes Roland Barthes, this is social history more in the social science than the semiotic mode. It is nonetheless a landmark work, characteristically well-packed, well-written, and judiciously provocative.

PETER BAILEY
University of Manitoba

LESLIE HOWSAM. *Kegan Paul—A Victorian Imprint: Publishers, Books and Cultural History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. London: Kegan Paul International. 1998. Pp. xxvi, 218.

Let us begin with full disclosure. For *British Literary Publishing Houses, 1820–1880* (1991), a reference work that I coedited, Leslie Howsam wrote the entry on the house of Kegan Paul. It was a potted history in the finest sense of the term: a concise, pointed distillation

of the company's role in Victorian literature. Now Howsam has produced a book-length chronicle of the imprint, which raises what may be an awkward question: how much does it add to her earlier precis?

Herein Howsam offers detailed biographies of Charles Kegan Paul, the other publishers connected with his firm, and their wives. There are statistical tables breaking down Kegan Paul's books by genre, the authors' gender, and the type of publication contract. He published Alfred Tennyson, Robert Louis Stevenson, Sir Richard and Lady Isabel Burton, Andrew Lang, Thomas Hardy, and George Meredith; but Howsam deliberately avoids focusing on great literary lights. Instead, she embarks on a more representative survey of the Kegan Paul list, including many titles that sank without leaving a wrack behind.

One can quarrel with Howsam's choice of emphasis, and frankly, I do. More than half of Kegan Paul's titles were subsidized by their authors, a practice more common among Victorian bookmen than Howsam suspects. The vanity publications included *Dolores*, a deliciously awful poem by one E. Bond, and Edward Gough's nine-volume attempt to prove *The Bible True from the Beginning*. One has to ask why Miss Bond and the Rev. Gough each merit more attention than Henry George, whose *Progress and Poverty* (1881), which Kegan Paul published in several cheap editions, influenced an entire generation of radicals and socialists. Howsam has hardly anything to say about Walter Bagehot, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Samuel Butler, Leopold von Ranke, or H. M. Hyndman (the pioneer English Marxist), all of whom were published by the firm. The list also included Laurence Housman, J. K. Huysmans, George Henry Lewes, Ernest Renan, George Romanes, Mark Rutherford, the early writings of Aleister Crowley, the prose of Richard Wagner, and W. B. Yeats's first major work, *The Wanderings of Oisín* (1889); none of them rates a mention in this book. (And some of the authors Howsam does discuss are not listed in her index.)

We are told frustratingly little about the firm's ninety-eight-title International Scientific Series, a landmark in the popularization of science. Howsam appears to be saving that material for another book, but it is not clear that the Kegan Paul firm is important enough to merit two volumes. This book could also have been fleshed out with more discussion of Nicholas Trübner, the leading Victorian publisher of Orientalia. That company amalgamated with Kegan Paul in 1889 and so properly belongs to this narrative, but it receives short shrift here.

Scan the Kegan Paul list, and it becomes apparent that the imprint was an important breeding ground for subversive literature. The International Science Series, originated by T. H. Huxley, John Tyndall, and Herbert Spencer, implicitly propagandized for scientific rationalism. Kegan Paul was a disillusioned Anglican vicar who admired Mary Wollstonecraft, drifted to Comtean positivism, and flirted with socialism. His firm's role in undermining Victorianism is explored in this book, but

not as thoroughly as it should be. With all the attention Howsam devotes to Kegan Paul's obscure authors, the influential ones blend into the background or disappear entirely. To be fair, she was handicapped by gaps in the surviving archives, which include publication books and business ledgers but hardly any author-publisher correspondence. But in any case, the result is a monograph that does not fully jell, and falls short of conveying the importance of Kegan Paul in cultural history.

JONATHAN ROSE
Drew University

STANDISH MEACHAM. *Regaining Paradise: Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 210. \$35.00.

The growth and degradation of English (and American) cities in the nineteenth century provoked a variety of reform movements. A few social critics, however, virtually wrote off existing industrial towns as hopeless jungles. They sought to regenerate society by building entirely new communities, "garden cities" designed to provide industrial workers with decent housing, gardens and commons for a healthier natural environment, and relief from class distinctions. Standish Meacham's book follows a particular path through the extensive literature of garden cities, highlighting the beliefs and practices of those who planned and administered two of the best known. Meacham argues that garden city designers inherited the paternalistic attitudes of earlier "model" factory towns like George Cadbury's Bournemouth (begun about 1878) and William Lever's Port Sunlight (1888). The initial drive for the first garden city, however, came from a utopian socialist, Ebenezer Howard. Howard hoped that Letchworth, established about thirty miles north of London in 1903, would become a cooperative democracy. The city was run by its own company; residents would earn shares in the venture as they paid for their company-built houses. Howard's vision was subverted in part by the Letchworth architects, Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, university-bred devotees of William Morris's Arts and Crafts movement, who belonged to the emerging professional/intellectual elite described long ago by Noel Annan as the "intellectual aristocracy" of Victorian Britain. They and their friends elected themselves "disinterested" agents of social improvement on behalf of "culturally deprived" urban workers. The architects, in turn, were frustrated by the Letchworth company board, which represented the interests of investors and industrial firms that kept the project afloat. Parker and Unwin, guided by Morris's romantic images of medieval craftsmen, designed sturdy cottages with open interiors and spacious back gardens to encourage communal relationships and uplifting domestic recreation. Company directors thought these uneconomic; the workers demanded old-fashioned front parlors and separate kitchens. They also avoided elite cultural activities, formed their

own residents' association, and proved as strike-prone as workers elsewhere in prewar England.

Parker and Unwin then turned to the design of Hampstead Garden Suburb, on the north edge of London, under the aegis of the formidable Henrietta Barnett. Introduced in Meacham's earlier study, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform 1880-1914* (1987), Mrs. Barnett was well connected to government, church, and financial circles. She saw to it that Unwin built housing for the elderly, for convalescents, and for single women, and she allowed him to design the courtyards, closes, and other "spaces" he thought conducive to neighborly life. Yet Hampstead, like Letchworth, never provided sufficient housing cheap enough for unskilled workers, nor for the servants of middle-class residents. The mixing of classes, celebrated in Hampstead's promotional literature, was thwarted by housing patterns and the absence of shops where rich and poor could mingle.

Meacham's themes—the drive for alternatives to the industrial city, the invention of an "English" heritage, the cultural paternalism of the professional classes, and their growing acceptance of government intervention—are not new, but their juxtaposition within the framework of utopian town planning clarifies a discourse still prevalent, Meacham says, in English government circles. His essay rests on a large, previously published primary and secondary literature, supplemented by materials from the garden city archives and careful readings of the works of principal actors. All sources are carefully cited in endnotes, but the book lacks a bibliography.

Gracefully written and effectively illustrated with photographs and drawings, Meacham's study helps us understand the mentality of a highly influential group at a significant period in modern English society. Regrettably, the workers' point of view, which formed so rich a contrast to reform agendas in Meacham's *A Life Apart: The English Working Class 1890-1914* (1977), is represented only indirectly through newspaper clippings, association minutes, and other public documents. These tell us that working-class residents complained about the lack of pubs and music halls and resented the dictates of company or trust officials, yet often voiced satisfaction at the quality of their new environment. How they experienced their domestic architecture, organized daily shopping, or developed a sense of community among their own neighbors remains unclear. On these questions, the text clearly invites responses from memoirs, autobiographies, and oral histories similar to those used in *A Life Apart*. This relative distancing of workers' experience is consistent with the elite cultural attitudes Meacham is trying to define, however. As in *Toynbee Hall*, the patronizing arrogance of the planners' cultural pretensions, and the artificiality of their "English" heritage, come through clearly enough as lessons from the past for the present.

DALE H. PORTER
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ANDREW MILES. *Social Mobility in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century England*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xiv, 262. \$65.00.

The British class system has long been a source of fascination and contention for those who suffer it, laud it, or observe it. The perception that inherited privilege pervades many aspects of society has been a potent force in modern British politics, with Prime Ministers John Major and Tony Blair both staking claims to their own image of a "classless" society. The historical foundations of this class system have also received close attention in two recent monographs by Ross McKibbin (*Classes and Cultures: England 1918-51* [1998]) and David Cannadine (*The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* [1999]). Yet for all the rhetoric and analysis lavished on the subject of the British class system, there have been few attempts to determine how much this system affected people's social and economic opportunities in the past. In 1859, according to Samuel Smiles, author of *Self Help*, the best-selling self-improvement manual of the time, Britain was a land of boundless opportunity, with the great men of science, literature, and art drawn equally from the huts of the poor and the mansions of the rich. Although this mid-Victorian hyperbole has convinced few historians, it has nevertheless been viewed as containing at least a grain of truth; Harold Perkin, for instance, suggests that Smiles's myth of an open society had a sufficient basis in fact to make it eminently plausible. Some subsequent studies of recruitment into the ranks of leading business and manufacturing elites have shown very limited upward mobility, but for the majority of the population little information has been available. Working-class autobiographies provide an alluring but potentially deceptive source, more likely to reveal the self-satisfaction of the upwardly mobile or the rage of the writer fallen on hard times than the life-course history of the average man.

In this book, Andrew Miles sheds new light on the class system by applying quantitative methods of social mobility analysis to a sample of over 10,000 men selected at five-year intervals for the period 1839-1914. The underlying data were originally collected by David Vincent and consist of information taken from English marriage certificates about the occupations of marriage partners and their parents. This core data set, which is analogous to the survey data used in modern mobility studies, allows Miles to estimate the probability that a man born into any particular social class (defined according to the Registrar General's 1951 class schema) had acquired an occupation in a different social class by the time of his wedding. The results show unequivocally that Samuel Smiles was wrong; six out of ten men throughout the sample population experienced no change in their immediate social background. Of the 8,220 sons of working-class fathers sampled, just nineteen managed to achieve professional or higher middle-class status. However, the marriage register evidence gives no support to the idea

that industrialization created a less open society. By the end of the nineteenth century, almost one half of grooms had a different social class to that of their father, compared with only one third in the 1840s. But the great majority of this mobility was within the working-class population, between the ranks of unskilled, semiskilled, and skilled manual workers; throughout the period, the movement of working-class sons into middle-class jobs was never more than a trickle.

Miles goes on to dissect these findings in order to explain them. He concludes that the rise in absolute mobility rates across the nineteenth century was not simply a consequence of the changing employment structure within the economy (as has been the case in postwar Britain) but instead represented a genuine—though small—move toward the equalization in life chances for men from different social origins. The achievement of mass literacy, the increasingly urban location of the workforce where opportunities were more numerous, and the introduction of more structured and meritocratic routes into the labor market in place of informal mechanisms of training and recruitment were all important in helping to create a more open society.

It is difficult to take issue with Miles's conclusions: this is a scholarly analysis, presented and argued in considerable detail, although less quantitative historians may find it hard going in places. The author is fully aware of the potential biases in his data and makes effective use of additional material from autobiographies and census sources where possible. But ultimately this is a narrowly defined study of occupational mobility rather than a more broadly conceived analysis of the British social structure, and so it cannot directly engage with the culturally embedded aspects of class privilege and prejudice.

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PHILIP WILLIAMSON. *Stanley Baldwin: Conservative Leadership and National Values*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 378. \$59.95.

This book could be usefully compared among prime ministerial biographies to Roy Jenkins's short, relatively recent study of H. H. Asquith. Jenkins piled a stack of the standard two or three-decker authorized biographies and secondary sources—John Spender and Cyril Asquith, *Life of Herbert Henry Asquith* (1932); David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs* (1938); Winston Churchill, *The Crisis* (1951)—on his library floor and constructed his image of a God-like prime minister of whom, no doubt, he was the prophet and protector. He did, to be sure, insert a few footnotes to the Asquith papers, as well he might. They are in Oxford, so Williamson could almost up to the New Bodleian and find a letter to provide validation for his assertion. Authors have mentioned this, including Philip Williamson himself.

Williamson has written a political historian's handbook for Stanley Baldwin's politics. It is not, in fact, a biography, as the title suggests. The 1931 gold crisis scarcely interested Baldwin. He returned from France in July 1931, when Bank of England gold reserves were melting like a glacier on the Sahara and, finding nothing of importance, returned to Aix. Neville Chamberlain could handle it, as he did.

Here, then, is one of the chief points of this relatively short monograph. First of all stands Baldwin's extraordinary dependence on Chamberlain. Indeed, the author refers to Baldwin repeatedly as a Chamberlainite. One is driven to the conclusion that although the interwar decades are quite properly the age of Baldwin, the man for emergencies, the fireman who saved the Bank of England, devalued the pound, and began the revival of the building industry was Chamberlain.

The book then is not a biography but a series of ten essays attempting to explain what the author defines as "the nature of his (Baldwin's) politics," in effect the sources of his political behavior. Thankfully it is not an exercise in pop psychology but an assessment of what Baldwin had learned in terms of politics in a successful business career. This is a valuable contribution in that Baldwin's business career figures only briefly in most of his, relatively few, biographies. But it could be wished that the two notable events during his administrations, when his personal sincerity and moral force combined with a quiet eloquence made a palpable difference in modern British history, were given some attention: the General Strike and the abdication. On both occasions, Baldwin simply refused to compromise. It can be suspected that he felt he knew public opinion better than his opponents. Clearly he was right, and he convinced Edward VIII that he could not constitutionally do what he wished to do, all of which brings up a fascinating conundrum that the next king may not be looking forward to.

Williamson makes clear the source of Baldwin's popularity: the contrast with Lloyd George could not have been greater. He was, as even Asquith observed, the "nicest" man in Andrew Bonar Law's cabinet. He was friendly, genial, and suffered fools, if not press barons. The public sorrow at his retirement after George VI's coronation in 1937 was clear. He wore old-fashioned clothes and pretended, like many another of the king's subjects, to be a countryman. He was, in effect, English.

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AIDAN CLARKE. *Prelude to Restoration in Ireland: The End of the Commonwealth, 1659–1660*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 376. \$59.95.

MICHEÁL Ó SIOCHRÚ. *Confederate Ireland 1642–1649: A Constitutional and Political Analysis*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 1999. Pp. 295. \$55.00.

These two books frame the most turbulent decades in early modern Irish history, from the rebellion of 1641 to the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Micheál Ó Siochru deals with the confederate Catholics in the 1640s, and Aidan Clarke focuses largely on the Protestant interest in 1659–1660. Both volumes are concerned with the responses of political communities in Ireland to events in the three British kingdoms. While the groups were poles apart and are not shown to have engaged politically with one another in any meaningful way, many of the issues and “concernments” (Clarke, p. 35) exercising their members were common. These included religious freedom, land titles, legislative independence, and the search for legitimation. Both groups were shadowed by large and unpredictable armies that took a hand in events at crucial times. Both were forced to deal with the consequences of the discomfiture of the Stuart monarchy, and both were involved in what could be seen as revolutionary activity, entailing the setting up of new forms of government and promoting the election of representatives from constituencies that were the same in many cases, but in which the electors were of totally different cultural backgrounds.

Ó Siochru’s book is a painstaking analysis of the establishment of quasiparliamentary institutions at Kilkenny by the Catholic insurgents and the process whereby they sought to negotiate terms for a peace treaty with Charles I. As well as treating of the tortuous talks with the king’s representative, the marquis of Ormonde, Ó Siochru devotes much attention to the structures of confederate government. He is concerned to show that the confederate association was not ethnically divided, as has been traditionally thought, but rather functioned like many other seventeenth-century estates based on privilege and landed or commercial wealth. The author also clearly demonstrates that the notion of a body split between clerical followers of the papal nuncio, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, and compromisers such as Viscount Muskerry needs to be modified. During most of period surveyed, there was a broad middle group of representatives at Kilkenny that was amenable to the leadership of able constitutionalists and politicians of moderate hue.

With consummate ease, Ó Siochru identifies the salient points in a welter of details and questions received opinions. This is especially the case when he deals with the *parti pris* contemporary commentators. Although the resources may not be available to present as full a collective biography of the confederate assembly members as Clarke does of the Convention members of 1660, this cool, dispassionate analysis succeeds in contextualizing the confederation within the Irish and British milieu. And through valid comparisons with representative bodies elsewhere in early modern Europe, the confederation is backlit against the general crisis in state-community relations.

What is perhaps most useful in this impressive monograph is the identification of a sophisticated

political class that made up for its lack of executive expertise by a thoroughgoing knowledge of constitutional law. Thus, the delicate matter of presenting confederate demands in a legitimist way was handled well through the careful balancing of the work of the supreme council, the assembly, and negotiating committees. Occasionally, of course, extreme difficulties arose through duplicitous dealings, internal divisions, and secret initiatives, but, on the face of it, the work of securing a peace treaty seemed to have succeeded by early 1649. Unfortunately for the peacemakers, the resolution of the issues came too late to save either confederation or monarchy.

We enter a very different world from the Kilkenny Catholic one in Clarke’s book. Ten years on, the political capital was very definitely Dublin and the dominant politicians were the Protestant victors in the wars of the intervening years. Unlike their Catholic counterparts, these men were inured to the holding of executive power and are shown to have wielded it skillfully in the last year of the commonwealth. Clarke presents an analytical narrative of political and military events in Ireland against the background of developments in England, interweaving and counterpointing the two zones most effectively. His explication of the exciting and bewildering events of 1659–1660 reveals that the Irish politicians and military leaders were adept at anticipating events in the wider sphere and managed to position themselves to benefit from the eventual restoration of the monarchy. This was achieved through canny playing of the card of dependency vis-à-vis the changing governments and military regimes in London while prioritizing and refining local issues of concern: the religious and land settlements, impediments to Irish trade, the chaotic administration of justice, and security in the face of the “common enemy” (p. 317), the Irish Catholics.

Perhaps the pivotal chapter of this magisterial book is devoted to the membership of the General Convention representing the Irish constituencies in 1660. In a tour de force of collective biography, Clarke breathes life into the bones of the 138 elected members. From this survey, there emerges evidence of the growing unity of purpose and harmony of interests among the Protestant community, comprising Old Protestants whose roots lay in pre-1640s Ireland and the more recent arrivals. “Ties of interest, marriage and political activity” (p. 239) helped to forge an *esprit de corps*, while the overarching provincial patronage of Roger Boyle, first Baron Broghill, and Sir Charles Coote delivered much of the representation in Munster and Connacht, respectively.

Thus, when the moment of restoration approached, the General Convention was in a position to ensure that the concerns of the Protestant interest were to the fore and clearly articulated in readiness for the royal takeover. Some compromises were necessary, and some allies were ditched, but the middle ground held firm in embracing an episcopalian church and a solidly Protestant land settlement. Significantly, the bench-

mark for all future landholding arrangements was 1659, and not 1603, 1625, or even 1641, as negotiated by the confederates. The Cromwellian holding was built into the new era of consolidation.

Timing is shown to have been everything. The confederate association built up an impressive governmental structure, but a skilled moderate party triumphed in defeat with the doomed Ormonde peace of 1649. The Convention of 1660, like the confederation, carefully avoided the trappings of parliament to avoid charges of lese majesté, exhibited perfect timing in its representations, and won the point with the returning Ormonde. What made the difference was that the confederates were dependent on the whim and pleasure of the monarchy because of their illegal religious position. The Protestants, while divided among themselves about the best form of church government, were confident in their own legality once the regime remained Protestant. They were on the right side at the right time.

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EUNAN O'HALPIN. *Defending Ireland: The Irish State and Its Enemies since 1922*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 382. \$42.00.

Eunan O'Halpin has written an excellent synthesis of the development of police and army in independent Ireland. Building on the good work done by John P. Duggan, *A History of the Army* (1991), and Conor Brady, *Guardians of the Peace* (1974), he has culled a wide variety of primary sources to produce a succinct, insightful, and readable model of scholarly writing. Its scope is great: from the early 1920s to the 1990s.

The creation of an effective, disciplined, and subordinate Irish police force and army was not an easy task. Both originated in the cauldron of violence, intimidation, and political gyrations that were major parts of the successful assertion of Irish self-government. The division in nationalist Ireland concerning the December 1921 agreement between the government of Britain and the Dáil Éireann allowed many people to continue ignoring the laws that did not suit them, failing to pay taxes, and supporting political violence. More than any other element in the movement, the "split" ripped apart the Irish Republican Army (IRA) paramilitary force, and with bitter division between politicians, led to a humiliating civil war. This division, of course, allowed the Unionist government in Northern Ireland a free hand in consolidating its authority there.

O'Halpin gives scant attention to the military and police activities of the revolutionary movement from 1919 to 1921. The IRA officers assigned police duties and the small republican police force were a lot more effective than he claims. Although it was an underground force, the IRA had a well-developed structure and system of command. Deep attachment and con-

tinuing loyalty to the record of this "army without banners" lasted long after the Irish Free State came into being.

In assessing the political climate in the 1920s, O'Halpin declares that "the body politic proved incorrigibly conservative" (p.71). With the Free State very rural, the radical socialist, not to say Marxist, movement was weak and splintered, but the political spectrum was wider than he indicates. But for the distorting effects of the Civil War, the progressive, radical, and populist forces that later came to dominate Irish politics would have come to the fore in this period. Look at the programs of Sinn Féin and Fianna Fáil in the 1920s: the pro-treaty conservative party entered into a period of steady decline.

With the defeat of their republican opponents in 1923, the Free State government was faced with the onerous responsibility of forming permanent security forces that could achieve general public acceptance. Throughout the rest of the 1920s and to a lesser extent the 1930s, republican activists repeatedly tried to undermine the authority of the new police force. This activity was long condoned and abetted by the anti-treaty political group led by Eamon de Valera.

The new army also had a difficult time, with post-civil war indiscipline and an aborted mutiny. O'Halpin is very good at tracing the tribulations of both forces. The near-permanent assumption of political power by the anti-treatyites in 1932 apparently presented both forces with a test of allegiance, but their members' developed sense of professionalism and their commitment to state and nation saw them through. In the Depression years, governments did not want to spend money on the military, but the lack of any semblance of preparation for the almost inevitable war on the part of the Irish government is staggering. Yet it is well to remember that the United States had an army of only 200,000 in 1939. Although Robert Fisk's *In Time of War: Ireland, Ulster, and the Price of Neutrality, 1939-1945* (1983) provided a detailed study of Ireland during the second European Civil War, O'Halpin has unearthed many new and interesting facets to the story.

He also presents an excellent outline of the Irish Army's involvement in a variety of peace-keeping missions for the United Nations, beginning in 1961. Equally, he demonstrates the overwhelming effect on the Garda Síochána of the eruption of sectarian violence in Northern Ireland at the end of that decade. The gun returned to the republic, and a crime wave began to sweep the country, to be followed by the contemporary drug madness. The army was woefully lacking in both the weapons and vehicles that it required to present a creditable force if the necessity to intervene in Ulster arose.

In recent years, British publications have used the term "mainland Britain," and it is used at various points (pp. 176, 215, 234) in O'Halpin's work. Where is the other land? Northern Ireland is not part of Britain but of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and

Northern Ireland, and, as events have shown, there is a real difference. Leave "mainland Britain" to London journalists; it probably makes them feel better.

In this fine book, O'Halpin has maintained his high level of historical writing.

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RENÉE LEVINE MELAMMED. *Heretics or Daughters of Israel? The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 256. \$45.00.

Inquisitors in late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Castile had to cope with a dilemma of their own making. Their self-appointed task was to extirpate what they called Judaizing among the tens of thousands of Jews who had converted, usually under duress, to Christianity beginning with the widespread pogroms of 1391. The dilemma was how to recognize the enemy, those who, despite their outward conformity to Catholic devotional life, continued to be Jews in their hearts of hearts. Their solution was to turn to ethnography. Offenders among *conversos*, or newly converted Jews, were initially identified not by articulated beliefs but by their ritual behavior. Observance of a wide range of customs within the (supposed) privacy of one's home allowed Inquisitors and "Old Christians" at large to single out the insincere among the converts and to subject them to often-drastic discipline.

Renée Levine Melammed pieces together her absorbing portrait of these lingering crypto-Jews, and crypto-Jewish women in particular, from three interconnected sources. Her point of departure is the often garbled understanding of Jewish practices on the part of educated Christians, as summarized in the text of the 1492 decree ordering the expulsion of the remaining Jews and the checklists of telltale observances that Inquisitors disseminated far and wide through preaching. The second body of evidence centers on the "spontaneous," non-coerced confessions of converted Jews who sought to prevent or limit Inquisitorial persecution, especially during the early round of "grace periods" that prevailed shortly after the tribunal was founded in 1478. The final and most revealing clues come from the testimonies of defendants and witnesses in a series of trials from the 1480s to the 1590s. These suggest that the severing of links between Jews and *conversos* as a consequence of the expulsion shifted the center of gravity of Jewish life away from the synagogue and other communal loci dominated by men toward observance of sabbath ceremonies and dietary and other laws at home, traditionally the province of women. Melammed demonstrates that the role of women increased in importance as Judaism went underground, and that much if not most of the transmission of ancestral practices rested in their hands.

This book is divided into two halves. The first part opens with a short summary of crypto-Judaism before

and after 1492, followed by an overview of the range of women's religious activities that persisted despite the ongoing vigilance of the Old Christian majority. These are examined in detail, and it is extremely helpful to have accompanying explanation from someone well versed in the evolving history of Jewish doctrine and ritual. This portion also contains a brief report on a curious episode of messianic fervor in southeast Extremadura in the early sixteenth century, which drastic action by the Inquisition brought to a quick end. The second half focuses on one individual case—that of a resourceful midwife from the hinterland of Toledo who was repeatedly suspected of dubious orthodoxy—and on two groups of trials involving *conversas* in Alcázar de San Juan in la Mancha and in the town of Cogolludo, near Guadalajara. The latter is by far the most interesting part of the book, not least because of the sheer wealth of documentation it produced. The two women charged with Judaizing, María López and her daughter Isabel, tried to defend themselves by providing exhaustive *tachas*. These were lists of potentially hostile witnesses whose testimony they hoped to disqualify by demonstrating prior animosity arising from past disputes or threats. This risky tactic was virtually the only way defendants could hope to counter the Inquisition's time-honored strategy of keeping the names of prosecution witnesses secret. The López women successfully guessed the identity of their accusers, but in the end their shotgun approach worked against them, as they failed to find enough witnesses on their own behalf able to ratify their assertions of orthodoxy and, above all, their all-too-numerous disqualifications. In the end, both were executed, along with María's husband, who wound up making a partial and somewhat confused confession of Judaizing.

Melammed's close reading of these cases and her generous quotation from the original documents, some of which are summarized in an appendix, provide an exceptional glimpse into the daily lives not only of *conversas* but also of the Old Christian majority with whom they had somehow to coexist. The *tachas* of the López family in particular bring to the surface the endless conflicts and rivalries within and among small-town families and households. That servants loomed especially large among witnesses offering damaging testimony suggests that accusations of heretical behavior, truthful or not, could be used to settle old scores and to avenge real or imagined slights and mistreatment. The author's skillful handling of these depositions suggests that Inquisitorial records are rich if problematic sources and that they can go a long way in revealing the underside of the everyday life of women from a broad range of social and ethnic groups.

The price paid for this relentless focus on the trials themselves is relative lack of attention to the contexts in which they took place. The local background of cases is never brought up, and it is telling that many place names are misspelled or rendered as they literally appeared in the original documents. The book's

thematic range is similarly limited strictly to the confessional history of Judaism. Wider reference would help the reader better understand, for example, the small-scale messianic movements reported in chapter three; focusing on the intriguing points of overlap with contemporary Christian messianic and millenarian stirrings might provide an alternative means of assessing the state of religious belief among converted Jews in the immediate post-expulsion era. The absence here and elsewhere of a broader perspective makes it hard to grasp the more general evolution of Jewish experience. Thus, since we are not told how many *conversas* were tried, nor the reasons why these trials in particular were chosen for study, it is difficult to judge how representative the cases may have been, either of crypto-Jews in general or of the larger body of converts as a whole.

Still, what is done is well done. Thanks to this book, we now have a much clearer idea of crypto-Judaic practice at a remarkably intimate level. We also learn something important about the Inquisition: that its institutional practice was to supplement, if not substitute, an a prioristic racial definition of Jews with an ethnographic one. Being labelled New Christian, either as converts or descendants of converts, unquestionably placed individuals and families at considerable risk. Yet such a stigma was not in itself sufficient for prosecution, much less punishment, at the hands of this vigilant and determined tribunal. Crypto-Jews were betrayed not by their genealogy, or even their words, but by their deeds—which makes one wonder indeed about those whose outward behavior never gave cause for suspicion, and the consequences of such a climate for all early modern Spaniards.

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SEBASTIAN BALFOUR and PAUL PRESTON, editors. *Spain and the Great Powers in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. viii, 274. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$25.99.

Ten historians—five Spaniards, two Germans, and three from Britain—contributed to this book. Some are former students of Paul Preston, the senior editor, leading Spanish historian in Britain, and author of the chapter on Italy and Spain, 1936–1943. The book's title is promising, and the introduction written by Preston and the second editor, Sebastian Balfour, a specialist on Spain 1898–1923, is a heroic attempt to justify its time frame, the twentieth century. The book mostly employs traditional periodization but allots three chapters to the pivotal Civil War era, 1936–1939. A fresher periodization could examine Spain and the Western powers 1898–1936, the Franco era 1936–1958, Spain and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)/U.S., 1958–1986, and Spain resurgent with Europe since 1986.

After the Spanish-American war in 1898, Spain was

clearly no longer a great power. Since their country's defeat at the hands of the new American empire, Spanish intellectuals have commiserated over Spain's decline. From 1898 to 1936, Spanish foreign policy had particularly to deal with the two great industrial powers, Britain and France, which dominated the Spanish economy.

The military coup began in July 1936, triumphed in March 1939 with Axis aid, and lasted until about 1958. This was the Franco era. Dreaming of the powerful Spain of Philip II, General Francisco Franco tried unsuccessfully to reconstitute Spain as a great power. But political power depends primarily not on the will of dictators or the ideas of intellectuals but on the working of the industrial and now the communications revolutions. From the Eisenhower administration until 1986, the United States replaced Britain and France as the major economic hegemon in Spain. Even though Franco lived until 1975, he was no longer master of his own house.

Balfour and Preston suggest an idea novel to Americans: since 1986, after joining the European Community, Spain appears to be entering a fourth era. Now it is trying to follow the French and British into the European Union (EU), hoping gradually to remove itself from Washington's sphere of influence and renew Spain's fortunes with the new economic Europeans in Brussels.

Balfour leads off with an account of Spanish foreign policy from 1898 to 1914. He soundly concludes that Spain's attempt to control Morocco was a continuation of the 1898 disaster. "The progressive disintegration of order in Morocco led Spain into a war for which she was not qualified" (p. 28). Francisco Romero covers Spain during World War I. The propaganda war of 1914–1918 intensified Spain's class conflict and ideologically set the stage for the Civil War of 1936. Spain's privileged conservatives favored victory for the Central Powers, while the liberals and socialists favored the Allies. Strategically Spain could not join Germany, so the conservative and reactionary upper classes advocated neutrality. The Germans hired spies in Spain, while the British and French did not need to resort to such underhanded tactics. German submarines sank thirty-one merchant vessels of neutral Spain. Inspired by Russia, "revolutionary talk" was in the Spanish air by August 1917. This led to massive strikes that were crushed by the army, and General Miguel Primo de Rivera became dictator in 1923. Unlike the tsarist army, the Spanish army benefited from the fact that the morale of the old regime was still intact: because of the Moroccan experience and because they *did* stay out of the European war.

Ismael Saz relates how the foreign policy of the Second Republic 1931 to 1936 "lived from hand to mouth," shadowed by the Depression as fascism and communism grew in Europe and their ideas spread in Spain. Enrique Moradiellos contributes a well-balanced chapter on the foreign intervention of three great powers in the Spanish Civil War, later allied in

World War II. Soviet motives in helping the Spanish Republic appear more favorable in his account than in most previous Anglo-American versions. At the same time, Moradiellos remains sympathetic to British policy. In hindsight, British fear of a Spanish Lenin appearing in 1936 was unfounded—yet understandable in light of the revolutions and counterrevolutions plaguing Europe from 1917 to 1936. So the French and British Foreign Offices probably reacted rationally in sponsoring the Non-Intervention Committee, which weakened the Republicans. Moradiellos's bibliography and well-researched notes provide an excellent summary superseding prior works on this theme over the past fifty years.

Christian Leitz integrates Adolf Hitler's military aid to Franco during the Civil War with Germany's World War II strategy. He rightly shows how the Spanish operation was carried out from Berlin through Hitler's party associate Hermann Göring. Leitz is good on economics, but he underestimates the roles of Admiral Wilhelm Canaris and Nazis Joseph Goebbels and Joachim von Ribbentrop in using Spain for the anti-communist crusade of the Third Reich. The author's ample bibliography includes this aspect of the civil war. Preston also links up Benito Mussolini's role in the Civil War with his performance in World War II. Preston's chapter on Italy is well researched, with 130 notes. It almost replaces the standard book in English on the subject by John Coverdale. Yet Preston, too, underestimates the influence of Hitler, Goebbels, and Ribbentrop on the fascist regime in Rome.

Denis Smyth, in "Franco and the Allies in the Second World War," has excellent notes from the Public Record Office (PRO). But the chapter theme is too narrowly conceived; the "Allies" were more than the British. This London-centric essay could more accurately be entitled "Britain and Spain, March 1939 to June 1941." Smyth underestimates the importance of Franco sending the Blue Division to the Soviet Front in 1941. Also needed is more on the balance of power 1941–1944, explaining how Washington and Moscow wound up partitioning Germany in 1945, by which time London and Madrid had become second and third-rate powers. This had been Spain's status since the Spanish-American War. A parallel could be drawn to Britain becoming, after 1945, "like the Spain of 1898." But that notion would be hard for these authors, who have studied or taught in Britain. After any war, it is difficult for both the victors and the vanquished to recognize all of the hard consequences.

Florintino Portero, in "Spain, Britain and the Cold War," suffers from the same problem as Smyth. He has used the PRO well, but the story he has to tell is inherently not that important. Somebody also familiar with the Soviet and the U.S. archives might more profitably have written both of these chapters. (Actually, all ten authors are rather too dependent on the PRO for their sources.) Boris Liedtke's "Spain and the U.S.A. 1945–1975" begins when Franco was regarded as a pariah because of his World War II assistance,

more to Germany than to Italy. Then, in 1953, the U.S. negotiated the air and sea bases built in Spain by 1958. After Franco died in 1975, the way was open for Spain to join NATO and the EU.

Angel Viñas completes the book with a chapter on Spain since 1975. The optimistic Viñas, who has been an EU ambassador as well as a scholar, welcomes the Spanish people trying to make democracy work. Civilians now control the military, and Spain has two major parties that have alternated power since 1977 in an effective parliamentary system under a modern monarch.

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JUDITH A. MILLER, *Mastering the Market: The State and the Grain Trade in Northern France, 1700–1860*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 334. \$49.95.

In light of the great importance of grain in the French economy, the extensive research of historians into the grain market has had a high payoff. Recent work has shed considerable light on the liberal economic theories that sometimes had the ear of those in high places, and even more on the popular mobilizations at moments of scarcity. Judith A. Miller's highly original contribution to this excellent literature takes a close look at the activities of government officials, especially local officials, whose responsibility it was to oversee the trade. They were often caught between superiors in Paris bent on realizing some general notion of how the state should deal with the market and the threat or even reality of disruptive popular action in the hard times that arrived too frequently. While some historians have written with considerable sympathy of visionary reformers and their struggles to shape economic policy and others with equal sympathy of the collective resistance of those down below, the heroes of Miller's story are the officials who have to find that extra sack of flour or two in hard times, who have to convince the angry crowd that tomorrow will be better, who have to get their bosses at the highest levels to back off from policies that are failing.

In this account, it was not any wholesale ideological conversion to new economic reasoning that altered administrative practice but rather a gradual, trial-and-error pragmatic accommodation. Miller's eighteenth-century administrators do not experience state and market as rival institutions. Instead, they discover that gentle, behind-the-scenes influence is more effective than either overt price controls or complete deregulation in reassuring frightened, hungry people without scaring away the sellers. Before the French Revolution, a typical mode of action was the covert grain sale by state agents posing as merchants to dampen price increases while concealing the state role. Miller suggests that these activities demanded some theoretical knowledge, but not much: her administrators seem to have had a rough and ready sense of the relationships

among prices, supply, and demand and enormous local knowledge of the social actors and social networks involved in moving from grain in the fields to bread on the table. In this administrative culture "free trade" meant carefully delimited intervention, not the absence of intervention. This developing culture was shaped both by the slow accretion of detailed knowledge and experience and by the dramatic shock of policy failure in crisis.

After the revolutionary interruption, the nineteenth-century state's involvement in provisioning became more stealthy still, in largely confining itself to controlling the bakers. In this account, the modern market was not so much an alternative to the state as its creation; by the mid-nineteenth century, the state did not so much dominate the market as give it a nudge from time to time; and the invisible hand was the state's. Since much of the recent literature on food riots has suggested a deep popular legitimacy for a state that visibly and effectively provides, it is particularly interesting to learn that the administrators were coming to favor state action that would not even be noticed.

While economic theorists of the day debated the proper responsibilities of state and market, the administrators' vantage point suggests as equally important the capacity of relevant state agencies to manage to work together in some coherent fashion. When Old Regime institutions pulled in different directions, it hardly mattered whether the official policy on high was more liberal or less; scarcity could not be managed well. The revolutionary period is notable for the rapidity of major policy shifts, for the extent of differences between those concerned with providing for Paris and those concerned for Normandy, and for the loss of that vital local knowledge as the new officials displaced the established traditions of local administration and disrupted the administrative culture.

Miller skillfully sifts through administrative correspondence from northern France, presents readers with finely crafted descriptions of the course of a whole series of subsistence crises from 1709 to 1853, and plausibly discerns long-term patterns through the details. Her revealing focus on the activities and outlook of Norman administrators suggests several questions. In what ways does the focus on the Seine-Maritime department affect the story? The sources of grain for Paris overlapped considerably with those for Rouen, and emergency grain imports traveled along the Seine. The capacity of hungry local people in hard times to attract the attention of central administrators was probably unusually high since market invasions and river blockades in Normandy had Parisian repercussions. The efforts of local administrators to balance central dictate and local peace may therefore have been especially delicate, and the local experience particularly salient for the future of national policy.

In hewing so closely and interestingly to the administrators' perspective, in which what could be dealt with from moment to moment loomed large, long-term

change in available resources, while not absent, tends to fade into the background. Crisis management is center stage here, not economic growth. On the evidence vividly presented, in the eighteenth century, highly interventionist policies, highly liberal policies, and everything in between all failed in the face of shortage. But after Napoleon Bonaparte, an increasingly coherent administration devoted to a steady policy of "intervention lite" seems to have been increasingly effective. Miller allows that improvements in the state's repressive capacities may have been part of the story of mastering the market; but one wonders whether the simple expansion of food resources might not also have meant that *any* state policy, at least if consistently applied, might have done better than in the past. I would have liked to see a more sustained discussion on such traditional themes of economic history as French farm productivity, transportation networks, and grain imports, especially for the nineteenth century.

As for the administrators themselves, one wonders in what ways career patterns in post-Napoleonic France, including the kinds of training administrators brought to the job, may have shaped provisioning practice—or was the relevant career experience simply acquired on the job? Finally, in light of our current debates about markets and morality, one would like to know more about how the administrators thought about their work. Were disruptive, hungry people occasions for sympathy, or fear, or were they just an administrative challenge in the way of a smoothly working impersonal system?

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JEFFREY S. RAVEL. *The Contested Parterre: Public Theater and French Political Culture, 1680–1791*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 256. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$19.95.

The parterre in Old Regime theater was the open ground floor where male spectators stood to criticize performances and, in this book, to provide a showcase of political culture. Jeffrey S. Ravel provides a helpful diagram of the Comédie Française, where more than six hundred spectators often attended (the word was first used in 1621; parterres measured two thousand feet). The author is careful to point out that, in the pre-Enlightenment period, a parterre was a collection of colored earth or flowers intended to exhibit the power and wealth of the chateau's dweller. Like the Opéra, it was an ornament for a political purpose. Although the first edition of the French Academy's *dictionnaire* (1694) contained no mention of the parterre, two eighteenth-century lexicographers, César-Pierre Richelet and Antoine de Furetière, did define it, but its meaning by the end of the century was still uncertain.

Ravel wants to prove that the composition and behavior of the parterre changed radically from the

aristocratic politeness of the court and city under Louis XIV to boisterous ridicule of courtly society and the apollonian aura of the king by the end of the eighteenth century. The pushing and shoving regardless of social standings resulted from the close bodily contact of spectators, efforts to gain position for a better view of the stage, verbal and physical altercations, dancing on lean days, drinking, pickpocketing, overheating, excretions, homosexuality, transvestism, cabals, and barking dogs. In addition, mingling between audience and actors was common.

Ravel contends that the change in the parterre occurred in the grand theaters—the Opéra, the Comédie Française, and the Comédie Italienne—to which Louis XIV had given monopolies, where parterre crowds (fifty percent of the audience) were a social and economic mix of raucous people. They redefined political culture to give it a national meaning. The author uses police records, judicial archives, and memoirs, supplementing Henri Lagrave whose distinction between *le public riche* and *le public populaire* Ravel uses, though he laments Lagrave's failure to use police archives, and Ravel still insists on the social mixture of nobles, military officers, *petits-maitres*, lawyers, foreigners, merchants, artisans, apprentices, students, and bureaucrats. His point is that neither a popular audience nor popular taste can be found in the pit.

It would seem that with such an expansive period, the author would have little time for specifics. Such is not the case, however, in part due to his organization. Building on a synchronous view of the parterre, in which he concentrates on the behavior of audiences in theaters, Ravel offers a long diachronic development of parterre history including a new police system. The policing power of the crown increased when Marc-René de Voyer de Paulmey, comte d'Argenson, became the inspector general of police, a post created by Jacques Colbert in 1667. With his own hierarchical system of secret police, he vigorously pursued prostitutes, vagabonds, and rowdy theater-goers. Decrees of 1701 and 1706 gave him exclusive jurisdiction over the theater, and his execution of royal orders lasted well beyond his elevation to the office of Keeper of the Seals in 1718.

Realizing the social and political significance of the parterre, the crown did not let go. It attempted to bring over theater crowds to its point of view, but to little avail as disputations, often violent, continued to erupt in the parterres of the grand theaters. The crown's attempts to create a universal entity out of a group of heterogeneous males who stood in the parterre was more influenced by the concept of national political sovereignty than by royalism and aristocracy.

The theater parterres indicated that many people wanted something beyond absolutism. Ravel argues that restraint and loyalty to the monarch did not prevail in the republican-oriented parterre, no matter what steps the government took. Both state bureaucrats and reformers attempted to turn the parterre their way in part by advocating benches for this

disorderly throng at the top of the theater, where they were hidden from view. Jean-François Marmontel, however, held that the "electricity" that bound audiences into an instinctive and rational response would be replaced by divisiveness. In contrast to la Harpe, Marmontel believed the people in the parterre were *the people*. Thus, the debate over seating was political.

These confrontations, however, only served to embroil culture on both the royalist and populist sides. By the 1780s, the parterre was a politically self-conscious collectivity that was virtually sovereign. It expressed the will of the French nation, according to Ravel. Especially after the Maupeou crisis of 1771–1774 (René Nicolas Charles Augustin, chancellor of France), in which the parlements were abolished, many spectators found French liberties threatened and the crown tyrannical, criticizing particularly government control of the theaters. Louis-Sébastien Mercier and other radical critics discerned malevolent meanings in the Maupeou period in their theatrical critiques.

By contrast, the royalists continued to argue, as they had in the time of Louis XIV, that French progress depended on a unity of national identity and the monarchy. The official view, belabored by Nicolas-Toussaint le Moyne des Essarts, was that French theater exemplified the country's superior culture. Parterre advocates such as Jean, Abbé Terrasson argued that the theater should instruct; it, including comedy, should teach audiences civil ethics. The parterre much also be a unity to express French civilization, according to Marmontel and others.

My major criticism of this superbly researched book is Ravel's general neglect of popular theater. Maybe he thought that Michele Root-Bernstein and I had already tackled that to his satisfaction; he indicates as much in an early paragraph in the book and in the footnotes throughout. The popular theaters add so much to his thesis that avoiding them is to miss fundamental attributes of eighteenth-century musical life and culture. Later in the book, Ravel does provide a longer discussion on the feuds of the fair theaters with the Comédie Française. I am also distressed with the disproportionate amount of time and space given to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century episodes, rather than to the prerevolution.

Moreover, I am also confused by what Ravel thinks the parterre really represents. He uses the words nation, people, authentic, bourgeois, and public opinion. Nowhere does he define or explain these terms.

Whatever my misgivings, Ravel has given us a much misunderstood aspect of the parterres of the grand theaters. It is a breathtaking spectacle of plebes and plebeians.

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JANE F. FULCHER. *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War*. New

York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 291. \$60.00.

In this book, Jane F. Fulcher offers a bracing formulation of the relationship between politics and music in the French *fin-de-siècle*. The convulsions of the Dreyfus Affair and the growing stridency of nationalist pressure groups politicized music to such an extent that instruction, performance, and composition were implicated in the very ideological battles being waged in the corridors of government and the press. In the decade before World War I, Fulcher writes, "political ideology and musical values were no longer discrete: the two realms had fused" (p. 169).

Fulcher builds her case around two rival institutions and the personalities that directed them late in the nineteenth century: the national Conservatoire, whose impeccably Republican credentials stretched back to the French Revolution, and Vincent d'Indy's Schola Cantorum, a private musical school founded in 1894 whose curriculum constituted a pointed critique of the Conservatoire's values. Conservatoire instructors had long viewed the symphonic form with suspicion: it was cerebral, turgid, "Germanic." They valued secular forms and a sensuous palate of tones over religiously inspired music. Most of all, the Conservatoire championed French opera. When the Schola Cantorum therefore sponsored courses in counterpoint, sacred chant, the Italian madrigal, and the German symphony—and moreover when its leader d'Indy dismissed all opposition as "Dreyfusisme artistique"—the musical world entered a larger cultural war already underway. Fulcher ably reveals how pressure from the right shifted the terms of debate so that the Conservatoire, soon on the defensive and unable to exercise the leadership its status implied, gradually adopted reforms clamorously demanded by the Schola. But did this amount to the "torrid symbolic battle" Fulcher repeatedly claims for these institutional skirmishes?

There is little doubt that certain composers held deep political commitments that shaped their work. D'Indy's politics echoed the strident tones of the Ligue de la Patrie Française, and his speeches and essays, laced with a large dose of anti-Jewish paranoia and clarion calls for national renewal, dispel any notion about the political naivety of artists. Fulcher carefully shows how d'Indy's aggressive anti-Semitism played itself out in the plot of his opera, *La Légende de Saint Christophe* (1915). As for the other side, she devotes considerable attention to Gustave Charpentier, composer of the "working-class" opera *Louise* (1900), who was attacked for his ambitious enrichment projects in the poor parts of Paris.

Yet Fulcher's evidence perpetually threatens to defy her simplifying categories of left and right, nationalist and republican, Dreyfusard and anti-Dreyfusard. Charpentier's educational projects seem certifiably republican, for instance, until we learn that the Schola Cantorum also offered free classes in musical education to French workers in an effort to elevate them

morally. And while Fulcher mentions d'Indy's famous regard for Richard Wagner and German styles more generally, she does not directly address the paradox of this virulent nationalist doing all he could to bring compositional techniques to France from across the Rhine.

Concentrating exclusively on the political aspects of late-century musical life, Fulcher overplays her hand in many particular cases and, more generally, miscasts the relationship between music and ideology. Her case is hampered by an uncertain and often confusing prose style, a shortcoming that is most acute when she attempts to define the way in which the language-based medium of politics might have penetrated the musical language of tones. The rightist political leagues "realized that music might be a prime anti-Dreyfusard symbol," she asserts, because "being nonobjective, it could be used to combat the Republic's stress on logic" (p. 122). By this reasoning, should not philosophers—or, for that matter, professors of English composition, who also stress logic—be somehow vulnerable to music and its insinuating "nonobjectivity?" But vulnerable *how*, one then wants to ask. *How* might music particularly combat those who stress logic, like philosophers or teachers of composition or the Third Republic? Fulcher's final statement describing the relation between music and politics offers no elucidation and is bizarrely circular: "Music thus continued to be a key zone of contact or osmosis between politics and culture, affecting music as integrally as it did French political culture" (p. 225).

Such formulations are only part of the book's sloppy presentation, which includes errors of fact (*Le Figaro* was anti-Dreyfusard, not Dreyfusard), numerous misspellings in both French and English (innivation, Rissian, Maurraus for Maurras, de Trade for de Tarde, Hysmans for Huysmans), and a handful of grammatical flaws ("The generalization that historians have made concerning the basis for the choice of side among other French artists and intellectuals appear to hold true"). For the first half of the book, Fulcher describes the ultranationalist leagues as "Rightest" organizations, which prompts the instinctive response that their opponents must have been Wrongest rather than Leftist. The apparent negligence of Oxford University Press and Fulcher's own weak prose make this a marred and frustrating work.

Late in the book, Fulcher encounters the most important composer of the period, Claude Debussy, a genuine innovator who came to share many of the convictions of the far right. His musical style does not in the slightest adhere to the musical values promoted by the right-wing ideologues of the time. Fulcher expresses some puzzlement over this departure from the correspondences she has meticulously laid out, but this does not prompt her to ask whether she has pulled the knot too tightly. Rather than addressing the complex ways in which ideological orientations work themselves out in tastes, judgments, and styles—a project, moreover, entirely suited to the wealth of this materi-

al—Fulcher rather mechanically describes a writer's musical judgments or a composer's creative works as the direct correlate of his political convictions.

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MICHAEL TORIGIAN. *Every Factory a Fortress: The French Labor Movement in the Age of Ford and Hitler*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 260. \$44.95.

This thoughtful survey of interwar French labor politics incorporates much of the latest scholarship but is best suited to a nonspecialist audience. Using a broad range of published sources, especially the union and party press, but no unpublished or archival materials, the study targets key developments in union, party, and industrial history but does so mostly in familiar terms. Michael Torigian's background in the American labor movement comes through in a clear sympathy with the social and organizational hardships facing mass-production workers as well as in an apt sense of the particularities of French experience. The judgments here are mostly sound and the writing vivid, but new insights are few.

Largely a political history of French metalworking unions and their troubled relationship with the newly emergent Communist Party, the book sets the story in the context of modern mass production but offers little analysis of its economic or sociological implications. "Fordism" and "Taylorism" appear as catch-phrases for new technologies whose specific application or consequences for France are seen mostly through the lens of union leadership. The "rank and file" appear only in their (wavering) susceptibility to unionization or party membership, while industrial management appears only in its (largely unwavering) tendency toward repression of labor unrest. The "People's Front" of 1936, the sitdown strikes, and the politics of antifascism at home and abroad are effectively described, the story closing with France's military defeat in Spring 1940. The political focus is not misplaced; the text notes correctly that developments in French unionism result "often" or "characteristically" from political circumstances (pp. 64, 80). But the author's attempts to view these trends as symptoms of the "atomizing processes" and "anomic masses" of the new factory system (pp. 107, 124) are mostly passing references to others' scholarship, with scant new evidence or insight of his own.

The text and references are also marred by lapses in French spelling or typography ("grands journées," p. 71; "Argentreuil," p. 120; "Discours pronés," p. 243; among many others) that should have been caught by a careful copyeditor. But the factual content is sound and the assessments confident. The book will fill a niche for advanced undergraduate or graduate audiences that need a good survey in English to place interwar developments in the context of France's distinctive syndicalist past. The social history of French

Fordism is yet to be written but has in this book a sturdy chassis on which to build.

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LAIRD BOSWELL. *Rural Communism in France, 1920–1939*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 266. \$47.50.

Every undergraduate lucky enough to be exposed to a required history course these days learns that although communism was in theory working-class based and meant first to come to power in industrialized countries, in reality it became the preferred method of rural societies seeking to modernize by draconian means. A further paradox of communism's appeal always was that it promised to protect peasants and augment their holdings by land redistribution, whereas communist regimes later indulged in rapid collectivization, making war on the peasantry for that purpose if necessary. At first glance, it should not seem surprising that these contradictions characterized the most *ouvrieriste* of communist parties in the West, the Parti Communiste Français (PCF), which despite its rhetoric, and the disinterest of its leaders in agrarian problems, developed powerful support in rural areas. Yet scholars have persisted in treating the PCF's agrarian support as an anomaly. Laird Boswell's book avoids this trap by demonstrating that, like its "fraternal" parties around the world, the PCF developed a powerful appeal and base of support in the countryside based on the same kind of misunderstandings.

Boswell focuses on the PCF's most loyal and powerful rural bastions in the Limousin and Corrèze, a picturesque region of rocky, marginal soils, deep valleys, and plateaus bordering on the Massif Central made up of four departments: Corrèze, Dordogne, Haut-Vienne, and Creuse. Boswell is concerned to refute the theory of French electoral geographers who argued that the support for communism in the region was largely based on a tradition of voting for the "most left" parties, a kind of endemic protest vote based on poverty, a feeling of isolation from the mainstream, and a penchant for dissent. François Goguel, the most notable of these scholars, insisted that the map of French politics in 1948 resembled that of 1848; the parties might be different, but the pattern of regional support for right and left was the same. Boswell, through a very detailed and painstaking analysis of voting patterns, tries to show that there was rather a rupture in the late nineteenth century. The socialist tradition, upon which PCF support was based, appealed to a new and different social constituency in the Limousin and Corrèze than the earlier republican movement had done. The PCF was born of the crisis decades of the first half of the twentieth century, and rather than a sterile protest vote, he argues, it represented a coherent response to unfulfilled desires for political and social reform in the face of the impact of war and economic decline.

What Boswell has succeeded in doing, however, may be to demonstrate that electoral statistics resemble quantum theory: what appears true in the aggregate dissolves on the particle level into a morass of uncertainty. The PCF vote in the Corrèze and Limousin cannot be correlated with any specific social group on the regional level. It was, on the contrary, the most stable and socially balanced vote of French political parties, reflecting support among small and larger landholders (more larger than smaller in fact), tenants and sharecroppers (although more of the former than the latter), artisans, and shopkeepers: in short a mirror of the rural electorate between the wars. As other scholars have found, the Communist vote most closely correlates with the level of religiosity rather than social structure; observant, Catholic regions were recalcitrant to its appeal, while areas of declining belief were more prone to vote Communist, but this is what one would expect and in terms of explaining anything may be tautological. Beyond this, personality counted. The PCF presented intelligent, hard working, pragmatic candidates who were themselves of rural origins. The party program was tailored to the demands of the region, protection of the smallholding peasants, the *petits* against the *gros*, denunciation of the capitalist middlemen, with little reference to the party's program nationally and virtually none to the social reality, especially collectivization, that prevailed in the USSR. The party's mayors ran on their competence and their achievements in office and enjoyed as good relations with the all-powerful prefects as their non-Communist peers.

Boswell's is as well-written, detailed, and careful a study of French rural communism as we are likely to get and a valuable addition to the literature. It reflects careful study of electoral data but also the results of interviews with about seventy surviving Communist militants from the region conducted in the 1980s, narrated with sympathy and understanding. Its major conclusions have been stated by others, but there is never any harm in providing them with local confirmation. Communism in France was a generational phenomenon born of war and economic crisis and correlated most closely with anticlericalism, and its contemporary decline reflects the lack of salience of the issues that once gave it relevance. It is no accident that, as Boswell notes, today France has almost as few Communists as it has peasants.

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ANDERS FLORÉN. *Vollonskt järn: Industriell utveckling i de södra Nederländerna före industrialiseringen*. [Walloon Iron: Industrial Development in the Southern Netherlands before Industrialization]. (Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia, number 20.) Uppsala: Reklam and Katalogtryck; distributed by Historika Institutionen, Uppsala. 1998. Pp. 274.

A 274-page book on the Walloonian iron industry before the industrial revolution, in Swedish! Is this crazy, or what? Well, maybe not quite as crazy as it seems. In fact, the Swedish iron industry was greatly influenced by its Walloonian cousin. Especially during the first half of the seventeenth century, the migration of workers and entrepreneurs brought Walloonian technology and skills to Sweden. This relationship, which no doubt greatly influenced the nationally and internationally important Swedish iron industry, has long been a topic of major interest to Swedish historians and economic historians. The reader of this book who is well versed in Swedish economic history will find it to be a major contribution to the history of this episode. Indeed, at least to such a reader, the book will serve as a comparative study of the Swedish and Walloonian industries. It can also be read as a study in comparative work life history. Finally, the extended discussion of proto-industrialization and its relationship to the iron industry will certainly attract the interest of Swedish economic historians, proto-industrialization being one of their favorite topics.

When all is said and done, however, it is still obvious that this book will be read by a very limited, and in some ways very homogeneous, group of scholars. For the rest of the international economic historical profession, it can only serve to establish the credentials of Anders Florén as an active contributor to the economic history literature. Even here, of course, reliance must be placed on the judgment of those who know Swedish. For anyone only looking for validation of Florén, let me save them further reading by noting that the book convinces me that he is a highly capable, thorough, and intelligent scholar.

It is possible to get a sense of the broad scope of this work by simply noting some of the chapter headings. These include the role of the state, the raw materials situation, the technology utilized, ownership networks, working conditions, and social conflicts. All of these topics, and others, are covered in considerable detail. Clearly, the work is based on a careful and well reasoned review of the available sources, both primary and secondary. It might also be mentioned that the author has been careful to include generous amounts of the limited information available on the participation of women, especially as owners, in the industry.

To an economist, the most striking aspect of Florén's analytical approach is the lack of economics, at least economics tinged with neo-classical price theory. Instead, there is a predilection for institutional theory of the highly general and discursive type: what might be called the second coming of Douglass North (although he is not listed in the bibliography). While the undoubted drawbacks of neo-classical economics are thus avoided, they are replaced by those of institutional theory. That is, there is very little predictive power, leading to the result that events are only rationalized after the fact. As the song says, "anything goes." An example of this type of reasoning appears in the discussion of the success of the Belgian iron

industry after Waterloo. According to the author, it benefited from Dutch government support and from access to a highly developed financial market. The fact that it lost access to the French market, however, was also beneficial because it forced the industry to lower its costs in order to be competitive on the world market (pp. 126–27). That is, since the industry was successful, what was good was good, and what was bad was also good. Had the industry failed, it might just as well have been argued that the loss of the French market was bad, while government support and cheap capital reduced the industry's incentives to lower production costs. That is, what was bad was bad, and what was good was also bad. Either scenario might be true, but there is little predictive power in such analysis.

Such carping aside, however, the book clearly is a major (although not easily accessible) contribution to knowledge of the pre-industrial history of the Walloonian iron industry, particularly from a Swedish perspective. Those with any interest in this topic, or more generally in the field of European proto-industrialization, and who know Swedish, should certainly read the book. Those with the interest, but lacking the necessary linguistic training, should be on the look-out for articles by Florén in a more accessible language.

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TYGE KROGH. *Oplysningstiden og det magiske: Henrettelser og korporlige straffe i 1700-tallets første halvdel*. [The Enlightenment and the Magical: Executions and Corporal Punishments in Denmark in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century]. Copenhagen, Denmark: Samleren. 2000. Pp. 608.

In recent years, there has been less detailed work on the social history of the Scandinavian kingdoms than one might have expected from a European context. The publication of a substantial doctoral dissertation on crime and punishment in early eighteenth-century Denmark is therefore bound to be a major event: this volume is a milestone in terms of its meticulous analysis of large quantities of archival data, its sound historiographical contextualization, and its methodological solidity. The summary in English at the end of the book can provide no more than the flavor of the whole, but historians with some working knowledge of Danish will be richly rewarded.

Essentially this is a study of the social response to serious crime, as revealed through those cases that resulted in corporal or capital punishment at the intermediate criminal and military courts in the eastern part of the kingdom (Zealand) between 1719 and 1756, as well as cases from the whole of Denmark and Norway where an appeal was made for pardon or mitigation during a slightly longer period up to 1770. As in other Lutheran countries, the Danish king had a key role not just in the enforcement but also in the interpretation of ecclesiastical and criminal law; the complete interdependency of religious and political

orthodoxy was personified in the absolute monarch himself. Tyge Krogh provides significant insights into the higher judicial machinery that reviewed cases (severe punishments imposed by the local courts had to be confirmed at a higher level, and from 1735 all death sentences had to be reviewed by the king). He also throws light on the role of the king in relation to the Supreme Court, the council of theological professors at Copenhagen University to which some types of cases were routinely referred, and the extensive network of local officials who were entrusted with arrests and detention, identification of witnesses, and punishment of those who were convicted.

Central to the whole book is the notion that the contemporary definition of, and changing responses to, different kinds of crime tell us at least as much about the society concerned as they do about visible criminality as such. Interestingly, crime against property figures less prominently in this study than we might have expected on the basis of contemporary British or French material. *Danske Lov* (the definitive law for Denmark from 1683) provided a framework complementing Mosaic Law, and its prioritization of crimes against religion, infringements of sexual morality, and concerns about insubordination and civil disobedience clearly informed contemporary priorities even when, from the 1730s, rationalism and enlightenment began to modify basic beliefs and prejudices. Assault and murder also figure prominently; Krogh's estimates of the latter indicate a level of severe violence that, although in decline by the eighteenth century, was nevertheless significantly higher per head of population than in modern Danish society.

During the period 1719–1756, elaborately ritualized capital punishment was inflicted in eastern Denmark on 100 individuals (28 of them women), three quarters of them for murder (including infanticide). Significantly, however, many other cases originally carrying the death penalty were mitigated to life sentences, or to corporal punishment with varying degrees of severity and loss of honor. A clear overview of the source material for each case is provided in a set of substantial appendixes, which also detail cases referred to the council of theologians. In addition, Krogh recognizes the popular market for pamphlets and flysheets sensationalizing particular cases, but he deals with it rather more briefly and understandably does not attempt to contextualize it in the growing print culture of Copenhagen. He prefers to concentrate on the subtle changes in the interpretation of the law that his material reveals and the insistence on the deterrent effect of formal public punishment, even when some of its more gruesome details were secretly toned down in step with humanitarian concerns.

It no doubt makes sense to see this overall shift as heading toward natural law and enlightened rationalism loosely defined. But whether Krogh is right in using the term “magical” (also prominent in his title) to describe the original religious/political framework at the start of his period is more questionable. Such

quibbles aside, however, this book is a substantial achievement. Krogh cannot throw much light on the extent to which criminal records mis- and underrepresent actual criminality; he also explicitly avoids the massive but intractable archival material left by the local and police courts. But he has provided ample food for thought, not just regarding contemporary assumptions about crime but also concerning the cultural context within which early modern law, public punishment, authority, and absolute monarchy were meant to function.

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MALIN LENNARTSSON. *I säng och säte: Relationer mellan kvinnor och män i 1600-talets Småland*. [In Bed and Board: Relations between Women and Men in Seventeenth-Century Småland]. (Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis, number 92.) Lund: Lund University Press. 1999. Pp. 381.

Peasant sexuality was complicated. In 1693, Jöns Bengtsson said that his love for Märta Haraldsdotter was so strong he would "shoot himself dead, and also the one who gets her" if their betrothal were broken. What was he thinking? Threats of suicide for unrequited love were supposed to occur among eighteenth-century Romantic elites, not orthodox Lutheran peasants. And why such a passionate declaration regarding what was, after all, an arranged betrothal?

The case of Jöns and Märta is one of many challenges to current historical thought in Malin Lennartsson's study of sexuality in seventeenth-century Sweden. Her sometimes repetitive published dissertation focuses on the province of Småland in 1650–1655 and 1692–1694, where the Lutheran cathedral chapter of Växjö, sitting as a court of consistory, judged cases of betrothal, marriage, and divorce. Lennartsson found a gold mine when she became the first Swedish scholar to use these ecclesiastical court records to supplement civil court cases. The vivid, emotional "discourse of love" that permeated all levels of Småland society was one striking finding.

Betrothal plus sexual intercourse made a marriage in Sweden during the 1650s, regardless of whether the betrothal was a secret promise, traditional family celebration, or spoken vows before a clergyman. Sex sealed the match. If not sexually consummated, the betrothal could be broken without damaging the woman's situation, but if it had, it was a binding marriage. The consistory took premarital pregnancy as *prima facie* evidence of secret betrothal, even if the man denied it, and he was fined for "deflowering" (even if she was a widow) and was generally compelled to pay heavily and marry her. The church court was not biased against the woman: it protected her and her child from abandonment.

After 1686, however, only a formal betrothal was legal, and it created a binding marriage. A woman's body no longer served as evidence of betrothal: if she

became pregnant and was not formally betrothed, it was her word against his, and both were fined. Lennartsson claims that closer regulation of marriage was needed in a rapidly changing society to avoid disputes over property, inheritance, and legitimacy and that a broad popular consensus supported the hard line against premarital pregnancy.

Love was another matter. Martin Luther had asserted that nobody should be forced to marry without love, and the Småland consistory agreed. It did not allow parents to arrange marriages against the "free will" of the couple. Following Aron Gurivitz, Lennartsson argues that Småland folk sought their identity within community. Love was seen as the cement that made arranged matches endure and thus promoted village harmony.

A happy marriage existed when the couple loved each other and shared in running the household: together in "bed and board." This was ritualized in the Swedish marriage ceremony when the man and woman approached the altar together; the bride's father did not give her away. Adultery and desertion were the principal grounds for divorce, and divorce was not extremely uncommon. Violence and abuse were also acceptable grounds, although there was no basis in law, and physical violence toward women was rare. Women brought most of the suits for adultery, and the courts applied the same standard of adultery to men and women. Women also won divorce on grounds of impotence when their husbands did not perform in bed. Because marriage was a matter regarding couples, the welfare of children was not considered by the court.

Sexuality lay at the heart of gender relations in Småland. Sexuality had the power to create or destroy, not as Michel Foucault saw it but by transforming a woman into a "loose woman" or a wife and a man into a master or a whoremonger. The goal of gender relations was marriage: a new norm of the heterosexual family was being established, in contrast to Catholic emphasis upon celibate life. Lennartsson's view is closer to Steven Ozment than Lyndal Roper when she argues that the Lutheran Church was not antifeminist or opposed to love and sexuality. Indeed, the Lutheran view was that husband and wife had a right to expect a sex life in marriage, though not by force, for procreation and also because it made them one in body and soul, like Christ and the church. Both women and men also had an "inalienable right" to divorce from an unfaithful spouse. The law of civil and ecclesiastical courts in Småland was "gender-neutral" and did not allow men to avoid their responsibilities for premarital or extramarital relationships.

This is an important book, and it has a long English summary.

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MONIKA JANFELT. *Stormakter i människokärlek: Svensk och dansk krigsbarnshjälp 1917–1924*. [The Great Pow-

ers and Philanthropy: Swedish and Danish Children's Aid in War, 1917–1924]. Summary in English. Åbo, Finland: Åbo Akademi. 1998. Pp. 270.

In the years following World War I, millions of children from the devastated and hunger-stricken regions of Central Europe benefited from international relief efforts. Most of these children “merely” received packages of food and clothing, but more than 500,000 German and Austrian youngsters were also offered the opportunity to spend weeks, sometimes even months, abroad, typically as guests in host families who volunteered to house and feed one of these youngest victims of war. While the majority of children ended up in Switzerland and Holland, Danish and Swedish families also demonstrated their humanitarian bent by hosting no fewer than 50,000 and 22,000 children respectively, a fact that prompted at least one Scandinavian observer to pronounce the Nordic countries “super powers in human love” (p. 4).

In this carefully researched and well-written book, Swedish historian Monika Janfelt provides a detailed account of the practical and organizational efforts that underlay the Scandinavian participation in large-scale attempts to relocate children from some of the hardest hit areas of Europe. In the Swedish case, it was the national branch of the Red Cross, in close cooperation with the Swedish state, that spearheaded the efforts and collected most of the (private) funds that financed the operation. In Denmark, by contrast, the initiative more typically came from privately organized philanthropic organizations such as the Vienna Children's Committee, founded in 1919, and from the labor movement.

As Janfelt points out, this difference reflects the political dimension of Scandinavian postwar philanthropy. In principle, both Swedish and Danish efforts were aimed at helping any child in need, but in reality national interests, political considerations, and class-based sympathies often shaped humanitarian priorities. While greater familiarity with the German language may help explain the preference for bringing German-speaking children to Scandinavian host families, other factors also played a role in the selection of young visitors. Long-standing cultural and economic ties with Germany were certainly part of the reason why Swedish concern tended to focus on the plight of German children. In the Danish case, equally long-standing border disputes with Germany made such a priority problematic and the Danish state more reticent in its engagement, and as a result most Danish philanthropy was privately organized and aimed at Austrian rather than German children. Only the Danish labor movement diverged from this pattern, insisting on bringing German working-class kids to Danish working-class families in a gesture of international solidarity.

Seeking to combine political and organizational history with social and cultural history, Janfelt also explores host families' motivations for accepting an

unknown child into their homes without any form of financial compensation. Undoubtedly, traditions of foster care and the philanthropic custom of placing urban youths in rural areas during the summer made it easier for relief organizations to convince many households to open their doors. Besides, some farm families probably saw a young ward as a welcome source of free labor, even though children were not supposed to work for their keep. Yet, according to Janfelt, it was genuine humanitarian concern—partially spurred by highly sympathetic media coverage of the visiting youngsters—that motivated most families. Still, such concern was not class-blind: in most cases, would-be philanthropists were most attentive to the needs of children from their own class, and both working and middle class families typically preferred guests from their own socioeconomic strata.

In the final sections of her book, Janfelt focuses on children's experiences. Unfortunately, the available source material does not allow for an in-depth investigation of this issue, and as a result it remains unclear whether humanitarian concern generally translated into caring relationships between host families and their visitors. However, the handful of interviews that Janfelt has conducted with former “war children,” as they were known at the time, certainly suggests that language barriers and cultural differences did not prevent the development of deep emotional bonds between some Scandinavian hosts and their guests.

While this may not be an exhaustive study, Janfelt should be commended for her efforts to weave together analyses of international philanthropy, national politics, citizen activism, and lived experience. By doing so, she has provided us with an interesting account of the complicated relationship between state policy and private initiative in early twentieth-century Scandinavia.

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KARIN FRIEDRICH. *The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569–1772*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 280. \$64.95.

In this excellent book, Karin Friedrich argues convincingly that early modern “Prussians were neither Germans nor Poles . . . [but] a community of citizens who embraced the constitutional agenda of the multinational [Polish-Lithuanian] Commonwealth” (p. 217). Friedrich's findings apply primarily to the inhabitants of Royal Prussia, a semi-autonomous part of the Polish kingdom, but they also apply in part to nobles and burghers in Ducal Prussia.

As Friedrich shows, all of Prussia (east and west) revolted against the Teutonic Knights in the mid-fifteenth century because they monopolized trade and state positions, discriminating against local residents of all ethnicities. The Polish-Lithuanian state assisted the rebels and helped western Prussia (including

Gdańsk) break away. The Hohenzollern dukes successfully held the east. The Polish king granted Royal Prussia self-governing privileges, and the Prussian nobility shared power with wealthy burghers more readily than their counterparts in the rest of Poland-Lithuania. Some Prussians objected to limitations on Prussian home rule passed by the Polish parliament in 1569 but found they could live with them.

Examining the historical and political writings of leading Prussian intellectuals, Friedrich demonstrates their firm attachment to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Prussians adopted the Polish myth of Sarmatian origins and adapted it by including the Prussians among the apocryphal Sarmatian tribes. Some Polish historians agreed. Friedrich's discovery here is remarkable because "Sarmatianism" in modern Polish historiography conventionally describes the nativist attachment to Golden Liberties that, coupled with a fervent Catholicism, held back badly needed reforms in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Liberty remained an essential Sarmatian characteristic underpinning Royal Prussia's legal privileges, despite the expansion of the national mythology to include accounts of an apocryphal Prussian monarch, King Waidawutus, whose benevolent rule spanned both eastern and western Prussia (and hence included Ducal Prussia). Royal Prussians steadfastly rejected the "absolutist" model of Ducal Prussia. Some nobles and burghers in Ducal Prussia resisted abrogation of their freedoms by the Hohenzollern dukes as long as they could.

Friedrich shows that Prussia supported Poland-Lithuania in the mid-seventeenth-century wars in order to safeguard their liberties and not just to protect their trade position. Prussians criticized the great Cossack Revolt because it weakened the Commonwealth. More directly, Gdańskers rejected Swedish approaches during their invasion in the 1650s and endured a long siege at great cost to themselves. Toruń tried to hold out but failed.

Nevertheless, Prussian attitudes cooled toward Poland-Lithuania in the eighteenth century, and Prussians began to look for new ways to safeguard their autonomy. The Polish failure to protect Prussia against invasions seemed like a betrayal. Furthermore, Poland's efforts to create a centralized modern state threatened Prussia's very existence as a self-governing unit. After the Third Partition, Ducal Prussians adopted stratagems to retain some autonomy with the absolutist Prussian state.

This picture of Prussian "national" consciousness makes a major contribution to the literature. The methodology of exploring early modern historiography and political theory should be applied equally systematically to other groups within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The scholarly base for this study is impressive. The author worked extensively in Polish and German archives (particularly Gdańsk and Toruń) and studied a vast array of German, Polish, and Latin

printed texts. She uses numerous Polish and German secondary sources.

Even such a fine book leaves some points to be debated. Friedrich exaggerates the contrast between Prussian and Polish attitudes toward urban life in the seventeenth century (chapter three). Polish nobles were hostile to burghers, not to cities as such. The corporate model of urban life was not the only one, and Polish nobles supported economic growth as well as they could, even though economic decline proved beyond their ability to control.

More significant is the attribution of centralizing efforts by eighteenth-century kings, particularly Stanisław August Poniatowski, to a resurgence of Catholic exclusivity instead of Enlightenment traditions. The author incorrectly implies that Tadeusz Kościuszko and the 1794 insurrection were aimed in part against non-Poles (p. 212). On the contrary, Catholic zealots joined forces with Royal Prussians to protect their privileges, as Friedrich shows in no discussion of the 1760s. While the formulation is unfortunate, the general point is correct that eighteenth-century centralization failed to prepare the Poles for the coming age of conflicting nationalisms.

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JAN PALMOWSKI. *Urban Liberalism in Imperial Germany: Frankfurt am Main, 1866-1914*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv. 391. \$85.00.

Jan Palmowski presents his study of municipal politics in Frankfurt am Main during the Second Empire as an example of how much German liberals could accomplish when in power. Imperial Germany, Palmowski insists, was not an inherently illiberal society, at least not when viewed from the perspective of the empire's burgeoning cities. Germany's urban liberals, he contends, were every bit as politically sophisticated and effective as their Western European counterparts. Their engagement in city government did not represent a retreat into a sphere of public activity safe from the intrusion of party politics. German city governments, as described by Palmowski, were anything but cozy refuges for "unpolitical" notables.

Palmowski challenges the assumption that significant politicization of municipal government in Germany occurred only following the advent of mass politics at the end of the nineteenth century. Instead, he identifies the late 1860s and 1870s as the crucial watershed, arguing that the new national political order in those years galvanized local as well as state and national politics. Circumstances varied from city to city, but he views the emergence of a strong, permanent party-political presence at the municipal level as following a similar timetable nationwide.

In Frankfurt, Palmowski contends, party politics had become an integral component of local government at least three decades before the first Social Democrats

were elected to the city council. In the absence of both a meaningful conservative opposition and significant confessional tensions, public debate in Frankfurt following its annexation by Prussia in 1867 primarily centered on the city's three liberal parties: Democrats, Progressives, and National Liberals. The Democrat Party was by far the strongest of the three. Its leaders and their activities are the primary focus of Palmowski's attention and admiration. In his account, when the socialists arrived on the scene in Frankfurt, they encountered not politically naïve local notables but astute liberal leaders with decades of innovative and productive party-political experience. In confronting the socialist challenge at the dawn of the twentieth century, Frankfurt liberals could draw on political skills honed during years of competition and collaboration with each other.

In discussing the political strategies of Frankfurt's liberals, Palmowski focuses primarily on education, social welfare, and taxation, issues he regards as of most interest to the liberals and their constituents. In his estimation, in these areas Frankfurt's liberals played a productive and innovative role, one that shaped the city's development just as much as did the much-vaunted bureaucratic expertise of the municipal administration. The Democrats, in particular, he sees as successful in securing continuing electoral support by adroitly directing the allocation of municipal resources to the advantage of their voters. Their identification with progressive taxation paid particularly high political dividends.

Throughout his volume, Palmowski presents imperial Germany's urban liberals in a generally positive light. Given their significant accomplishments in municipal politics, Palmowski asks why they were unable to duplicate these successes at the state and national level. He agrees with those historians who find the answer not in liberal political weakness but rather in the peculiarity of the German federal system. Liberals encountered great difficulty putting together coherent constituencies within the widely differing national, state, and municipal political arenas.

Palmowski's study is based on extensive research in local, provincial, and state archives, newspapers, and a wide range of contemporary publications. Throughout his volume, he vigorously comments on his areas of agreement and disagreement with authors of recent histories relevant to his topic. Most notably, he enters into a "critical dialogue" with Ralf Roth, author of *Stadt und Bürgertum in Frankfurt am Main: Ein besonderer Weg von der ständischen zur modernen Bürgergesellschaft, 1760–1914* (1996). Palmowski rejects Roth's claim that the Frankfurt bourgeoisie pursued a path to modernization significantly different from that taken in Germany as a whole, stressing instead what Frankfurt liberals had in common with their counterparts in other large German cities. Palmowski finds Roth's careful social analysis of Frankfurt liberals inadequate as a basis for understanding the development of the

city's liberal politics. Palmowski's own approach is narrowly political.

Palmowski writes for experts in the field, offering his readers a detailed and well-documented case study of liberal politics in imperial Germany's richest city over several decades. In the process, he joins those historians who challenge the characterization of liberals under the empire as unpolitical and ineffective. Anyone interested in liberal involvement at the local level will value his contribution and hope that other scholars will provide comparable studies of other cities.

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OLAF BLASCHKE. *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 122.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1997. Pp. 443.

Yes, the master narrative is definitely dead, at least judging from Olaf Blaschke's treatment of Catholic anti-Semitism in the German Empire, which consists of 360 pages of topical analysis without a narrative of any sort. Almost wholly missing from this monograph are the historical struggles, the clash of personalities, the interplay between earthly and spiritual motives that gave German Catholicism its characteristic contours. Instead we are dropped into a nearly seamless Catholic "milieu," dissected with the aid of seven theses, three anti-Semitic macrostereotypes, seven stereotype groups, five functions for anti-Semitism, three *Hochphasen*, and seven working hypotheses.

Preferring the static finished product to the developmental process, Blaschke teeters perilously close to the teleological. He ascribes to nameless "milieu managers," an undifferentiated church hierarchy, and an all but homogenous Center Party great powers of discernment and foresight and a considerable knack for Machiavellian manipulation. At times, sweeping generalizations depict an anthropomorphic "Catholicism" that knows what it wants, where it has to go, and what nefarious stratagem it must pursue to get there. The end result is the author's presentation of a Catholic milieu deeply tainted at all levels and in all regions of the country by an anti-Semitism only slightly less pernicious, but far more damaging, than that practiced by the small, feckless, anti-Semitic political parties of the era. Blaschke rejects any suggestion that party or church should be viewed as less infected by anti-Semitism than other elements of German society or that they deserve to be congratulated for their rejection of anti-Semitic extremism.

This is not as new an idea as Blaschke would like his readers to believe. (He rather grudgingly acknowledges the beginning of a revisionist view in the work of David Blackbourn, Helmut W. Smith, and James Harris but refers to them infrequently in his exposition.) What is new in this work is the repeated insistence that the milieu was essentially a monolith, a closed system

in which anti-Semitism played an essential role for more than a century.

Despite Blaschke's polemical tone and ungenerous judgments of previous scholarship, there is much of interest and value here. For example, the author is right to warn against too narrow a focus in the study of Catholic anti-Semitism in Germany. Limiting attention to the Center Party's behavior in the Reichstag will produce a distorted picture of the reality. By investigating the local and regional press, associational literature, clerical journals, and a wealth of other sources, Blaschke is able to paint a considerably darker picture than those of us who have not done as thorough a job as he. Building on an extraordinarily diligent reading of published materials, he argues that Catholic identity formation resorted to anti-Semitism in reaction to an increasingly threatening world. The response to the Edgardo Mortara affair, the Syllabus of Errors, and the outrage over the doctrine of papal infallibility served to create and then entrench ultramontane solidarity. Once ultramontanism discovered the utility of anti-Semitism, it could not dispense with it; the two became inextricable.

It was not the material conflicts between Catholics and Jews or the vastly exaggerated role of Jews in the *Kulturkampf* but rather the "ghetto mentality" of Catholics that led them to tar their critics within and without as either Jews, their dupes, or their willing tools. Materialism and modernity, loss of faith, a heartless capitalism, cultural depravity—all these were laid at the feet of the Jews by clergy, politicians, writers of devotional literature, and a far-flung, effective Catholic press. Blaschke claims a broad-based attempt to instill hatred and suspicion of Jews among all the faithful, and he provides convincing documentation to support this view.

Certainly, various elements within German Catholicism practiced an anti-Semitism that went well beyond anti-Judaism or the venting of unremarkable anti-Jewish prejudices. Catholics wrote, preached, and agitated against Jews for a wide variety of political purposes; they resorted to their own brand of "better anti-Semitism" to achieve political mobilization and as a standing argument against movements and trends they found to be un-Christian. Blaschke will not grant Catholics a superior form of anti-Semitism, but he recognizes qualitative differences between them and the professional anti-Semitic politicians and ideologues. For Catholic purveyors, anti-Semitism always remained just one weapon among many, neither the only arrow in their quivers nor the sharpest. They gave little support to exceptional legislation aimed at Jews, shying away from the kind of laws that victimized them during the *Kulturkampf*. They rarely indulged in the sole-guilt-of-the-Jews rhetoric that was standard for the anti-Semitic political parties. And, in fact, they almost never advocated doing anything specific against Jews. Re-Catholicization, a return to Christian values, would automatically solve the Jewish question (and also the Protestant and Freemason questions). In a

truly Christian society, Jews would find it impossible to spread their poison.

This was ugly but a far cry from the call to disenfranchise Jews, or worse. Yet Blaschke remains resolutely unimpressed by the differences and evidences an unseemly need to condemn Catholicism root and branch. Catholics who spoke out against Jew-hatred, the Center Party that stood against the programmatic demands of the anti-Semitic parties, and clergymen who rejected racist fanaticism—these count for nothing. Self-interest, pure and simple, not brotherly love or equity, explains these rare deviations from the milieu mentality. Instead of putting such acts in historical perspective, Blaschke belittles them by demanding of Catholics a standard of altruistic purity in the defense against anti-Semitism that no party or group could live up to, not even the Jews who were most affected. The reader will have to get past this special pleading in order to derive the full benefits of Blaschke's scholarship.

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THOMAS ALBRECHT. *Für eine wehrhafte Demokratie: Albert Grzesinski und die preußische Politik in der Weimarer Republik*. (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung; Reihe: Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 51.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1999. Pp. 383.

This useful monograph deals with the career of a little-known Weimar Social Democratic politician in Prussia who today is remembered, if at all, for his robust defence of republican values against the Nazi and Communist onslaughts, as well as for his musings in exile in America (where he died, as a citizen, in 1947). Political biography, usually associated more with Anglo-Saxon than German historiography, is a often an illuminating medium because it sets the aims of politicians against the political context in which they operate. For the most part, subjects have made a significant impact on events and may be said to achieved fame. The story of Albert Grzesinski, however, well documented from his copious archive, is one of complete failure. Prussia was a state of key importance for the republic as a whole and especially for German Social Democrats, who held power there for most of the Weimar years. Prussia contained sixty percent of Germany's inhabitants, and, thanks to Weimar's federal constitution, it played a bigger part in their lives than the Reich government with whom control of Berlin was shared. Yet despite Grzesinski's positions as police president of Berlin and then, for about three years, Prussian minister of the interior, he proved far too weak to resist the overwhelming strength of the forces working and conspiring to destroy German democracy and what it sustained. Repeatedly (and erroneously) vilified as "a Jew in a Jews' Republic," he sued repeatedly to demonstrate that both assertions were false; Germany's judges,

however, often found against him. His attempts to ban antirepublican groups and prevent them from using democracy to destroy Weimar were courageous but unsuccessful.

Grzesinski's efforts have been recorded not just by himself but by several scholars (including the present reviewer) concerned to demonstrate that the argument that Weimar Social Democracy lacked champions is completely false. Nowhere has this been done more fully than here, by Thomas Albrecht. Yet earlier conclusions stand: despite great detail, no radically new insights emerge. This is hardly surprising, for the big picture is all too clear. The enemies of Weimar had many divisions and were able for both internal and external reasons to win the battle for the hearts and minds of all Germans, including the Prussian electorate. In the end, democracy could not be prevented from destroying itself, since, as Prussian politics showed, the voters themselves opted, at the grassroots, for its destruction.

By 1929, together with his more powerful allies the "Red Tsar" of Prussia, its minister president Otto Braun, and Carl Severing, Grzesinski found himself facing a coalition that included Paul von Hindenburg, the antirepublican Stahlhelm, the Communist Ernst Thaelmann, the Center Party, and then Adolf Hitler and the Nazis. The Weimar Republic had supporters, but its enemies were stronger: as Albrecht points out, on April 24, 1932, the Nazi Party's seats in the Landtag went up from nine to 162; when the fifty-seven taken by the Communists were added, republican government ceased to be possible.

In 1933, Grzesinski, who had called for Hitler to be chased out of Germany with a whip (an insult Hitler exploited), had to flee for his life; he ended up making jewellery in a small factory in New Jersey, caught up in the sterile disputes of exile, with his wife, Daisy, as his only friend. Ultimately, however, the failures of the Weimar Socialist Party turned into gains for all German democrats. Learning hard, after 1945 no one believed any longer that democracy could be secured by police forces or prohibitive policy; new ideas were forged in the struggle for hearts and minds in the democratic half of postwar Germany. After half a century, we can safely say they have proved their worth.

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ANTHONY McELIGOTT. *Contested City: Municipal Politics and the Rise of Nazism in Altona, 1917-1937*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 334.

Until its abrupt incorporation into Hamburg on April 1, 1937, the adjacent Prussian city of Altona along the northwestern shore of the Elbe River had been a mainly working-class suburb of its larger neighbor. Anthony McElligott's long-anticipated study of Alto-

na's political development over the two preceding decades, culminating in the Nazi (NSDAP) seizure and consolidation of power in the municipality, is another contribution from an English-speaking historian to scholarly knowledge about the local supersession of Weimar republicanism by Adolf Hitler's dictatorship. His book is distinguished from those by Rudy Koshar, Walter Struve, and William Sheridan Allen, for example, not only by the much greater size of Altona than the towns they wrote about (it had a quarter-million inhabitants and was a metropolis in its own right) but also by the dominance of left-wing forces—Social Democrats (SPD) along with, later, the Communist Party (KPD)—in its politics until 1933. Moreover, McElligott uses Altona's experience to illustrate the problems faced by urban governments in 1920s Germany trying to establish a democratic polity and the reactions of their citizenry to this contested objective.

Thus, the administration of Socialist Mayor Max Brauer attempted after 1924 to implement a series of policies concerning housing, welfare, taxation, and civic education that aimed substantially to alter both the material and moral condition of the city's poor as well as the political authority of its traditional bourgeois elites. Among these initiatives were slum clearance in Altona's decrepit downtown wards and the concomitant construction of numerous garden settlements where "natural light and fresh air" would transform the existence of their new residents—and simultaneously bind them to the republic. There were also sports and other positive cultural activities for inner-city youth in danger of succumbing to alcohol, prostitution, or radical politics. The author, however, is sharply critical of the flagship estate project "Steenkamp," whose rents were far beyond the means of the proletarian masses and which instead became home to Social Democratic functionaries and well-paid civil servants (sometimes the same individuals). What was worse, in McElligott's estimation, was the rigorous interference by municipal authorities, under the guise of social engineering, in what Brauer and his colleagues perceived as the "intemperate lifestyles of a degenerate working class" who needed to be disciplined or at least contained. The popular designation of one such housing development as a "penitentiary quarter" (*Zuchthausviertel*) "perhaps best sums up what Altona's 'unruly people'"—and evidently McElligott, too—thought and think about these measures of reform (pp. 92-94).

At the opposite end of the social spectrum, the author very tellingly describes the resistance of better-off elements in middle-class suburban districts to their absorption by Altona. These groups feared they would have to sustain Brauer's communal democratization by paying higher taxes that, with the onset of the Depression and the systematic downloading of welfare costs by the Reich onto the budgets of the already underfunded municipality, drove some small businessmen and independent artisans into bankruptcy. Their response was to unite against the SPD, first behind

special interest parties and then, when these proved ineffective, by supporting the Nazis as the putative saviors of the *Mittelstand*. At the same time, Chancellors Heinrich Brüning and especially Franz von Papen manipulated the crisis to reimpose central fiscal control and thereby strangle grass-roots democracy. Brauer's removal from office—as part of Papen's "coup" of July 20, 1932, against prorepublican Prussia—was the prelude to Germany's descent into the abyss.

This disastrous step was triggered by the notorious "bloody Sunday" street clashes between Nazi marchers and mostly Communist spectators in Altona's *Altstadt*, which caused eighteen deaths. The author's account of these events, which indeed shook Weimar to its foundations, concludes a finely textured analysis that is the highlight of his research: a tavern-by-tavern (such establishments were the focus of political agitation in Altona) tracking of public violence. The NSDAP reaped the benefit of the lawlessness it fomented; but the order that Hitler's regime imposed included among its many victims any meaningful form of local government. That only reappeared in Hamburg-Altona after 1946, when Brauer returned from American exile to direct his native city once again.

Notwithstanding the author's unmistakable hostility toward this resolute official and other Social Democrats (the 1933 murder of police chief Otto Eggerstedt in Esterwegen concentration camp is relegated to a brief endnote), as well as the questionable interpretation that Communist-led districts like Altona's constituted the "last bulwark" of Weimar democracy (p. 241), this is an informative and clearly presented monograph.

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HARTMUT BERGHOFF and CORNELIA RAUH-KÜHNE. *Fritz K.: Ein deutsches Leben im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 2000. Pp. 447. DM 49.80.

This biography of Fritz Kiehn, the founder of Efka Werke, a paper factory in Trossingen, Württemberg, represents an important contribution to the study of the relationship between National Socialism and small industrial entrepreneurs (*mittelständische Unternehmer*). According to Henry Ashby Turner, Jr.'s *German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler* (1985), small and middle-sized industry supported Hitler before 1933. Recent studies by Christine Arbogast (*Herrschaftsinstanzen der württembergischen NSDAP* [1998]), and Michael Kissener and Joachim Scholtyseck, eds. (*Die Führer der Provinz* [1997]) present numerous short biographies of Nazi party and administrative elites in southwestern Germany but add little to our knowledge of economic elites. In part, this reflects the difficulty of obtaining adequate archival materials from small firms in Württemberg. By contrast, Hartmut Berghoff and Cornelia Rauh-Kühne, two prolific experts on modern Baden and Württemberg, obtained assistance from

Kiehn's grandson (his adopted son) and used Kiehn's sizable SS file, party court records, and postwar denazification materials.

Kiehn was born October 15, 1885, in Burgsteinfurt, Westphalia. After an apprenticeship in a cardboard box factory in Hanover, he obtained a sales position in 1908 in the predominantly Protestant industrial village of Trossingen, which had a population of slightly over 5,000 inhabitants. Following his marriage into an established local family in 1911, Kiehn opened a small shop. After his return from World War I, he became a small industrialist by establishing Efka, a cigarette paper factory, which benefitted from the low tax on loose tobacco. Moreover, the postwar inflation allowed him to pay off his debts with inflated money. Kiehn moved into a villa in 1924, but until 1933 he was overshadowed by the most important local industrialist family, the Hohners, who produced musical instruments. The authors argue that much of Kiehn's life was consumed by his social ambitions and desire for prominence.

Only after Kiehn established a Nazi local in May 1930, in part in reaction to a massive tax increase on cigarette paper, was he able to challenge Hohner's local bourgeois political coalition. Kiehn had sympathized with the Nazis since 1926 and was particularly attracted by the party's appeals to the *Mittelstand* and *Volksgemeinschaft*. Under his leadership, the local Nazi vote increased from .8 percent in 1928 to 32.9 percent in 1932. Much of the party's organization and support was located in the Efka factory, and Kiehn provided important financial aid. Still, in contrast to Turner, the authors suggest that Kiehn was an exception, since most small and medium-sized firms in Württemberg did not actively support the Nazi party.

Unlike some other *Mittelstand* entrepreneurs in Germany like Hans Kehrl, Paul Pleiger, and Wilhelm Keppler, who assumed important national positions in the Nazi regime, Kiehn remained anchored in Trossingen. He relished the fact that after 1933 he replaced Ernst Hohner as the town's most prominent social and political leader. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1932, and in 1934 he became president of the state's economic chamber. In addition, the Efka industrialist joined the SS in 1933 and was admitted to Heinrich Himmler's Freudenkreis in 1938, not because of Gottlob Berger's support as the authors suggest, but rather because the regional SS leader Walter Stein in Konstanz brought the Württemberg SS benefactor to Himmler's attention.

Kiehn also prospered after 1933, and he expanded his profitable cigarette paper operation to Strassburg and Posen. He gained control over several former Jewish properties between 1938 and January 1945, at times with the help of the SS. The authors' suggestion that entrepreneurs like Kiehn, who were recent industrialists (*Aufsteiger*), were most active in "Aryanization" activities in Württemberg is confirmed by Petra Bräutigam's *Mittelständische Unternehmer im Nationalsozialismus* (1997), a study of the leather industry in

Baden and Württemberg. In addition, the authors' finding that in Württemberg corruption was an integral part of "Aryanization" is identical to what Frank Bajohr (*Arisierung in Hamburg* [1997]) discovered in Hamburg. With the help of the SS, Kiehn survived several party court investigations of his business activities in 1938 and 1939, but he alienated Gau party leaders.

In 1945, Kiehn became the temporary scapegoat for the population of Trossingen, while Hohner again dominated the local scene. But after Kiehn was released from internment camps in January 1949, he quickly rehabilitated himself, primarily because his firm provided jobs and taxes for the community. He even received a substantial government loan to rescue the Chrion factory in Tuttlingen. Judging by the findings of Petra Bräutigam, ("Drei württembergische Unternehmer," in Cornelia Rauh-Kühne and Michael Ruck, eds., *Regionale Eliten zwischen Diktatur und Demokratie* [1993]), such continuity was experienced by other small Württemberg industrialists after 1945. While the Efka factory continued to be profitable, most of Kiehn's other economic projects failed. In 1972, a bank bailout of Efka removed him from the management of the firm.

Kiehn gave up politics even though he sympathized with Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union. He refused to join right-wing movements, but he did employ a number of former Nazis at Efka and maintained close relationships with Baldur von Schirach's family. Most important to him was the fact that he recovered his local prominence—without, however, challenging Hohner. Kiehn never honestly confronted his past, nor did he ever admit guilt for his involvement in "Aryanizations." His obituary in the local paper in 1980 suggests that Trossingen also never really dealt with its Nazi past.

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W. R. SMYSER. *From Yalta to Berlin: The Cold War Struggle Over Germany*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xix, 465. \$39.95.

W. R. Smyser's book is a history of Germany locked into the power conflicts of the Cold War from 1943 to 1999. Smyser places the struggle over Germany—with a slight emphasis on West Germany—into the broader context of the Cold War in Europe and, to a lesser extent, other parts of the world. In describing the main lines of development, Smyser focuses on important turning points: the beginning of the occupation; the breakup of quadripartite occupation, 1947 to 1948; the Stalin note; the Berlin crises; the "Ostpolitik"; the armament race; and, finally, the collapse of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). He successfully attempts to unravel the motives of the players, primarily the Soviet Union and the United States. From 1963 to the mid-1970s, his narrative turns from the Allies to the two Germanies. Smyser assigns the reasons for

German reunification to the economic exhaustion of the Soviet Union and the stability of West German democracy. He ends with a chapter on future German-American relations and the new position of Germany in Europe, which he calls "the Europe of Berlin" (p. 408).

Smyser himself knew Germany closely during most of the periods he writes about. In the 1930s, he lived for two years in Adolf Hitler's Germany. In the 1950s, he served for two years with General Lucius D. Clay, for four additional years in Berlin in the 1960s, and for another four years at the U.S. Embassy in Bonn in the 1970s. This explains why his narrative has a definite pro-Clay and pro-Willy Brandt slant and perpetuates the negative American view of the French.

As an overview, Smyser's book relies mainly on secondary literature, although he occasionally cites American or German document collections. Regarding the Soviet side, Smyser draws on recently published memoirs, the working papers of the Cold War International History Project, and conferences held in Potsdam. Yet his criteria for the selection of the secondary literature remain somewhat obscure. Sometimes he is completely up to date; at other times, he draws on books from the 1950s to give inside information on dealings in the Pentagon or the Quai d'Orsay. Although Smyser cites quite a number of German-language publications and one or two books in French, his focus is clearly on American literature on Germany. In his introduction, Smyser states that he is writing from a present-day perspective and is primarily interested in the new debates about where Germany is headed.

Nevertheless, the reader learns many of the findings of new scholarship. Smyser underlines that Joseph Stalin did not want the division of Germany but that it was the ambitious Walter Ulbricht who prevented a quadripartite Germany. As darkly as Ulbricht is painted throughout the book, the reader sometimes wonders whether Soviet leaders were really so powerless that they could not reign in their satellites. Smyser also reminds his readers that much of early Cold War policy in Europe was shaped by the British. He shows that John F. Kennedy was inexperienced at the beginning of the Berlin crisis and had to rely on General Clay; he links the Soviet stationing of missiles in Cuba with the Berlin question and asserts that Nikita Khrushchev wished to win West Berlin by threatening the United States. There are places, however, when Smyser does not reflect the newest scholarship, as when he still assigns to the French the role of the anti-German devils, which more recent literature has qualified.

Smyser's book is a good read. He writes vividly, has nice quotes, and includes interesting personal snippets, which he draws from published memoirs, interviews, and secondary literature. If you want to check up on some of his stories or statements, however, you will not always find footnotes. The book also lacks a bibliography, but it gives full bibliographical information of the

works quoted in each individual chapter. In addition, the book features four maps, a selective index, and a foreword by Paul Nitze, focusing on his experiences in Germany. All in all, this is a good overview of Germany's place in international power politics for the general public.

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PETER HEIL. *"Gemeinden sind wichtiger als Staaten": Idee und Wirklichkeit des kommunalen Neuanfangs in Rheinland-Pfalz 1945–1957.* (Veröffentlichung der Kommission des Landtages für die Geschichte des Landes Rheinland-Pfalz, number 21.) Mainz, Germany: v. Hase & Koehler, for the Kommission des Landtages. 1997. Pp. x, 414. DM 60.

Peter Heil, in his study of the theory and practice of municipal governance in the western German state of the Rhineland-Palatinate between 1945 and 1957, argues that the municipality was important during the Allied—in this case French—occupation and the early years of the Federal Republic not only because it was the sole functional administrative level for months after the Third Reich was defeated but also because German advocates of an "organic federalism" viewed the local level as the core of any politically organized society. By playing such a primary role, the municipality could prevent too much power and authority from residing at the higher national level, in a more centralized, top-down state. This would also restrict the influence of political parties, which apparently were presumed to be top-down structures, lacking any local autonomy of their own. Heil never makes it clear whether the municipality actually did function in this way nor how this concept was put into practice and by whom. It is also not clear how many postwar Germans in what became the West German Rhineland-Palatinate or in other states or occupation zones actually shared these concerns. Presumably a book with more of a sociopolitical slant would have targeted the latter questions. Heil's intellectual history approach focuses instead on ideas and elites' expressions of concern in the Rhineland-Palatinate about the role of the municipality in limiting the power of the state and political parties.

The author bases his argument that there was a strong desire for the municipality to rein in potential abuse by higher administrative and government levels on certain political statements made by prominent Germans in the Rhineland-Palatinate, the official dialogue between German offices and the French Military Government about federalism and particularism, as well as on the dynamic between certain representatives of the municipalities and the state of the Rhineland-Palatinate when it came to issues of provenance. Heil, however, provides little direct evidence of a link between these different discourses and his interpretation that there was a strong voice advocating for the municipality to play a central role in preventing either

the state or political parties from acquiring too much power. Heil does not explain this support for local-level decision making as advocacy for grassroots democracy but rather as more of an aspiration to create an organic, even antimodern, somewhat libertarian community with a certain independence from both state and federal governments. Unfortunately, Heil never problematizes the need for this powerful municipality, either in terms of concerns about the return of a Nazi-like dictatorship or a Wilhelminian authoritarianism.

The author occasionally delves into topics without adequate preparation. For example, in his discussion of the denazification-related dismissals of municipal employees, he indicates how odd it was that more of the conservative Christian Democratic (CDU) municipal officials rather than those affiliated with the parties of the left were dismissed. How the extent of anti-Nazi activism among groups or the Nazi targeting of certain groups might have affected one's probability of Nazi incrimination is not even considered.

Although far too many loose threads remain within the chapters, Heil's lucid and sophisticated conclusion convinced this reviewer that his book makes a significant contribution to early postwar German political history. It enhances our understanding of both the goals and the conflicts within the French Military Government, especially with regard to the formation of the Rhineland-Palatinate, although the repercussions of the area having been initially under U.S. occupation are all but ignored. By exploring the reasons why various options for the boundaries of the state were kept open for so long, Heil not only shows how the new state of the Rhineland-Palatinate came about but also adds new dimensions to our understanding of state formation. He quite correctly points out that the theory and the practice of communal governance varied from the city, which was much more likely to associate itself with the state (*Land*) and its officials, to the village or town, whose inhabitants were more inclined to be skeptical of any higher authority. He illustrates very well the complexity of the early post-World War II situation in Germany, placing it within the context of continuity and change while showing that many Germans at the time strongly perceived that they were experiencing a zero hour, an opportunity for a new order. This perception is important to remember now, in the twenty-first century, when few regard 1945 as that much of a watershed in the larger scheme of twentieth-century German history.

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RALPH JESSEN. *Akademische Elite und kommunistische Diktatur: Die ostdeutsche Hochschullehrerschaft in der Ulbricht-Ära.* (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 135.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 552.

Why have so many academics supported the National Socialist and Communist dictatorships in the twentieth century? Although Western scholars tend to assume that research ought to be based upon a commitment to human rights, numerous German professors seem to have worked successfully for Adolf Hitler or Joseph Stalin without apparent qualms. By stressing the "structural opportunism" (p. 439) that resulted from the conditions imposed by the East German Communist (SED) regime, Ralph Jessen's impressive study of "academic elite and communist dictatorship" provides a social answer to the troubling question of intellectual complicity.

This study of the East German professoriate during the Walter Ulbricht era is based on a meticulous prosopography of 721 university instructors in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences at Berlin, Leipzig, and Rostock between 1946 and 1967. Though excluding medicine, technology, and other applied subjects, this sample is sufficiently broad to reproduce a variety of disciplinary settings and to allow comparison between different fields according to the degree of political control. Moreover, the analysis also rests on a thorough examination of the records of the ministry of higher education and of the SED Central Committee section concerned with the universities. The issues addressed range from "access to title and position" (p. 51), the "contours of the higher education profession" (p. 135), or the "exchange of elites and academic generations" (p. 261) to the "structural transformation of university faculties" (p. 372).

The book's solid evidence and comprehensive approach yield a differentiated picture of academic life in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). On the one hand, Jessen argues that neither Nazi terror nor the 1968 student movement "have changed the profession, structure and milieu of the German academic elite as deeply as the totalitarian social experiment of the SED" (p. 429). Since for political reasons many academics were dismissed, the career was made into a secure sequence of steps, and lower classes gained better access to teaching positions, the rupture in the continuity of scholarly personnel, professional standards, and social recruitment after 1945 was considerable. In contrast to the ideological penetration of the humanities or social sciences, on the other hand, the author also stresses "the limits of the transformation" (p. 432) in the "covert restoration" of the sciences due to "the continuity of knowledge and the[ir] high market value" before the building of the Berlin Wall. Regarding the issue of modernization, Jessen is similarly circumspect, adducing some evidence for the leveling of specifically German traditions but showing also the irrational effects of compulsory politicization. Nonetheless, he concludes that the transition from an autonomous *Ordinarienuniversität* to "an ideologically streamlined state-run university could be described as a far-reaching change in the opportunity and risk structure of the academic profession" (p. 437).

The many strengths of this massive monograph,

conceived in the classic style of *Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, far outweigh its few weaknesses. The argument is clearly structured according to a set of comparative questions, derived from the theoretical debates about higher education in other contexts. The evidence is used judiciously; not just over-arching trends but also minor counter-developments are noted. The text nicely blends the results of statistical investigations with citations from the written record that amplify the quantitative observations. The lengthy statistical appendix (p. 445–91) provides rich data on the development of GDR universities as well as their faculties in different areas of research. However, the concentration on social patterns and political arguments leaves the cultural dimension of the academic milieu somewhat shadowy. Also, the internal development of scholarly production (i.e. the transformation of the areas, paradigms, and quality of research under Communist rule) is hardly addressed. But the author's focus on structure and administration produces a complex analysis of the contours of the new intelligentsia at the universities as well as an authoritative resolution of specific issues such as the continuity between the Nazi and SED regimes (p. 306).

On the whole, Jessen has produced a path-breaking study of the transformation of the academic profession in the GDR after World War II. Since the author concedes that the exchange of academic elites "went more slowly and [included] more contradictions" than expected, his conclusion that "the higher education instructors became an unremarkable part of the communist service class" is entirely convincing (p. 439). At the 2000 meeting of the Verband Deutscher Historiker, this book was quite deservedly honored with the association's prize for the best second dissertation in German history. It is a model that ought to inspire comparable studies not just in other Communist countries but also in the West.

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LOIS C. DUBIN. *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture*. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 335. \$49.50.

Trieste, the main port of the Habsburg Empire, was declared a free port in 1719 and underwent major expansion under the enlightened absolutists, Maria Theresa and Joseph II, who encouraged merchants of various nationalities and religious denominations to settle in Trieste by granting them various liberties and a degree of self-government. Lois C. Dubin has produced a solid and original monograph that explores the economic, legal, political, and cultural changes experienced by Trieste's Jewish community within the context of the reform policy of the Austrian enlightened absolutists and Enlightenment ideology. She analyzes very skillfully the process of increasing parity and integration of Trieste's Jews into the civic society

of that port city and the Habsburg Empire during the Old Regime. Dubin insists that the discussion of Jewish Enlightenment (the *Haskalah*) and Jewish emancipation must be expanded beyond Berlin and Paris, and she uses the Triestine Jewish community to do precisely that. Dubin's argument is convincing, provided we keep in mind the leading role that Berlin and Paris played in the *Haskalah* and emancipation, respectively. Dubin has based her study on a very impressive array of primary sources in German, Italian, and Hebrew located in Italian, Austrian, Israeli, and American archives and libraries.

The author describes an economically and culturally vibrant and prosperous Triestine Jewish community and stresses its exceptionally favorable status compared to other Habsburg Jewish communities. Between 1748 and 1798, Trieste's Jewish population rose nine-fold, from 120 to 1082 inhabitants, overwhelmingly through immigration. The community possessed a solid corporate organization run by government-approved Jewish *capi*. Religiously, it was led by a succession of respected rabbis and by 1800 had four synagogues. It supervised all ritual activities, ran its own school, and supported the *Haskalah*. Jewish merchants played an active role in maritime commerce and achieved representation in the *Borsa* (the mercantile exchange), the most important institution of Trieste.

As Dubin demonstrates, Trieste's Jews owed their integration to the reform policies of the Austrian rulers. Joseph II, in particular, wished to turn the Jews into useful, obedient, and civic-minded subjects. In 1771, Maria Theresa extended to the entire community economic, religious, and judicial rights that only a few wealthy Jewish merchants previously had enjoyed. Those rights included occupational freedom, the ability to own property outside the ghetto, and public practice of religious rites. Under Joseph's civil toleration policy, Trieste's Jews preserved their privileges and achieved greater parity with other merchant *nazioni*. Vienna allowed the Jews to enter the *Borsa* and in 1785 abolished the Jewish ghetto.

The enlightened absolutists also used cultural means—primarily language and education—to push Jewish integration in Trieste. They ordered Jews to use Italian or German in all records and legal documents and required the inclusion of secular studies in schooling for Jewish children. Trieste's Jews responded positively to both government policies, although they preferred Italian, which they had used all along, to German. In 1782, they opened a Jewish school, the Scuola Pia Normale sive Talmud Tora, which uniquely combined Jewish and general studies. Their acculturation and greater civil inclusion explain the backing the Triestine community provided for Joseph II's policies, including his order to expand military conscription to Jews. That context, along with their familiarity with the general intellectual-cultural world so typical to Italian Jewish tradition, account for the support Triestine Jews gave the *Haskalah*. Dubin clearly illustrates the close contact between Trieste

and the Mendelssohnian circle in Berlin, and the endorsement, albeit qualified, that Trieste and other Italian Jewish communities gave to Hartwig Wessely's strong support for the Josephinian educational reforms and the inclusion of general studies in Jewish education.

Dubin has written an outstanding work on Trieste's Jews. Yet it seems to me that there was room to broaden the scope of the book by including more material on Jewish communities in other European commercial centers, such as Livorno, Bordeaux, and Amsterdam, which underwent similar experiences. Dubin does mention those communities several times and provides some data on Livorno's community. Yet the information included is insufficient. A more substantial discussion of the changes those communities experienced would have strengthened her thesis. Also, I suspect that Joseph II, who became co-emperor in 1765, played a role in the Theresian Jewish reforms. The author barely mentions him in the chapter that discusses those reforms. Those comments notwithstanding, Dubin's work is a very valuable study that I recommend to any reader interested in Jewish and Habsburg history, as well as the Enlightenment.

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EVAN BURR BUKEY. *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era, 1938–1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 320. \$39.95.

Postwar Austria, as the old joke has it, managed to make most of the world believe that Ludwig van Beethoven was an Austrian and Adolf Hitler a German. The musical and film *The Sound of Music* (1965) reinforced popular conceptions of the little alpine republic as Hitler's first victim—a land filled with stalwart citizens singing about Edelweiss as they did their best to resist the German invaders. Thankfully, since the revelations of the Kurt Waldheim affair, which exposed the Austrian presidential candidate's strategic amnesia ("Waldheimer's Disease") about his Nazi past, the world has become less willing to accept the image of the Austrians as doomed but doughty victims of foreign oppression. To their credit, many Austrians themselves have abandoned this convenient myth and begun to look critically at the role their country played during the Third Reich. What was lacking in this historical reassessment, however, was a comprehensive scholarly investigation of popular opinion in the "Ostmark" from 1938 to 1945. Evan Burr Bukey has admirably erased this lacuna with his fine study, which does for the Führer's native land what Ian Kershaw's classic, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria 1933–1945* (1983), did for Hitler's adopted turf.

Although Bukey's primary concern is not to destroy the myth of Austrian victimhood in the Third Reich—that was already demolished—he reveals more clearly

than before the breadth and intensity of Austria's commitment to Nazism. He shows that pro-Nazi sentiment ranged through all segments of the population and all parts of the country. Austria comprised only eight percent of the population of the Reich, but its citizens made up fourteen percent of the SS and forty percent of the special units assigned to Nazi killing operations.

Austria's status as an official component of the Third Reich began with the Anschluss, which Bukey analyzes carefully. A question that has intrigued many historians is why Austria was so keen to become absorbed in Hitler's greater German experiment. In addition to the usual answers—hope for better economic conditions, lingering resentment over the Versailles/St. Germain treaties, aspirations once again to lord it over the neighboring Slavs—Bukey stresses the crucial element of anti-Semitism. Austria seethed with hatred of Jews, and becoming part of Nazi Germany offered the prospect of putting that hatred to work. Thus it is not surprising that the Anschluss was accompanied by a wave of anti-Jewish violence even fiercer than the one attending Hitler's seizure of power in 1933.

Despite widespread enthusiasm for the Anschluss, many Austrians soon found reason for dissatisfaction with their lot in Greater Germany. This dissatisfaction, Bukey argues, did not derive from disagreement with Nazi ideology (except in the religious sphere); rather, it grew out of the Austrians' belief that they were not profiting sufficiently from their new situation. Moreover, they began to resent the invasion of Prussian carpetbaggers who bought up businesses and took some of the best jobs. Soon the hills were alive with the sound of "Piefke" bashing. Austrian Nazis, particularly those in Vienna, were among the most vociferous in their discontent. They thought they should have run the show themselves, and they resented Vienna's relegation to second-tier status among Reich cities. Such bitterness and self-pity, Bukey suggests, can be compared to the frustration that East Germans experienced after German reunification, which some called an "Anschluss."

Bukey charts Austrian opinion and attitudes across differing social classes, confessional affiliations, geographical regions, and time, noting how morale waxed and waned according to the Reich's fortunes. He carefully documents the growing hostility to the regime in certain sectors, such as the Catholic countryside. But, in general, he refuses to accept the oft-voiced verdict that the various demonstrations of discontent and noncompliance amounted to genuine resistance; certainly they did little to weaken the regime, much less bring it down. Even while whining about the "injustices" heaped upon them, the majority of Austrians supported the Third Reich to the bitter end.

Bukey's book is based on solid research in Austrian and foreign archives and on a mastery of the secondary literature. Now our best study on Austria's embrace of Nazism, it makes especially instructive reading in light

of the rise of Jörg Haider, who might himself have figured prominently in this study had he lived six decades earlier.

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FRANCESCO GUI. *L'attesa del concilio: Vittoria Colonna e Reginald Pole nel movimento degli "spirituali."* (Storia e società.) Rome: Editoria Università Elettronica. 1997. Pp. 587.

The Italian *spirituali* of the sixteenth century have attracted a vast number of books and articles during the last fifty years. They accepted the key Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone, yet for the most part they remained Catholics. Although they were proponents of church reform, they distanced themselves from many aspects of the institutional church. Francesco Gui seeks to elucidate the theological nucleus of the beliefs common to the *spirituali* and their place in history by examining the thought of Reginald, Cardinal Pole and the poet Vittoria Colonna. He focuses primarily on the dozen years preceding the opening of the Council of Trent in 1545, and the years following the first session.

Reading this overlong and unorganized book is not easy. One is plunged into a veritable torrent of pretentious and esoteric words within a framework of almost baroque rhetoric. The reader must make his or her way through a chaos of ideas, allusions, personal judgments, and images. At times, the author steps outside the historian's task to become a novelist or playwright. He repeatedly structures some of his material in the form of a play, with personalities of famous figures in leading roles. But he explicitly eschews archival research in favor of fully recreating an entire "world we have lost."

Having offered this criticism, I must answer the obvious question: is there any reason to read this book? The answer is in the affirmative. First, Gui has assembled an enormous and unusually full bibliography of books and articles not only on the *spirituali* but on the religious history of sixteenth-century Italy. No important book or article is omitted. The notes are copious and informative. Many go to great lengths to summarize arguments of other scholars, while some are useful mini-essays on historiographical questions. Actually, the notes form an encyclopedia of works on Italian evangelism (the old definition of which the author accepts).

Turning to the substance of the book, Gui follows Massimo Firpo, Paolo Simoncelli, and others who have argued that Italian proponents of church reform were important and effective during the 1530s only to become increasingly irrelevant by the reorganization of the Roman Inquisition in 1542 and the death of many of their leaders at about the same time. Gui's own discussion of the periodization of the movement's history (pp. 409–410) offers nothing new. Neither does his emphasis on the importance of Juan de Valdés. He

speaks with a more individual voice in linking evangelism and the *spirituali* with members of the old aristocratic families in northern and central Italy and the feudal nobility in the south. Their resistance to centralization by princes or popes drove them to seek alternatives, both ideological and political. They thus became the heirs of "old Italy" (pp. 366, 372), opposing the imposition of new administrative or religious structures. The conflict of Ascanio Colonna and Pope Paul III, to which the author devotes particular attention, became emblematic of these tensions within Italian and even Western European society. Although the work of scholars like John Martin, for example, is mentioned, no attention is paid to the appeal of evangelism to non-elitist groups. We are back to works published almost half a century ago that defined evangelism as essentially "aristocratic" (see especially p. 420).

Cardinals Pole and Gasparo Contarini, as well as Vittoria Colonna, frequently appear in the book's ten chapters. They, together with Marcantonio Flaminio, various members of the Gonzaga and Este families, and the men around Pole in the *ecclesia Viterbiensis* are the heart of both evangelism and the *spirituali*. Much use is made of Colonna's letters recently found in the archive of the Roman Inquisition; their writer becomes "poor Vittoria," or "the poor widow," desperately infatuated with Pole. He, in turn, is the proverbial nicodemite whose façade, presented to the world and to her, does not correspond to his private thoughts. He is double-faced, cynical, and opportunistic (pp. 530–31), unlike Contarini, who is repeatedly called "angelic," presumably because of his faith in the rationality of human beings and his irenicism and openness. Yet Pole, Gui thinks, if elected pope, might have reformed the church by opening its doors to genuine Christian liberty.

Many "what if" scenarios appear in this book, and thinking about them is stimulating. The author is not only well informed but also very imaginative. But this work fails to draw the reader into a world which is well worth contemplating—not because of what it might have been, but because what it actually was.

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FRANCESCO COLZI. *Il debito pubblico del Campidoglio: Finanza comunale e circolazione dei titoli a Roma fra Cinque e Seicento*. (Studi e strumenti per la storia di Roma, number 1.) Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche italiane. 1999. Pp. 379. L. 57,000.

This book concerns public debt and municipal finance for the city of Rome, whose government, the Campidoglio, functioned in a unique environment. Rome was a fairly substantial early modern city, growing from about 50,000 in 1500 to 130,000 in 1700. As a city, Rome faced the usual urban problems of sanitation, defense, transport, and taxes. As the capital of a

country, the Papal States, it was the center of a government with responsibilities of its own. The pope was also the head of the Catholic Church, so Rome was a global capital with immense spiritual significance. Francesco Colzi's book treats the most local level of government, the Campidoglio, and its experiments in public debt in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Rome's local problems, however, cannot be considered in isolation. The prestige of the papacy required that its finances be on a sound footing so that the papacy would never endure the humiliation of bankruptcy. Secular rulers frequently evaded their debts; the popes could not. Hence Rome's city finances were impeccably administered, and the city paid low rates of interest on its debts. In many subtle ways, Rome's experiences differed from those of other European capitals.

Beginning in 1522, the papacy began to use funded public debts, *monti*, to pay for capital projects ranging from wars against the Turks to bridges over the Tiber. In order to create a *monte*, the government required a stated need that appeared meritorious. Then the capital sum was divided into shares, and the interest payments on the shares usually came from a dedicated source; a tax on flour funded the first *monte*. A small group of officials administered the accounts and kept track of shares transfers (most *monti* allowed for shares to be transferable). Hence a market for state securities developed in Rome. During the life of the municipal *monti*, from 1552 to the payoff of the last shares in 1660, the Campidoglio borrowed the substantial sum of 25 million scudi.

Colzi points out some problems with this method of finance. Much money raised in Rome itself was not put to productive purposes locally; instead, it went to subsidize wars overseas. Rome's economy was not vibrant anyway, so taxes to pay interest payments drained local capital markets and may have played a role in agricultural decline in central Italy. More and more city income was devoted to interest payments on the *monti*. This policy diverted more and more income into the hands of the wealthy shareholders. Foreigners, mainly Florentines and Genoese, were shareowners, and their income left central Italy altogether. Colzi argues that the papacy gradually took more and more control over municipal administration precisely because Rome generated cash needed for international causes. Even the money spent locally, like the sums devoted to Rome's walls, did not foster long-term economic growth. He also believes that the papacy had no real choice but to raise capital in this way. Funded public debts were appearing across Europe for similar reasons.

The Campidoglio created twenty-six different *monti*, with the general intent to pay them off as quickly as possible. City finances were so sound, and payment of interest so prompt, that the shares almost always sold above par—a tribute to the funds' probity. Hence Rome efficiently raised money. These secure investments were liquid, income-producing, and generally tax-free. Jews and heretics were prohibited from own-

ing shares, and the high price of a share, 100 scudi, excluded most of the population from participating. Colzi estimates that under two percent of Romans owned shares, and most of these were local rich people, prelates, and nobles. Charitable institutions also took up shares to secure reliable incomes. Over time, wealthy members of the clergy and charitable institutions tended to accumulate shares. Much of Colzi's book explores the local market for shares, and there is a great deal of statistical information that in the end confirms the expected pattern of wealthy individuals and charities benefitting the most.

This book is a skillful local study of a city whose history attracts notice in every period. Rome was not a significant economic or banking center, so its finances were not important to the wider credit markets in Europe. Almost no one outside Italy ever bought a share of the Campidoglio's funds. Colzi shies away from big conclusions to his study, but the impression remains that central Italy was asked to bear financial burdens far beyond the local ability to afford. A closer look at the opportunity costs to these loans might reveal a stronger connection between heavy state demands on the city and the gradual impoverishment of the region.

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G. N. UL'IANOVA. *Blagotvoritel'nost' moskovskikh predprinimatelei: 1860–1914*. [Philanthropic Activity of Moscow Entrepreneurs]. (Moskovskaia monografiia.) Moscow: Moskovskoe gorodskoe ob'edinenie arkhivov. Institut rossiiskoi istorii RAN, Moscow. 1999. Pp. 510.

During Soviet times, Russian historians gave some attention to entrepreneurs, as it would have been impossible to explain the rise of capitalism without them. But such treatment as they received told very little about individuals or their estate organizations and remained on the level of statistics about the growth of industry and its economic and social effects. About charitable institutions, which were funded heavily by entrepreneurs, Soviet historians had nothing to say. Judging from audience questions when I gave a talk on founding homes at the Academy of Sciences in the 1980s, many Soviet specialists had no idea of the range and size of even the largest charitable institutions of the imperial era. German and American historians kept alive the history of merchants and entrepreneurs, and American historians began in the 1980s to revive the history of Russian charitable activity. Now, Russians themselves are contributing, and one of the first products is this pioneering study by G. N. Ul'ianova, which details the central position of Moscow merchants and industrialists in the building and maintenance of the city's care-giving institutions.

Ul'ianova's work is as much a source book as a monograph. She collected detailed information on 225 Moscow philanthropists and lays out in lengthy tables

devoted to each of them a record of their giving, their enterprises, family members and connections to other families, religion, and more. It is this "biographical dictionary of Moscow philanthropists" that forms the basis of her research method or the use of what she calls "retrospective curricula vitae." The tables occupy nearly one-half of the book and provide an invaluable source of information on dozens of leading Moscow families. The book also contains 137 pictures of the philanthropists, members of their families, and the institutions they founded and often managed as well. Dozens of additional tables present data distilled from the curricula vitae to illustrate particular trends in giving.

Although mainly at pains to record the number and size of contributions, Ul'ianova also plots trends in the history of giving. She follows two institutions: the Moscow Merchant Society and the Moscow Municipal Social Administration. Philanthropy before the 1860s was an episodic affair, sometimes even semi-coerced, as wealthy families responded to local needs or to tsarist appeals for action. Much of the charitable work of the Moscow Merchant Society was done in the name of the imperial family or in response to a visit to Moscow by one of its members. Projects included large hospitals, almshouses, hostels and free apartments for the poor, and schools. For the most part, these institutions served only Orthodox Christians, showing the religious and national exclusiveness of merchant donors and of the times. The character of the schools they sponsored revealed the Merchant Society's values and concerns. The schools supported most enthusiastically were those for the training of poor children in specific manufacturing skills so that the graduates could go directly into jobs as foremen in factories owned by Moscow entrepreneurs.

As the century wore on, philanthropy became more institutionalized, a sign of its modernization and of increased confidence in the estate-governed and municipal organizations that administered charitable projects. Beginning in 1877, the imperial government permitted the naming of charitable institutions and scholarships after private persons designated by the donors, a practice that was warmly embraced by Moscow philanthropists. The peak decade of giving in monetary terms was 1895–1905. Even so, a decline in donations and bequests of capital after 1905, Ul'ianova reports, was largely offset by large contributions of fixed assets. In the last two decades of the imperial era, ever more merchant philanthropists became involved in managing the institutions they founded. Prestige was attached to the work, and it also provided elite women with an arena for civic action. The increasingly educated, confident, and multigenerational elite entrepreneurial families of Moscow were using philanthropy to express their civic pride and to inscribe their personal and family identity on the cityscape.

What is missing in Ul'ianova's study is a comparative dimension. As her information on Moscow philanthropy mounted, I wanted to know how the contribu-

tions of Moscow merchants and industrialists measured up against those of urban elites elsewhere in the Russian empire and abroad. Indeed, Ul'ianova does not even compare merchant giving in Moscow with that of the nobility or the imperial family in the city. The picture we receive, for all its rich detail, remains a fragment of a larger canvas that is not shown or even sketched in.

We must nevertheless be grateful to Ul'ianova for this marvelously detailed and informative collection of data on a forgotten chapter in the history of Russian urban development. She convincingly demonstrates that the wealthy entrepreneurs of Moscow combined their traditional religious orientation and their search for a civic role and modern identity in an impressive collective contribution to the health and welfare of their less fortunate fellow citizens.

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MICHAEL G. SMITH. *Language and Power in the Creation of the USSR, 1917–1953*. (Contributions to the Sociology of Language, number 80.) New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1998. Pp. vi, 294. DM 178.00.

One might not expect a book on language reform to be exciting, but Michael G. Smith's monograph is just that. This is a well-researched, detailed, and colorful study of language reform, alphabet change, and literacy campaigns in early Soviet history and the scholarly and political wrangling that surrounded them. Much of the story deals with the 1920s–1930s, when the greatest number of discussions took place and when the political climate was still sufficiently moderate to permit open airing of disagreements, even among political and academic power brokers and within the Communist Party.

The single most useful feature of Smith's book is its comparative dimension. Smith establishes the party-state ideological context and presents the campaigns for Russian language reform, literacy, and education that, in turn, give perspective to his extensive discussion of Turkic language reform. Here he follows the debate among Turkic national elites concerning formation of a literary language: whether the written language of each area or republic should reflect the particulars of the spoken vernacular or whether it should strive to reduce those differences in favor of a more widely understood language, à la the Turkist movement of prerevolutionary Tatar publicist and educator Ismail Gasprali (Gasprinski 1851–1914). Treated in isolation, Turkic language reform efforts of the 1920s and 1930s can appear solely as the result of Russian political efforts to divide Turkic peoples and thus control them. Smith acknowledges this motive, of course, but he shows that language-related debates in the Soviet Union emerged from several sources and from a variety of impulses, including a desire to "modernize" all languages, bring them into harmony

with industrialization and, in conjunction with that, promote literacy and a "democratization" of language.

Detailed examination of language policies, especially involving Russian and Turkic languages, might seem a daunting task. But Smith does an admirable job. He makes use of linguistic and sociological terminology with care, making his description and analysis accessible to historians and other non-linguists (perhaps linguists will criticize his work for this very feature). This book reflects the excitement of a time when scholars and propagandists thought they were building a "brave new world" in the most positive sense. Smith focuses on several leading personalities as a way of helping a reader through the sometimes convoluted academic debate (including combat about capital letters and polemics on punctuation) and shifting political rationales. He discusses the debates of the pivotal Turcological Congress of 1926 and the Japhetites who helped launch the purges of the 1930s, then fell from grace in the 1940s.

Surprisingly, Smith does not follow key individuals to what were often ignominious ends. He refers only briefly to the purges, noting at one point that the criticism of language reform advocates for nationalism was "only the beginning of the purges that decimated the national communist intelligentsia" (p. 139). Perhaps Smith did not want his work to get bogged down in the purges, and it is inappropriate to criticize a book for not being something it was never meant to be. But the purges of the national cultural elites do show the political importance of cultural policies in Soviet thinking. The purges went far beyond the Communist intelligentsia, and accusations that brought down writers and scholars were sometimes narrower than "nationalism," targeting their stand on language reform in particular. One leading figure, who appears repeatedly in Smith's study, is Crimean Tatar scholar Bekir Chobanzade (1893–1937), who worked in Baku from 1925 until his execution in 1937. The party called him a "bandit theoretician" who distorted the "language of the people." Smith makes no reference to Chobanzade's fate.

Smith's book is well grounded in the literature of history and linguistics and the primary sources of the 1920s–1930s, which are difficult to obtain. He made extensive use of formerly closed Soviet archives, noting, with admirable candor, that the archives were not quite as revealing as one might hope. They "often deliver only clues about major policy debates and discussions" (p. 8), both because many documents are not yet "open" and because of the underground tradition of the Bolsheviks. Leaders continued to conduct much business "by word of mouth" and to destroy documents long after they had taken power.

Smith's book will be enlightening for all those interested in "modernizing" culture and its links to social and political change, especially under a colonial

or totalitarian regime. For students of Soviet nationalities, it will be a breath of fresh air.

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PETER KONECNY. *Builders and Deserters: Students, State, and Community in Leningrad, 1917–1941*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 358. \$65.00.

Objects of endless campaigns designed to mold them into "builders of socialism," Russian students became both "creations" and "creators" who drew from pre-revolutionary academic traditions and multiple youth subcultures to preserve their own cultural space and identity. They were affected by regional dynamics: in particular, by the political and cultural rivalry between Moscow and Leningrad. Introspection, lack of unity, poverty, poor health, self-doubt, anxiety about the future, concern over academic and personal issues and over political causes, friction in relation to professors, and the adoption of new values, including sexual revolution and equality for women, characterized the collective identity of students during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Seven years of war and revolution politicized, divided, and decimated the student body. In the wake of the civil war, students and academia lost their autonomy as Soviet policy began to transform higher education and the student body's social and political composition in order to consolidate its social base of support, counteract the influence of the politically suspect professional and technical intelligentsia, and revitalize and modernize a shattered economy.

Because of their collective willingness to break with the past, youth became equated with the future of the Russian Revolution in official discourse. This privileged status explains why so many students were willing to sacrifice in return for future professional and personal gratification. As early as the civil war, substantial numbers of students reported having "fairly high expectations for their future under socialism" (p. 54). Many strove to become model citizens: devoted to civic duty, disciplined in private life, diligent, and committed to physical health. Virtuous denizens of an "imagined community," they were seen as citizens "in process" and as vulnerable "barometers" of Soviet society by anxious spokesmen for the party and state. Peter Konecny's book is at its best in its descriptions of student responses to the state's politicization of phenomena such as promiscuity, sexual experimentation, drinking, gambling, hooliganism, nonconformist lifestyles, and suicide. According to public pronouncements, only deserters from the socialist front succumbed to those politicized social ills.

The book weaves a variety of sources—the official press (including *Smena* and *Komsomolskaia Pravda*), student newspapers, and materials from state, party, and Komsomol archives—into a rich and compelling

social and cultural history of Leningrad students in the interwar period. Particularly noteworthy are the chapters on culture and discourse, the heart of this study, which use previously untapped student newspapers from a broad spectrum of institutions. Konecny culls them to create a student world inhabited by a variety of "types" ranging from *otlichniki* or model student to hooligans, "Red Don Juans," and other colorful characters. Although student newspapers did not exclude all voices and shades of opinion, the themes and topics reflected concerns from outside academia and therefore narrowed the scope of discussion. Significantly, the public discussion around the bipolar categories of builders and deserters left out large sectors of youth and major problems between students and the state. For example, the army of young people who clamored at the gates hoping for admission to secondary schools and institutions of higher learning put enormous pressures on a state that prided itself in bringing opportunities to the previously disenfranchised. State-sponsored propaganda combined with popular aspirations to create a bottomless demand that even the open-admissions policy could not meet. At fault were the limited economic resources of the New Economic Program (NEP) state. Young people were too aware of the contradiction between the promised "bright socialist future" and NEP realities. Many were embittered by the lack of opportunities and their unrewarded loyalty and public work. By the end of NEP, many young workers and peasants, the state's touted beneficiaries, were given to pessimism, apathy, and doubts about the ability of the socialist state to deliver on its promises. Others, a vocal and troublesome minority, expressed their disaffection by championing oppositional politics. The framework of builders and deserters deflected the discussion away from those issues that affected those excluded and alienated by mainstream Soviet society. Their story remains untold. The strains put on the party and state by this army of the disappointed and alienated were reduced beginning with the Stalin revolution, when repression and economic expansion combined to channel youthful energies along more acceptable paths. The Stalinist campaigns mobilized many young visionaries and many of the disaffected and hopeful against myriad enemies, bureaucrats, and holdovers from the old order.

In spite of these reservations, the chapters "*Studenty-Studentki*" and "Disorder in the Community" should become staple reading for students of Soviet society and higher education during the 1920s and 1930s. Konecny builds on the work of Sheila Fitzpatrick, J. Arch Getty, Gabor Rittersporn, and Anne E. Gorsuch to fill gaps in our understanding of the relationship between civil society and the Soviet state. In varying degrees, students participated in, resisted, accommodated, and were victims and beneficiaries of Soviet political culture.

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J. ARCH GETTY and OLEG V. NAUMOV. *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932–1939*. (Annals of Communism.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 635. \$35.00.

Most works on the purges written before the collapse of communism try to explain why they happened, and the kind of answers adduced invariably focus on a series of well-rehearsed themes. What is surprising about the post-Soviet landscape is just how little has changed. Even though we now have unparalleled access to previously closed archival material, the same timeworn explanations reappear over and over again: Joseph Stalin's wickedness, Bolshevik amorality, Soviet totalitarianism, Russian authoritarianism. Sometimes it seems as if the profession simply cannot bear to let go of the Cold War. The authors of the present monograph—one, the deputy director of what used to be Moscow's Central Party Archive, the other one of the foremost Western historians of Stalinism—attempt to escape from the sterility of so much purge writing by asking a different but related question: not "why did it happen?" but "how was it all possible?"—specifically, what was it about the situation of the Soviet leadership in the 1930s that resulted in the tensions that wracked the party and led to the bloodbath of 1937–1938, the "Great Purge" that wiped out practically the entire Bolshevik elite?

The book is organized around a selection of some 200 previously secret documents of the party's Central Committee, but what is most interesting is not the documents themselves but the construct of which they form the basis—the "history" narrated by J. Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov. Their interpretation asserts that Stalin stood at the epicenter of terror, but they also aver that other actors were important: local party bosses anxious to strengthen their position and Central Committee members determined to impose their will on the country. So far so unexceptional. What we are presented with is pretty much standard "revisionist" historiography. For Getty and Naumov, Stalin is a necessary but not a sufficient factor in the terror equation; the question "how?" cannot therefore be answered without reference to the General Secretary, but he cannot "stand for" the political elite, still less for society at large. Moreover, Stalin, like others, did not always foresee the consequences of his actions or know where he was going. Terror was therefore not something planned but something that happened. But, argue the authors, in what is the most original aspect of their work, it happened in a certain way because of the manner in which Bolshevik ideology interacted with the "Stalin Revolution."

As Moscow's leaders looked out on a world turned upside down by mass collectivization and forced industrialization, they were seized by fear and insecurity. Fear because they had been formed in the crucible of civil war and were only too aware of the fragility of state power, insecurity because they scarcely knew what was going on around them; communications were

poor and the sinews of government weakly developed. The upshot of all this was that Moscow might propose, but the localities disposed and frequently ignored or distorted the center's orders. In response, the Central Committee, determined to push on with its program of economic and social change, tried to micromanage virtually every aspect of Soviet life.

Perhaps none of this would have mattered, argue the authors, had it not been for the peculiarities of the Bolshevik *Weltanschauung*. Stalin and his cronies shared an ideology, sincerely held for the most part, which evinced a deep-rooted belief in enemies, a fanatical devotion to party unity, and a series of discourses—phrases, slogans, complex theoretical formulations, and rhetorical devices—that ordered the world and, crucially, shaped the Central Committee's corporate self-image. By "speaking Bolshevik," party leaders became their ideology and, eventually, acted it out in a series of lethal purges.

Initially, Stalin and the Central Committee—an uneasy alliance of "centralizers"—strove to augment Moscow's power by "cleansing" local party organizations of those deemed responsible for the failures of collectivization and industrialization, "Trotskyists" and "wreckers" in particular. But since these "enemy" categories were mutable and contested, local party bosses interpreted them to rid their bailiwicks of troublemakers. When victims appealed against their expulsion, Moscow mobilized the "enemy" discourse against local elites responsible for the repression of "honest communists." Finally, as this expedient failed to improve matters and the economy took a turn for the worse in the winter of 1936–1937, the alliance between Stalin and the Central Committee, under strain for some time, finally broke down. With Stalin's encouragement, the "enemy" discourse erupted inside the Central Committee, unleashing a war of all against all. Only in 1938, when the entire political system seemed under threat, did policy switch back to buttressing the authority of regional elites.

This is an elegant and persuasive thesis that signals a further and welcome step in what might be termed the "historicization" of Soviet history. Of course, those anxious to demonize Stalin, or V. I. Lenin, or socialism, or the Soviet experience, will not be persuaded. But then the purpose of history is not—or should not be—to point the moral tale.

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JEFFREY BROOKS. *Thank You, Comrade Stalin! Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to Cold War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xx, 319. \$35.00.

The term "Soviet public culture," in Jeffrey Brooks's title, does not imply the existence of a "public" or "public opinion" in the liberal sense. It refers rather to the field of representation defined by the state to further its political agenda, impose conformity, and inculcate loyal habits of thought. In this highly con-

trolled environment, the state exercised a monopoly on the content and form of public expression. By the 1930s, internal variation was no longer permitted, and the media had abandoned any pretense that its job was one of persuasion. The press served rather as the principal means of informing the population of what it was expected to know and think; it had also become and remained, in Brooks's view, one of the regime's various staging grounds for rituals of power.

In surveying this ideologically saturated print landscape, the book focuses on a few key newspapers, with intermittent reference to film, the visual arts, and other literary forms. Even this relatively circumscribed task is difficult and ambitious. Obligated to cover enormous ground, Brooks selects a limited number of subjects and themes, which he tracks across the decades. As in his equally bold and unsurpassed study of the prerevolutionary print marketplace, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature 1861–1917* (1985), Brooks maps an entire cultural domain. In the Soviet case, he attempts to explain how political intentions translated into words and images structured the relationship between society and the state.

In seeking to grasp how the journalistic field produced its effects, Brooks largely avoids speculating on how people understood what they read but concentrates instead on the character of the message. He does not, however, analyze genre or literary style, nor does he offer a cultural-discursive interpretation of the spirit of the age. He does not claim that ideology determined the character of Soviet rule or that the dynamics of Soviet power can be reduced to a cultural mechanism. He sees the press as part of a larger system and therefore as a clue to how that system worked. Using a social-science approach that relies on content analysis (identification and quantification of themes, often by keyword), with occasional commentary on the use of metaphors or particularly salient terms, he applies concepts drawn from sociology and anthropology, such as “performance culture” and the “economy of the gift,” to characterize the dynamics involved in achieving political control.

One may take issue with a number of Brooks's formulations, or even with his categories and interpretive schemes. His use of quantification to master the vast expanse of material (calculating as a percentage of text the use of pronouns or the frequency of specific themes) does not always provide the empirical certainty it seems to imply, but numbers are not the heart of Brooks's story. The profile he draws, despite its inevitable flaws, succeeds in registering the scope and character of the messages disseminated by the central press in relation to a shifting political context (civil war, terror, war, and cold war). This is an important achievement.

To what degree, however, does this sweeping panorama offer a new perspective on Soviet cultural or political life? Since the press was a direct expression of official policy, Brooks faces the danger of circularity, able to tell us only what in basic outline is already

known. The real issue, however, is what to do with the insight that cultural instruments serve the aims of political regimes. How, in fact, does culture in this sense “work”? Clifford Geertz has focused on the theatrical element in ceremonial forms of local rule, but what does one gain from thinking of Stalinist discourse as political theater in the Geertzian sense? In what way does the press involve (or impose) participation? What is the relationship between the regime's use of ritual and symbolic elements and its application of violence, coercion, and fear? There are no definitive answers to such questions, but Brooks deserves credit for addressing them in a refreshingly unformulaic way. Although the basic premises of discourse theory inform his approach, his eclectic response to the problem of print and power in Soviet times does not presuppose, but invites us to ponder, how the cultural dimension can be understood. The stimulating quality of his insights and speculations will surely provoke valuable debate.

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GABRIEL GORODETSKY. *Grand Delusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 408. \$29.95.

Gabriel Gorodetsky's book delivers much more than it promises. Gorodetsky set out to explain how Adolf Hitler's onslaught in June 1941 caught Joseph Stalin unaware and unprepared. He provides a clear and cogent explanation, free of ideological preconceptions and carefully grounded in thorough archival research. In the process, he also provides a brilliant diplomatic history of Europe, beginning with Hitler's attack on France in May 1940 and concluding with the invasion of Russia a little over a year later.

Stalin's preparations for war with Nazi Germany have been the subject of a great deal of controversy. He has been assailed by some scholars as a most egregious dupe, completely hoodwinked by a cunning Hitler. Others have argued that he had himself been preparing an attack against Germany that Hitler's assault forestalled. Both schools of thought rely on simplistic interpretations of Stalin's personality and thinking and on facile interpretations of confusing events. Gorodetsky realistically portrays a complicated diplomatic and military situation. He carefully examines the information that Stalin received from diplomatic and military sources and shows how it was quite possible at the time to misinterpret events that, in hindsight, point so obviously to Germany's attack.

Knowing that Hitler intended to invade Russia on June 22, 1941, it is easy to discern evidence for that attack in the intelligence from that time. But Stalin could not “know” any such thing. Indeed, he hoped, ever more desperately and unrealistically as time went on, that the dreaded attack could be postponed. Gorodetsky shows how Stalin's awareness of his own vulnerability contributed to a determination to avoid

war, which turned quickly into a belief that he *could* avoid war. All of the evidence that Hitler was preparing to attack, therefore, could be explained away. Stalin believed that a great deal of the evidence he was receiving that pointed to a German attack was the product of deliberate British disinformation aimed at entangling him in a war with Hitler. Such a view was not unreasonable, considering that the British *were* determined to drag Russia into the war. Stalin was also able to convince himself that Hitler's preparations for war were really designed to pressure the Soviet Union before further negotiations. Hitler needed raw materials from Russia, Stalin reasoned, and was simply trying to drive a hard bargain. The fault for this misinterpretation, to be sure, is ultimately Stalin's, but Gorodetsky's detached treatment shows just how confusing it can be to discern the enemy's intentions even when, in hindsight, it emerges that they were very clear.

But the most interesting and novel part of Gorodetsky's work is the careful description of the diplomatic "great game" that Stalin and Hitler played between the fall of France and Operation Barbarossa. That game, like the one that had preceded World War I, was played out in the theater of Balkan politics. Hitler, flush with success and supported by a vast and ever-growing military, came gradually to realize that not only did he need the Balkans and their resources, but that he could take them and no one could stop him. Stalin, for his part, realized at once that German hegemony in the Balkans posed a clear and present danger to the vital interests of the Soviet Union. Gorodetsky engagingly describes how Stalin's efforts to preserve Soviet interests steadily served only to convince Hitler that open war with the Soviet Union was both inevitable and desirable. At the same time, the efforts of the British to awaken Stalin to the danger that faced him, combined with evidence that England had been preparing to attack the Soviet Union since the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, only deepened Stalin's suspicions of London and proved counterproductive as well.

It may be that Gorodetsky goes too far in his dismissal of the ideological motivations of both Hitler and Stalin. Stalin was a communist and motivated, to some extent, by communist ideology, while Hitler's grand plan clearly included the eventual subjugation of the Soviet Union. The likelihood of conflict between two such hostile and aggressive systems and two such incompatible personalities should not be lightly brushed aside. Yet even if conflict between Russia and Germany was likely, it was not inevitable that war would break out precisely when and as it did. Gorodetsky does the field an extremely valuable service by exploring the rational realpolitik motivations of Stalin and Hitler, and by describing the actual effects of their actions in the diplomatic and military world of Europe at the time. The reader does not have to reject the ideological motivations for the war, or even the seeming inevitability of the conflict, to follow Gorodetsky's

narrative to a much deeper understanding of how the war actually began and why.

Gorodetsky's book is critically important to the field of Soviet military history and to the study of World War II's Eastern Front. It should lay to rest once and for all a number of pernicious myths about the origins of the war in 1941. But even more than that, this work will be required reading for any serious student of the strategy and diplomacy of World War II because it ties together the seemingly disparate and incoherent events of 1940 and 1941 into a clear and coherent whole. It should serve as a starting place and a benchmark for further works on World War II for years to come.

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UWE WEIHER. *Flüchtlingssituation und Flüchtlingspolitik: Untersuchungen zur Eingliederung der Flüchtlinge in Bremen 1945–1961*. (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, number 61.) Bremen: Selbstverlag des Staatsarchivs. 1998. Pp. 272.

PHILIPP THER. *Deutsche und Polnische Vertriebene: Gesellschaft und Vertriebenenpolitik in der SBZ/DDR und in Polen 1945–1956*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 127.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 382.

These two books demonstrate the expanding spectrum of research on the million-fold loss of homelands in 1945, when Joseph Stalin pushed Poland westward. Philipp Ther has provided a pioneering comparison between the suffering of Germans expelled by Poles with the lesser-known misery of Poles expelled by the Soviets. Eastern Poland's agony began in 1939–1941, with the shipment of 330,000 unfortunates east to the Gulag. Ther estimates that, by war's end, an extra one million eastern Poles died, in addition to one million Jews.

Both Germans and Soviets having stirred up ethnic hatreds, the resident Ukrainians indulged in violence and then shipped Poles west in open railway cars, a treatment often duplicated with German expellees. A major difference was that these 2.1 million Poles were put into an emptied "Recovered Poland," whereas the 11.8 million Germans were squeezed into camps and thereafter into whatever private homes had survived the bombing of a crowded Germany. Germans could legally take twenty to sixty kilograms and the Poles two tons, but rapacious Polish bandits ripped them both off.

The greatest harshness came immediately after the war's end, because the assigned administrator Władysław Gomułka's goal was to clear the Oder-Neisse border area to present the delegates to the Potsdam conference with a fait accompli. Warsaw ordered the German past and language erased; even native Poles were suspect as "Germanized." Most settlers came first

from central Poland and grabbed the best property, a massive plunder organized by Mafia-like bands. Central Poles also took over local government and police. Worsening the expellees' problems was the lack of any effective Warsaw administration until 1947; only then were sanctions against corrupt officials possible.

Most former German estates were not settled until 1947. The process was slowest in Pomerania, where only ten percent of housing had survived the war. German land was sold at high prices to finance the weak government, another reason why only one-fourth of the Polish expellees obtained farmland (although this was better than the one-tenth result in East Germany [GDR]). Land reform failed in both countries to help settlers in any serious way. Unlike Germans, the Poles did not try to equalize wealth. Equalization payments (*Lastenausgleich*) were not necessary in Poland because all German property had been confiscated, and the treaty promised Polish expellees compensation for what they had lost.

Ther views the East German land reform as an impediment to integration, because in West Germany (FRG) the expellees recognized sooner the unlikelihood of renewed careers in agriculture. In addition, the village class structure was so tight that few newcomers could break through. Integration came easier in the cities, especially after 1949 when the GDR began its program of industrialization. Poland began collectivization in 1948, an action much delayed in the GDR. Settlers from central Poland were thought to be "Red" and the expellees "reactionary." The latter were still poor in the 1950s, although many ended up in better-built houses, complete with electricity and running water. A common settler attitude was that such a palatial dwelling was not rightfully theirs, so their luck in the house lottery must be temporary.

Just as German refugees were sometimes put down as "Polacks," central Poles looked on eastern Poles as dirty and lazy "Ukrainians." Expellees reinforced one stereotype by not working beyond their needs, on the assumption that they would have to move again. Nightmares of impending war were linked with dreams of going home. Polish writers could discuss the expulsion twenty years before those in the GDR could, but Soviet actions had to be described as humane so as not to offend Moscow.

Ther offers fewer revelations about the GDR, one being that Stalin's adviser Ye. S. Varga had a plan similar to Henry Morgenthau's. Stalinization came later in the Soviet zone of occupation but was more thorough and engendered more ideological terror. The invasion of property rights was surprisingly limited, although Germans showed more confidence in state action than Poles. In West Germany, the refugees could eventually organize politically.

Ther's monograph combines excellent sources and research techniques with a minimum of bias, but examining schematically from various points of view means that ideas are often repeated and useful comparisons scattered. This reviewer was pleased to note

that Ther expressed surprise at finding severe limits to a supposed totalitarianism.

Although Ther makes occasional reference to his local example, *Landkreis Calau* Sternberg, Uwe Weiher, at the other end of the analytical spectrum, offers a highly intensive local study with exhaustive statistics. Bremen was unique, a port city that became an America enclave in the British zone and an autonomous state (*Land*). Having been bombed so thoroughly, the city barred refugees until 1950 and then admitted only economically useful workers. Weiher defines three stages, divided by the Currency Reform of 1948 and the Federal Law on Refugees of 1953. The first stage was the most difficult, due to a lack of local resources and central oversight. Through 1946, with only 8.5 percent of the population non-indigenous, politicians were able to underplay their special problems.

Until 1948, Bremen's Senate regarded refugee problems as no worse than those of the bombed-out Bremen natives. Church leaders showed greater sensitivity but were also slow to react to the expellees' staggering problems. Complicating matters were refugees who fled from the Soviet zone, whom local Communists were opposed to helping. Democracy reduced the gap, but the English and Americans prevented refugees from organizing politically, a policy that the established parties supported.

The revival of industry by the mid-1950s meant that skilled non-natives became more desirable, and their sector of the population increased to 23.5 percent by 1959. Although the city claimed that bombed buildings had been rehabilitated, refugee camps persisted, as did conflicts with the authorities. The false hope of getting back lost lands surged in the mid-1950s, but the settlers' noteworthy involvement in building cooperatives showed that the expellees were invested in staying. Further indications were myriads of integrated social organizations and a high percentage of intermarriages.

Ther's extensive analysis is more likely to challenge assumptions than Weiher's intensive counterpart. Both further evidence that the post-Holocaust Germans showed a basic humanity in making room for twelve million expellees, who in due course showed good sense by accepting the loss of their homeland. Would that other peoples who lose "sacred" lands would show such reason.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

DAVID AYALON. *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study in Power Relationships*. Jerusalem: Magnes. 1999. Pp. xi, 376. \$38.00.

This book by David Ayalon may best be described as a compilation of references to the little-studied role of

eunuchs in the ruling elite circles of Islamic governments over a broad span of time. It was published posthumously and seems to lack several elements of integration that would have improved its readability. Twelve appendixes (almost half the total of printed pages) cover a variety of subthemes that must have remained in note form. Several of these are so critical to the main theses of the book that the facts they contain would have strengthened the overall argument if they had been inserted into the main text. The core chapters of the book are organized in chronological fashion, beginning with the earliest traces of roles played by eunuchs in Islamic society (probably under the mid-seventh-century C.E. Umayyad Caliph Mu'awiyah I) through Abbasid, Seljuq, Zangid, and Ayyubid/Mamluk times. Although some data relate to the early Ottoman period, the post-1400 period is clearly very sketchy.

Ayalon depends on the apparent synonymy of the words *khasi* (literally "castrated one") and *khadim* (literally "servant") to guide him through the vast body of literature he surveyed over his long career. If his assumption that *khadim* can be synonymous with *khasi* is correct, then there is a clear need to reread all recorded references to the former and to look carefully at contexts that suggest that the person in question was, in all likelihood, a eunuch. Indeed, this book does just that, offering literally hundreds of citations translated from original texts that reveal how central the role of eunuchs must have been, not only in Islamic courts but in the upper echelons of civil society. A prominent example of the latter (among dozens throughout the text) would be the case of Kurdish amir Nasr al-Dawla b. Marwan in eleventh-century Diyarbakir. Ibn Marwan had five hundred concubines and five hundred eunuchs in his household!

Again, if Ayalon's thesis on synonymy is indeed correct, our reading not only of the numbers of eunuchs involved in court life from Abbasid through the Mamluk periods but of the very nature of the role of eunuchs stands to be altered considerably. It is the second question that merits closer attention in this brief review.

First, Ayalon's multiple (excessive?) citations from a variety of original texts allows us to escape the limitations of one obvious supposition that Islamic rulers chose eunuchs as attendants in the private sanctuary of the *harim*. The extraordinary number of references to *khadims* filling many different functions, beginning with the very important responsibility of tutoring palace elite slaves (*mamluks*), suggests that acquisition and use of eunuchs was an integral part of palace political strategy. Ayalon definitely linked the apparent growth in numbers of eunuchs at Islamic courts with the concurrent appearance of rulers' reliance on *mamluks* to serve as palace military elites. In fact, it was not too long after the reign of Hārūn ar Rashīd (previously identified as a period of expansion in the numbers of identifiable eunuchs at court) that Caliph al Mu'tasim (r. 833–842) created what has been con-

sidered the first *mamluk* regiment. Ayalon argues that the two palace groups would be linked from that point onward, primarily because Islamic courts would entrust the early education and training of their *mamluks* mainly, if not solely, to highly loyal eunuchs.

At least two other "official" functions merit treatment either as chapters or subsections of main chapters: caliphal dependence on highly trusted eunuchs to represent their interests in negotiations for the exchange of prisoners (mainly on the Christian-Islamic border between the Abassids and the Byzantines) and in the supervision of empire-wide communications through the *barid*, or imperial mail service. Ayalon even found that a prominent eunuch, Wasif, *khadim* of Caliph al-Mu'ta'did's governor of Azerbaijan and Armenia, was himself named governor of the border region next to Byzantine lands—this near the year 900 C.E.

Although systematic treatment of the author's main general thesis is wanting, Ayalon concludes with the suggestion that a "great triangle" (Ayalon's term denoting relations between the inner harem, court eunuchs and *mamluks*) probably existed at all periods in Islamic history. Taking the obvious political influence wielded by all three segments together, he contends that this configuration "was by far the strongest and most durable social, socio-administrative and socio-military combination which Islamic society ever created" (p. 197).

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RHOADS MURPHEY. *Ottoman Warfare, 1500–1700*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1999. Pp. xxii, 278. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$25.00.

Splendidly illustrating the potential for revisionist military history of the Ottoman Empire, this book will enlighten Ottoman specialists and fundamentally challenge European-exceptionalist military historians. While neglecting such important topics as naval war or the challenge created by seventeenth-century innovations in drill and discipline, the book emphasizes preparation and planning for war, the "post-war impact of military activity," the constraints and limitations on war-making, its "uncontrollable and unpredictable aspects," and the "physical and psychological realities" that Ottoman soldiers experienced (p. xviii). At the end of the seventeenth century, Rhoads Murphey argues, the Ottomans' position as a "universally acknowledged European 'superpower' was still largely intact." Despite Karlowitz (1699), until the mid-eighteenth century Europeans still regarded the Ottomans "with considerable awe" (p. 53).

Challenging ideas of unvarying Ottoman military aggressiveness, Murphey emphasizes the relative quiescence on the Eastern European front (from 1566 to 1683, with unbroken detente from 1606 to 1660), the accommodation with Safavid Iran represented by the Treaty of Amasya (1555), and the infrequency with

which either the Ottomans or their opponents could field large armies in this period. He emphasizes five limiting factors as constraining the concentration of military force in the early modern period. Technologically, while the Ottomans remained up-to-date throughout this period, the effectiveness of gunpowder and firearms was limited, a point that he illustrates with vivid examples. Fiscally, while the Ottomans took the lead early in creating a centrally funded standing army, the need to rely increasingly over time on paid infantry as opposed to land-holding cavalry made it difficult to keep military expenditure within sustainable limits. Environmentally, distance and the seasons limited the "maximum range of operations" (pp. xiv [Map 4], 21). Motivationally, far from being uniformly fired by Islamic zeal, Ottoman troops performed very differently depending on whether they were permanently paid regulars, or temporarily hired irregulars. Politically, government efforts to control the military were challenged by factional rivalries among commanders, by episodic military revolts, and by the unpredictability of vassals such as the Crimean Tatars or the Kurdish begs of eastern Anatolia. The empire was "far from being an armed camp," and its military institutions were far from dominating "civil society"; the Ottoman advantage lay in administrative support for the forces in the field (p. 49).

Murphey sheds especially valuable light on Ottoman adaptability and resourcefulness: for example, the huge cuts in the salaried palace cavalry regiments undertaken to offset the growth in salaried infantry forces (1609–1692, p. 52) or the "administrative precision and finesse" that supported military transport and logistics (p. 63). "It was the efficient central requisitioning and distribution of military supplies in the period 1500–1700 that most set the Ottomans apart from their European adversaries" (p. 99). Far from suffering from any technology gap before the mid-eighteenth century, the Ottomans, in Murphey's view, fully participated in a shared military technology characterized by "multi-directional" transfer of ideas (p. 108). Detailed accounts of the siege of Baghdad (1638) and the Eastern European campaign of 1664 back up his assertions. Far from conceding that the Ottoman provincial cavalry became obsolete in this period, Murphey sees the Ottoman combination of Janissary infantry and timar-holding cavalry, under effective leadership, as "a formidable, and for most of the period 1500–1700 virtually undefeatable, alliance" (p. 166). Challenging prevailing opinion among Ottomanists, Murphey does not see the employment of irregular *sekbân* infantry and *sarica* cavalry as detracting from this picture. "Both the scale of . . . recruitment . . . and the size of rural society's response were too small" for the mobilization and demobilization of such forces to have been "a precipitant factor" in the seventeenth-century agrarian crisis in Anatolia or in "state fiscal crisis" (pp. 190–91).

Prudently dedicating his book to those who will come after him ("*posterioribus*"), Murphey has written

a pioneering work that will no doubt prove to have both the strengths and weaknesses inherent in that fact. Ottoman historians are greatly indebted to him. Any Europeanists who believe that the Ottomans "missed" the military revolution or that they were atavistically motivated by religious fanaticism—especially as compared with their European counterparts of the period from the Reformation through the Thirty Years' War—have much to learn from him.

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EFRAIM KARSH and INARI KARSH. *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East 1789–1923*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 409. \$29.95.

Despite the persistent efforts of a small number of Ottomanists, the general approach to late Ottoman history has been limited to explaining it within the context of the so-called Eastern Question, which in effect describes a great game among the great powers of Europe who were eager to partition the estate of a sick man. This approach finds it unnecessary to take internal factors into consideration, since they lack the importance of a single *note verbale* from the foreign office of a great power. This approach is also rather convenient: it saves the student of history from the burden of examining the records of the "sick man," since they have no value in understanding the great game. Thus the studies that attempt to explain what happened in this periphery are heavily based on European sources. Although no one would give credence to a work on modern Spanish history depending solely on British Foreign Office papers, such works have become standard on the late Ottoman Empire in European and American academia.

Interestingly, while many challenges to this approach by Ottomanists have fallen on deaf ears, a challenge coming from within has caused an unmistakable stir in the aforementioned academic circles. This book by Efraim Karsh and Inari Karsh has the merit of providing some of the basic information about late Ottoman history that was sidelined by traditional essays on the Eastern Question, which maintained that the main bone of contention between the Ottomans and the European powers was religious, stemming from Ottoman ill-treatment of their non-Muslim subjects. The authors argue that "there was no clash of civilisations" and that Middle Eastern political actors, including the Ottoman leadership, often sought "infidel" support. Ottoman treaties of alliance with Christian powers, for instance, go back as far as 1536. During the Wahhabi revolt, the Ottoman government seriously considered soliciting the support of the Royal Navy to defeat rebels who had gained the upper hand in the Persian Gulf. In addition, Kuwait, Qatar, and Bahrain emerged as autonomous regions within the Ottoman Empire as a result of the grant of British protection to them, and almost every sheikh sought

British support against the centralization program of the Ottomans. The so-called Idrīsī state in ʿAsīr also owed its short-lived existence to Italian and later British support for Muhammad bin ʿAlī al-Idrīsī.

Another conclusion of the authors is that "Great-power influences, however potent, have played a secondary role constituting neither the primary force behind the region's political development nor the main cause of its notorious volatility" (p. 2). There is considerable truth in this view. Many of the main actors in the struggle for the Middle East had already acquired dominant positions prior to World War I and the subsequent Ottoman collapse. Some of them, such as Imam Yaḥyā in the highland region of the Yemen and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Saʿūd in Najd, resorted to arms and compelled the Ottoman government to give formal recognition to their positions as autonomous or hereditary rulers. Others, such as the sheiks of Kuwait, Qatar, and Bahrain, achieved a similar status through the 1914 Anglo-Turkish Convention, which was ratified a month before the outbreak of the Great War. Still others, who found their position quite stable, such as Idrīsī, turned down Ottoman offers of formal autonomy and enjoyed a de facto jurisdiction. Thus the great powers of Europe did not have an absolutely free hand to redesign the entire Middle East, and the creation of an Arab empire including all the territory south of the Alexandretta line was absolutely out of the question. An Arab union that would include the Zaydis of the Yemen, the Wahhabis of Najd, the Hashemites in the holy cities, and all the Arabs of the former Ottoman provinces was seen as a viable option only by a few intellectuals who had been dreaming of an all-encompassing Arab nation, together with a few officials in London. In addition, the Arab leaders who had compelled the Ottoman government to give recognition to their position had no desire to see another Arab leader emerge as an overlord.

The situation in the former Ottoman provinces, however, was quite different. Ottoman control in these areas was direct (with the exception of Mount Lebanon and some parts of Basra), and society was more urbanized; thus there were neither strong leaders to whom people had pledged allegiance on account of tribal connections or sectarian loyalties, nor clear-cut spheres of influence with "historical or ancestral boundaries" similar to those of Imam Yaḥyā and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Saʿūd. Local notables were numerous, and none of them enjoyed an authority extending to other former Ottoman territories. Thus, in these areas the British, and to a certain degree the French, played a significant role in the creation of new states.

The authors' assertion that inter-Arab rivalries and the ambitions of Arab leaders played the key role in shaping the modern Middle East is true to a degree; but the generalization of this theory to include the entire Middle East, and the reduction of the creation of states in this part of the world to an outcome of the ambitions of Hashemite leaders, is a gross oversimplification. In contrast to the settlement of new royal

families in former Ottoman provinces inhabited by Christian majorities, the great powers could not bring princes from Denmark and Bavaria into the Middle East, and so had to make use of local leaders with whom they had ties in order to maximize their gains. One may argue that it was not the Hashemites who used the British to fulfill their "imperialist" dreams by creating kingdoms for them but rather the British who used the Hashemites to create new and viable states that would include more than a single Ottoman province and be on friendly terms with Great Britain. Again, the authors make the claim that "the Allies' 'original sin,' if such was indeed committed, lies not in the breaking of the Middle East's unity but its over-unification in an attempt to placate the imperial dream of their foremost local allies, the Hashemites . . . Had the Western powers kept out of Middle Eastern affairs following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, allowing local forces to run their course, the region would most likely have been transformed into a volatile amalgam of numerous small fiefdoms and kingdoms, mostly antagonistic to each other" (pp. 353–54). This is highly debatable, since in the area where the great powers watched the developments more or less as bystanders, the opposite occurred: the Hashemite Hejaz and Idrīsī ʿAsīr were included in the Kingdom of Najd and Its Dependencies, and no fiefdoms similar to those of the Rashidis in Hail or the Yam of Najran reemerged or remained. In a similar vein, the role of the British in shaping the eastern and southern coasts of the pre-war Arabian peninsula by creating pockets under British protection should not be underestimated or ignored.

Although this book challenges the "Eastern Question" approach and its extension to the settlement in the Middle East after World War I, it says nothing new to anyone who knows the basics of late Ottoman history, and it does not go beyond criticism from within and gross oversimplification. This may indicate that late Ottoman history is too important to be left to non-Ottomanists and that only original research may tell us something new.

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DILEK BARLAS. *Etatism and Diplomacy in Turkey: Economic and Foreign Policy Strategies in an Uncertain World, 1929–1939*. (The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage: Politics, Society and Economy, number 14.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1998. Pp. xix, 223.

With the emergence of the Middle East as an "area study" focus in the 1950s, modernization theory dominated works on Turkey. Scholars who witnessed the establishment of a pro-West multiparty democracy and the initiative to implement a liberal economy eulogized the reforms of the Atatürk era (1923–1938) and regarded Turkey as a model for development. The exuberance over the consolidation of modern secular political institutions shortchanged the study of social,

intellectual, diplomatic, and economic history of the country. A plethora of recent Turkish monographic studies, more discriminate in their analysis and increasingly less shackled by official nationalist strictures, has addressed this neglect. Dilek Barlas offers to English-speaking readers a nuanced account of the economy and foreign relations of Turkey in its early republican period, although she does not dislodge any paradigms.

Turkey's signing of the Lausanne Treaty with the Allied powers in July 1923 capped its liberation struggle (1919–1923) and established political independence. However, Lausanne called for free trade and restored financial obligations that had been unilaterally abrogated by the Ottoman government at the outbreak of World War I. European control of the open Turkish economy prevailed until the world economic crisis of 1929. In the decade that followed, Turkey, feeling the brunt of the crisis on its agricultural economy, turned to protectionist policies and a planned national economy. "Étatism" entailed the state's assumption of an active role in economic regulation, particularly in providing capital for industry, mining, and communications. The foreign policy concomitant of this economic policy was the maintenance of friendly relations with the Soviet Union, which provided foreign aid, and subsequently Germany, which became a partner in a clearing agreement based on the barter of commercial goods. At the end of the 1930s, however, against the background of the European powers' posturing near the Mediterranean, Turkey signed a tripartite agreement with the detractors of its étatist policies, England and France, to receive political and economic concessions.

Part one of Barlas's book is devoted to a discussion of étatism and its various interpretations and applications, both in the broader region and in Turkey. The point that Turkey was not alone in implementing state-centered economic policies is important in view of the appropriation of étatism as a unique strategy by Turkish official history. Étatism, for instance, is generally posited as one of the six pillars of Kemal Atatürk's ideology. It was incorporated in 1931 into the program of the single party as a strategy to preserve independence and to achieve development while elevating the state as the sole representative of the nation. In 1937, étatism was posited as a constitutional principle. Barlas demonstrates not only the precedents of étatism in late Ottoman attempts to forge a "national" economy but also its postwar applications elsewhere. Yet the country-by-country description of similar economic policies in the Balkan and Middle East regions, from Hungary to Iran, does not make a robust introductory chapter. The subsequent examination of the étatist views of various Turkish statesmen and intellectuals is also too compartmentalized to do justice to the title "Etatism as a Political Theory in Turkey." The final chapter in this first part of the book treats the politics and application of state policies in railroad construction and industrial projects

as étatism was marshaled as an element of state ideology.

The author's concern is with the reciprocal effects of étatism and foreign policy, but the book's neat division into the two topics tends to obscure this reciprocal dynamic. Part two's chronological analysis of foreign relations traces the transition of Turkey from a country bent on stabilizing its borders and ensuring regional cooperation to one that was gradually drawn into great power politics. In the late 1930s, even as Turkey prepared to implement the second of the five-year plans inspired by the example of its neighbor, the Soviet Union, England and France asserted themselves as strategic and economic partners. Turkey's ultimate ability to remain outside World War II may obscure its centrality to European diplomacy, its later position at the cutting edge of the Cold War notwithstanding.

The study is based on diverse primary sources. In addition to the British Public Record Office materials and Turkish parliamentary records, Barlas makes use of the Turkish presidential archives. The historian who seeks to gauge the value of the elusive presidential archives from Barlas's book may conclude, however, that materials available to the author were not particularly revelatory: they seem to confirm received wisdom rather than revise it.

This book focuses on the 1930s. In the 1960s, the concern with import substitution gave a new lease of life to étatism, including a planned economy. Although Turkey has in the last two decades joined the fray for privatization, the onslaught against behemoths of state enterprises continues under pressure from international monetary agencies and other forces of capitalism and globalization. Barlas's book has contemporary relevance as it enlightens the political economy of a formative period in Turkish history.

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IDITH ZERTAL. *From Catastrophe to Power: Holocaust Survivors and the Emergence of Israel*. Rev. ed. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 344. \$29.95.

Idith Zertal's book examines one aspect of the Zionist movement's efforts before, but mostly after, World War II: attempts to bring Jews into British-occupied Palestine. Based on her dissertation, a Hebrew volume (674 pp.) was published in 1996. This version is another revision of the previous two works: the dissertation and the Hebrew book.

Zertal, with much talent and meticulous work, describes the work of the Mossad, a small clandestine band of insurgents who dedicated significant parts of their lives to organize what has become known as the "illegal immigration" of Jews to Palestine before and after World War II, until the State of Israel was established in 1948. All in all, this organization moved about 80,000 Jews in the direction of Palestine; most of

them were Holocaust survivors. Zertal focuses her historical narrative on three main issues: the immigration itself (its organization, routes, difficulties, achievements, failures); the interorganizational problems, decisions, and conflicts that were handled by the Mossad's agents; and some major figures who were involved in this effort.

Getting Jews to Palestine until 1948 was not a simple or an easy undertaking. Potential immigrants had to be transported, brought together, fed, and put on boats. This movement of masses of Jews was not to the liking of the British, who exhibited contradictory positions: for example, supporting the establishment of a Jewish state on the one hand, but not willing to antagonize the Arabs too much on the other hand. Moreover, the Holocaust eliminated the largest demographic reservoir of Jews on which European Zionism had built its political agenda and base. The encounter between the Jews from Palestine and the Holocaust survivors was problematic, painful, fraught with guilt, anger, shame, resentment, but, most of all, acceptance and love. All efforts were made, after all, to bring them into Palestine.

Although prior to the end of World War II, much of the struggle was in a morally nonproblematic context, the postwar realization of the nature and magnitude of the Holocaust made the illegal immigration a particularly thorny moral issue. Zertal acquaints us with some of the most important agents of the Mossad during the time: Ada Sereni, Yehuda Arzi (who, I must admit, caught my attention) Shaul Meirov, David Nameri, and Shmarya Zameret, as well as their encounters with such military and political figures as David Ben-Gurion and Chaim Weizmann.

The book is exhaustive and subjects us to a barrage of details, sometimes to the point of fatigue. We learn of bitter disagreements, heroic struggles, and achievements. Such incidents as those that took place in La Spezia—or the world famous incident with the ship “Exodus”—are described and analyzed in full details. Movements of Jews throughout Europe to Palestine via Italy, Bulgaria, Romania, and France are tracked. We learn of the Mossad's clashes and cooperation, both of an ideological and pragmatic nature, with local authorities, and particularly with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), and along the way we become acquainted with JDC's Dr. Joseph Schwartz.

Those readers interested in the immediate history preceding the establishment of Israel, and particularly so the history of the illegal immigration to pre-1948 Israel, in its political, military and historical context, will find Zertal's book powerful and indispensable. It is with great talent, force, and knowledge that she gives us that history.

What did I find troublesome in the book? A few insignificant faults. First, the details given at some points are too thorough—a typical problem of dissertations turned into a book. Second, the publisher “dumped” the photographs between pages 211 and

215. A much better organization would have dispersed the photographs throughout the text, where appropriate. Third, to my mind, one of the hallmarks of World War II (including, but not limited to, the Holocaust) was the callousness for human life, the brutality and indifference to human rights. Zertal's historical saga testifies to that.

However, to some limited extent, Zertal's book falls into that trap too. She provides us, repeatedly, with detailed descriptions and analyses of those who organized the illegal immigration but pays scant attention to the immigrants' own voices. I found that silence quite disturbing. Moreover, this trend receives a dramatic and even more pronounced emphasis in the epilogue, where Zertal analyzes two texts by Jews from Palestine who were receiving the immigrants. Her analysis of the texts is compelling, especially her claims to elucidating a subtext expressing some rejection of the immigrants, which, in the analysis she presents, somehow receives central importance.

Despite Zertal's considerable talent and my appreciation of this penetrating analysis, I was not persuaded by it. It would have been even more interesting to find some texts of immigrants' voices, or even to give those thousands of Jews who survived the Holocaust and came to Palestine a more sympathetic shoulder and view (e.g. pp. 133, 217, 253). Most of the time, the immigrants are in the background, talked about but not given the microphone. I missed their version of the events. Finally, some tables and charts with figures, numbers, and dates would have given the presentation a more effective organization.

Overall, this is not an easy book to read, because the history it describes involves misery on a grand scale. Indeed, the catastrophe is more pronounced than the power. And yet, the talent and passion with which it was written makes reading it sustainable. It is a must read for those interested in the history of Israel, Zionism, Judaic studies, and some of the repercussions of World War II.

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HANNA YABLONKA. *Survivors of the Holocaust: Israel after the War*. Translated by ORA CUMMINGS. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 337. \$50.00.

“Israel craves [Jewish] immigration,” goes a popular saying, “but it doesn't care much for the immigrants.” Hanna Yablonka's pioneering investigation of the reception that some 200,000 Holocaust survivors received upon arrival in Israel during the first eighteen months of the new state's existence demonstrates how apt the saying is in the case at hand.

The original Hebrew edition of the book made a powerful impression in Israel when it appeared in 1994, and justifiably so. Based upon extensive archival research and meticulous statistical analysis, it shows that three of the principal agencies that might have

played a constructive role in integrating this large and dynamic group (representing about twenty percent of the country's population in 1950) into Israeli society—the army, the kibbutz movements, and the General Federation of Jewish Workers (*Histadrut*)—had no serious plans for meeting its immediate or long-range needs. Holocaust survivors were valued first as a means of persuading international public opinion of the need for a Jewish state in Palestine, then as potential soldiers in the first Israeli-Arab war and as settlers in areas where a Jewish majority had to be secured. But the country's elites did not expect survivor immigrants to contribute much to achieving the Zionist vision of a properly ordered new Jewish society. Thus, once they had finished putting their bodies on the line in Israel's quest for independence, the survivors were left to fend for themselves in rebuilding their lives. They did so, on the whole, with much success, revealing themselves to be a group of considerable ingenuity and talent, but they did not assume leadership positions, and their overall impact on Israeli society was minimal.

This is a good book. It presents its findings in a matter-of-fact tone that avoids facile moralizing and tries seriously to understand why the survivors' encounter with Israel unfolded as it did. Sadly, however, the author's labors have been vitiated by a translation that is not only incompetent but in places altogether unintelligible. Ora Cummings consistently offers incorrect Romanizations of proper names: Tarvisio, a town in Italy, becomes Tervizio (p. 51); Baranowicze in Belorussia turns into Branovitz (p. 47); Eliahu Dobkin, head of the immigration department of the Jewish Agency, is called Dubkin throughout. Nor does Cummings know the proper English designations for many places and institutions: the city she calls "Kushta" (p. 43) is known as Istanbul in English; "Jewish Agency Management" (p. 21) is actually the Jerusalem Executive of the Jewish Agency; and "National Committee" (p. 271) is in fact the General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine. At times, her renderings are seriously misleading: *yerida* does not mean "migration" but emigration from Palestine/Israel (p. 14); the people called *meguyasim* in the original were not "recruits" but conscripts (p. 81)—a vital distinction in light of the current debate in Israel over the degree of coercion exercised by Zionist emissaries from Palestine on Jewish residents of European displaced persons' camps. Even more disturbing are the many sentences that are tautological, ridiculous, ambiguous, or senseless. For example, what ought to be rendered "The term 'surviving remnant' (*she'erit ha-pleita*) thus stands for all those Jews of continental Europe who suffered from the Nazi horrors" has been turned into "The remains, or survivors, constituted, therefore, the entire European Jewish population who had suffered at the hands of the Nazis" (p. 2). One of the book's central questions, which should be translated "Were the lessons that the surviving remnant sought to pass on in Israel absorbed either by the decision makers or

by society as a whole?" becomes "Did the survivors succeed in communicating with the governing bodies and society at large?" (p. 3). Instead of reporting that Holocaust survivors experienced "various dimensions" (*memadim shonim*) of the trauma of the Nazi years "with varying intensity" (*be-otsma shona*), the translator would have us think that they survived "on different levels and with different strengths," whatever that means (p. 278). Far too often I had to refer to the original in order to understand the translation. For those who cannot do so, trying to make sense of the book will be frustrating and frequently impossible. Many of the translation's problems should have been caught and corrected by a conscientious copyeditor. Shame on New York University Press for not giving this important book the editorial attention it deserves!

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JOEL BEININ. *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture, Politics, and the Formation of a Modern Diaspora*. (Contraversions: Critical Studies in Jewish Literature, Culture, and Society, number 11.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 329.

In this ideological study of the dispersion of the modern Egyptian Jewish community, Joel Beinin reflects on his own political identity in relationship to his subject of inquiry. We learn of his first encounters with Egypt as a young Jewish American student of Arabic and member of the Zionist ha-Shomer ha-Tza'ir movement, his painful disillusionment with Zionism after attempting to live on a kibbutz in Israel, and his return to the United States to become a student of Egyptian history. These personal issues account for the ideological preoccupations of this book.

Beinin's interest in the postcolonial notion "that the category of history is to some degree complicit with modern structures of domination, especially the nation-state" (p. 10) does not prevent him from writing a politically engaged historical narrative. He condemns Zionist discourse on Egyptian Jews, which, he believes, "insists on their absolute and total alienation from the land of their birth" (p. 21). Beinin chastises Zionism for ideological inconsistency in its criticism of Egypt's treatment of Jews while pointing out that Israel's treatment of its Palestinian citizens was arguably worse. Israel is scolded for refusing to admit its own contribution to Egyptian Jewry's demise. Among the causes was Israel's attempt to commit acts of sabotage against Western installations in Egypt by organizing an espionage ring of Egyptian Jews, the so-called "Operation Suzannah." Beinin offers the most in-depth analysis to date on the Egyptian context of what later became known in Israel as the "Lavon affair," as well as on how Israel and the world responded to the arrest and trial of the spy ring's members. Israel presumed that Jews in Egypt were victims of Nazi-style persecution. He effectively debunks the commonly accepted

belief, fabricated or believed by Israel and its American Jewish supporters, that ex-German Nazis were directing Egypt's anti-Jewish campaign.

Troubled by the disappearance of the Jews from their Egyptian homeland, Beinín does not spare criticism of the Egyptian government, Islamic movements, and intellectuals for failing to accept the Jews as Egyptians. At the same time, he rhetorically compares the internment of the entire Japanese-American community by the United States during World War II to the detention of only about one percent of the Egyptian Jewish community during the 1948 war. Yet he does not deny that following the harsh measures taken by the Egyptian government against the Jews during the 1956 war, Egyptian Jewry emigrated in large numbers and rapidly diminished.

The book focuses on three elements of the Egyptian Jewish population: politically active, middle-class Jews who were educated in French; the nonrabbinic Karaite Jews; and the haute bourgeoisie. Beinín's choice is based on his belief that these three groups do not fit neatly into the national "narratives" of either Egypt or Israel (one wonders if there are Egyptian Jews that do fit). Missing in this study is the more silent, less politically motivated, majority of Egyptian Jews whose identity is bound up in their religious culture.

Of all the Jewish groups, the Arabic-speaking Karaites seemed to be the most Arab in culture. They defined themselves more as protégés of the Islamic state *dhimmi*s than as secular citizens of the modern nation-state (indeed many tried and failed to obtain Egyptian nationality). They were slower and perhaps more reluctant to leave Egypt than other Jewish groups, and their arrival in Israel or the United States caused considerable psychological upheaval, not only because of cultural dislocation but because of prejudice against their religious practices by mainstream Judaism (Karaites originated from a movement in the Middle Ages that rejected rabbinical hegemony based on Talmudic authority). Focusing on the Karaites of San Francisco, Beinín shows that despite the assimilationist pressures of American society, this community has maintained and, to a certain degree, even revived its particularistic identity, which he believes defies assumptions about Jewish identity and Arab-Jewish relations.

Although many of the haute bourgeoisie were Sephardi immigrants to Egypt, they identified themselves as Egyptians no less than the Karaites. The fact that this wealthy class of the population forged closed business relationships with Muslim Egyptians, participated together with other Egyptians in liberal political parties, and (at least some of its leaders) opposed the Zionist movement enabled Beinín to give these Jewish pioneers of Egyptian capitalism sympathetic treatment. But they, like most other Egyptian Jews, also felt compelled to emigrate after 1956.

The highly politicized, French-educated Egyptian Jewish middle class, influenced by Marxism, either turned to communism or Zionism. Beinín traces the

development of the socialist-Zionist ha-Shomer ha-Tza'ir movement in Egypt and the difficulties that its members who settled on kibbutzim experienced in Israel. Veteran kibbutz members contemptuously regarded the Egyptians' cosmopolitan bourgeois customs as incompatible with kibbutz life. Amid the ideological battles that split the kibbutz movement in the early 1950s, the denouements of these Egyptian Jews who settled on the kibbutz resonate with the author's own experiences and disappointments in Israel.

The communists were equally imbued with French culture, but unlike the Zionists, they remained committed to Egypt and from their preferred place of exile—Paris—unsuccessfully attempted to reintegrate themselves with their non-Jewish Egyptian counterparts. Particular attention is paid to Henri Curiel, the leading Egyptian Jewish communist in Paris, who sought with little success to mediate the Arab-Israeli conflict and who was assassinated in 1978.

Though critical of post-Zionism for not being sufficiently anti-Zionist, Beinín nevertheless sees greater tolerance for diaspora culture emerging in this relatively recent Israeli phenomenon that is enabling Egyptian Jews to reassert their cultural heritage without shame, and this, he contends, offers a prospect for Israeli-Arab cultural understanding in the future. But on a less optimistic tone, he concludes reluctantly with the failure of recent Egyptian writers to treat Egyptian Jews sympathetically or even to regard them as Egyptian, which ironically concurs with the Zionist view that the Jews were aliens in Egypt. Clearly Beinín does not agree with this assessment, and his innovative book makes it obvious that despite denials by both Egyptian Jews and Muslims, most of Egyptian Jewry was culturally part of Egypt.

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MICHAEL DORAN. *Pan-Arabism before Nasser: Egyptian Power Politics and the Palestine Question*. (Studies in Middle Eastern History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 230. \$35.00.

The emergence of Arab nationalism as an ideology and a political practice in prerevolutionary Egypt has been the topic of a large number of studies. Arab nationalism in its mature stage, in the 1930s and 1940s, was defined as pan-Arabism, particularly by Western observers. While earlier initial research tended to view Egyptian pan-Arabism as an exclusively Nasserite revolutionary phenomenon, later studies, which made more intensive use of archival source material and of the Arab press, have clearly shown that pan-Arabism, both as an ideological force and a policy, had already emerged and coalesced during the old regime of the constitutional monarchy. Although Michael Doran tends to depict his study as pioneering, in that it discusses pre-Nasserite pan-Arabism, he actually continues the historiographic trend that examines the

concrete historical presence of pan-Arabism in pre-revolutionary Egypt. Nonetheless, Doran can justifiably argue that he is breaking new ground regarding several key aspects relating to the development of Egyptian pan-Arabism in the 1940s. His innovation lies mainly in his attempt to present a different approach to the origins of Egyptian pan-Arabism and to provide a different explanation of the motivations underlying its formation. The book, first and foremost, represents a methodical investigation of Egypt's foreign policy from 1945–1948, based on an attempt to understand its agenda, the intentions that motivated its leaders and the strategies they adopted to achieve their aims. Doran's major argument is that Egyptian pan-Arabism in the prerevolutionary era was primarily political and, more specifically, an instrument at the service of Egypt's foreign policy to advance its chief objective in the bilateral relations with Britain: the achievement of Egypt's complete independence attended by the withdrawal of British forces. Doran exposes what he regards as the essential logic underpinning the pattern of the development of Egyptian foreign policy that led those responsible for it—prime ministers, foreign ministers, diplomats, and senior officials—to adopt a pan-Arab orientation. In March 1947, a shift occurred in Egypt's foreign policy. Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi, the prime minister, committed above all to the chief objective of the country's foreign policy—liberation of the Nile Valley from British colonial rule—decided, in view of British refusal to alter the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and to replace it with a new agreement that would ensure greater independence for Egypt including the Sudan, to embark on a struggle to liquidate the British imperialist presence in Egypt and the Middle East. In doing so, he launched a “cold war” against Britain. After its efforts to persuade the United States to support Egypt's position and to raise the issue of Anglo-Egyptian relations in the UN Security Council had failed (the United States remained committed to British interests in the Middle East), the Nuqrashi government, with the backing of King Farouk, embarked on a pan-Arab strategy based on promoting Egyptian hegemony throughout the Arab world. Egypt established the Egyptian-Syrian-Saudi “Triangle Alliance” as an Arab anti-imperialistic regional power rivaling the pro-British Iraqi-Jordanian-Turkish “Turco-Hashimite Entente.” Egyptian foreign policy exploited the Arab League as the major power base for the Triangle Alliance, which was intended to promote Egyptian anti-British national interests. The decision taken by the Egyptian state to intervene in the 1948 war resulted, first and foremost, from the need to protect its position as the leader of the Triangle Alliance and as the dominant power in the Arab world, as well as to forestall Jordanian aggrandizement in Palestine. Preserving Egypt's status as “the keystone in the [Arab] arch” was an essential prerequisite for success in the Anglo-Egyptian conflict, the supreme concern of its foreign policy.

In Doran's thesis, pan-Arabism was merely a means

of advancing Egyptian national interests. For him, Egypt's foreign affairs are the angle from which to examine the reception of pan-Arabism in Egypt and how it was used by the Egyptian elite. Doran repeatedly stresses that Egyptian pan-Arabism is an outcome of the Egyptian elite's response to external power politics, both regional and international, and not the result of domestic ideological, cultural, or social forces. Consequently, he focuses on a meticulous study of the official mind of a small ruling elite, of the interests and performance of the state assumed to be “an independent actor,” represented by the government and the palace. The pressures of public opinion, the press, the civil society, the opposition parties, the “street,” or ideology are of scarcely any importance, in his view, in the creation of this pan-Arab orientation. Doran depicts this pattern of the instrumental, political use of pan-Arabism clearly and systematically, as he attempts to reveal its presence in all of Egypt's foreign policy moves.

However, this thesis does have several shortcomings. Doran addresses too brief a historical period, primarily from 1947–1948. He fails to look at the *longue durée* of the emergence, spread, and reception of pan-Arabism in Egypt during the 1930s and 1940s. And a more serious flaw is that he condenses the development of Egyptian foreign policy into a fleeting period, without placing it within the broader context of the phases in which it adopted the pan-Arab element. Thus, his book is almost completely devoid of the essential historical background: the ideological evolution of pan-Arabism within broad sectors of the Egyptian public and its translation into the political scene and the state's foreign policy, including its use by Egyptian governments in the late 1930s and the early 1940s, particularly by the Wafd government from 1942–1944. After all, neither Egypt's regional policy, which assumed that Egypt is a hegemonic cultural and political power in the Arab world, nor the use of pan-Arabism as a tool to promote the Egyptian national anti-British struggle were innovations introduced by the Nuqrashi government or by Farouk.

The discussion is also narrow in scope, reduced only to the political and diplomatic spheres. Despite the broad attention that Doran devotes to external regional and international power politics, he focuses primarily on the state's operation as a power system confined to the maneuvering of a few senior players. However, Doran's effort to “purge” the state of any ideological, cultural, and social influences is artificial, sterile and ahistorical. It is not persuasive, because paradoxically, Doran unwittingly shows, throughout nearly the entire book, how important a role these ideological forces played in shaping political and diplomatic decisions. When he attempts, for example, to explain why the Egyptian governments never wavered from the supreme goal of attaining complete independence from British rule and undermining Britain's position in the Middle East, he is compelled to deal, time and again, with the domestic pressures of nation-

alist, popular, and opposition forces on the Egyptian state, and with its vital need to respond to these pressures in order to survive. Nor can the Arab national sentiment, which spread throughout the Egyptian public, be reduced merely to a narrow state interest, since the promotion of Egyptian hegemony in the Arab world is an *idea* requiring conceptual and ideological articulation, no less than it is a *practice*, a project for implementation.

It would seem that Doran's decision to explain pan-Arabism as a product of Egyptocentric power politics also dictated his choice of sources to substantiate his thesis. His findings are based primarily on the extensive use of British and American archival materials. To these, he adds the selective use of several Arab political memoirs. But he makes only sparse use of Arab material or evidence; although much Egyptian archival material is not accessible, there is the press, the major medium of the public discourse in the print culture, which provides rich and varied source material. The reader is disturbed to find that Doran makes no direct use of this source, and when he does review positions presented in the press, these are extracted from summaries of press articles made by British officials and located in British archives. Doran's use of the vast scholarly literature on the subject is also partial and far from exhaustive. He overlooks Egyptian historians who wrote about the topic in Arabic and English (the absence of the works of Ahmed M. Gomaa, Abd al-Azim Ramadan, and Tarik al-Bishri is conspicuous).

To sum up, as a perceptive, fresh look at the foreign policy of the Egyptian state at the end of the 1940s, Doran's book is indispensable; as a study of pre-Nasserite pan-Arabism, it will oblige the reader to refer to additional works in order to obtain a complete, balanced, and more authoritative historical picture.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

TOYIN FALOLA. *Violence in Nigeria: The Crisis of Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies*. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 386. \$71.00.

Nigeria has in recent years witnessed a spate of religious violence, so serious as to attract scholarly attention. Toyin Falola's book is a fine example of the growing literature on the subject. Falola critically examines and analyzes the widespread religious riots in northern Nigerian cities during the 1980s and 1990s. As he illustrates, these riots, which involved Christians and Muslims, have had disastrous consequences. In 1980, for example, "the Maitatsine crisis [in Kano] claimed thousands of lives . . . and caused millions of naira in property damage" (pp. 3-4). Riots in Kaduna, Yola, Jimeria, Gombe and Ilorin left many more Nigerians dead or homeless. More recently, in Kaduna (February and May of 2000), religious riots resulted in horrific massacres reminiscent of the pogroms of the

1960s, as well as massive destruction of property, including places of worship, and the mass exodus of southern Nigerian Christians.

In his analysis of violence in Nigeria, Falola fruitfully employs a multicausal approach. Thus ethnicity, religious pluralism, poverty, and politics are all highlighted. Falola reminds us, however, that religious violence in Nigeria is rooted in the nineteenth-century Islamic "holy wars" (*jihads*), which legitimized Islam in northern Nigeria, and the planting of Christianity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The traditional antagonism and conflict between Islam and Christianity have thus spilled over to the converts, as Christians and Muslims tend to "see one another as rivals fighting for control of converts and of the state itself" (p. 37). Equally pertinent to the analysis of violence are discussions of the role of religious fundamentalists, whose provocative rhetoric invariably exacerbate interethnic and interreligious tensions and conflicts (pp. 16-17), and the politicization of religion in the country. As Falola documents, "Religion is used by the power-hungry as a stepping-stone to power and political legitimacy." As a matter of fact, "politicians have [often] urged their followers to vote along religious lines—Muslims are told to vote for Muslims, and Christians for Christians" (p. 2). In the process, religion and politics have been sources of violence in Nigeria.

That religion and politics are inextricably linked is clearly illustrated in the recurrent debate over the Sharia question, to which Falola devotes significant space. As he explains, controversy over the Sharia question has periodically "pushed the country to the brink of a religious war and sharpened the religious divide beyond the point of healing," largely because of the Islamic elite's desire "to extend al-Sharia [Islamic religious law] to all of Nigeria" (p. 70). In fact, "The battle over al-Sharia . . . laid the way for the violence of the 1980s" (p. 77), from which Nigeria is yet to recover. Furthermore, attempts by Nigerian Muslims to forge closer relations and cooperation with foreign Islamic countries (p. 14), exemplified in the affiliation of Nigeria to the Organization of the Islamic Council (p. 4), have also plunged Nigeria into explosive religious and political controversy. It is worth noting that the present political agitation in Nigeria for a confederation is not unrelated to the recent declaration of al-Sharia in some northern Nigerian states.

Although Falola proffers suggestions for ending or reducing religious-cum-political violence in the country, he admits these are no panaceas (pp. 296-303). In the main, he indicts the Nigerian civilian and military governments for their inefficient and ineffectual handling of religious riots and criticizes the military regime's 1986 secret affiliation of Nigeria to the Organization of the Islamic Council.

Falola, a hyper-prolific scholar, is a distinguished Nigerian historian who has indeed written a timely and a very absorbing book, based on extensive fieldwork (interviews), archival research, and secondary sources. There are altogether ten chapters, an epilogue, and an appendix. The appendix provides useful statistics on

population, religious affiliations (by region), and percentages of Muslims and Christians in the various Nigerian states. There are several maps, which provide valuable illustrations of structural changes in contemporary Nigeria. Falola certainly accomplished his aim: that is, to provide "a comprehensive analysis of the religious violence and conflicts prevalent in Nigeria since the 1970s."

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RAYMOND E. DUMETT. *El Dorado in West Africa: The Gold-Mining Frontier, African Labor, and Colonial Capitalism in the Gold Coast, 1875-1900*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 396. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$19.95.

Over the years Raymond E. Dumett has contributed much to our understanding of the economic history of the Gold Coast (now Ghana). In this most welcome book, he amplifies his earlier forays into the history of Akan gold-mining into a thorough exploration of the mining frontier in the southern Gold Coast in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This period, which saw the waning of Asante power and the waxing of British imperial involvement, is richly documented in indigenous and European sources, and Dumett is to be congratulated on his assiduity in pursuing and deploying a very broad and diverse body of information. This book, then, is painstaking in the best sense of that term.

The central theme of Dumett's account is African initiative and agency in seizing the unregulated commercial opportunities opened up by the weakening of the Asante state and the advance of British power. The southern Gold Coast Akan were historically well equipped to exploit such conditions. Dumett has long argued that precolonial Akan gold-mining was the province of small groups of kin, families, and individuals of both sexes rather than—with the arguable exception of Asante itself—an enterprise involving the state mobilization of slaves. Such people were already entrepreneurial innovators, adapting appropriate technologies of panning, tunneling, digging, and crushing to the auriferous beds and reefs of their homeland. In the late nineteenth century, they incorporated new technologies like extracting ore by using mercury amalgamation, while at the same time mastering the British administrative requirement that claims and concessions be legally documented. This was a lucrative if risky business, and potential profits lured numbers of Akan people into self-employment in the gold-mining sector. One consequence was that British companies found it difficult to secure a supply of wage labor for their own ventures in more highly capitalized and industrialized forms of mining. It was only in the early twentieth century that colonial capitalism supplanted the indigenous Akan pioneers, often—and most profitably in the case of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation at Obuasi—taking over and building upon

earlier African initiatives. The embedding of British colonial capitalism in Gold Coast gold-mining is a murky and tortuous story with effects that reverberate in Ghana to this day. Dumett has promised another volume on the period after 1900, and it is to be hoped that he will explore the impact of British capital with the same careful attention to detail and nuance as he has displayed in the volume under review.

This book is not simply a history of economic enterprise. Dumett contributes much to an understanding of the dynamics of those social formations among the coastal Akan—urban, middle-class, literate, Christian, clerkly, often connected to stool holding and chiefship—that pioneered the late nineteenth-century boom in gold-mining. Here detail is all, and Dumett makes a determined stab at sorting out the convoluted histories of individual, kinship, and business alliances that underpinned entrepreneurship. His work overlaps with that of Kwame Arhin, Gus Casely-Hayford, Roger Gocking, Ray Jenkins, and others on the Fante coastal intelligentsia but enlarges on it by adding an economic dimension to existing cultural analyses. Accounts are given of some remarkable individuals: for example, the educated coastal Africans J. P. Brown, J. E. Biney, and J. E. Ellis, who created the concessionary enterprise that was to become the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation. If there is a criticism to be entered here, it is that Dumett's presentation of biographical detail is perhaps a little too detached. His narrative is scholarly, neutral, and astringent, and in consequence it sometimes fails to take adequate account of the human dimensions of his story. Thus, in what is at one level a racy tale of speculative deals and sharp practices, more could have been made of the rich evidence concerning the careers in gold-mining of such free-wheeling individuals as the Winneba chief G. A. Robertson and his famously avaricious wife Amma Sika (i.e. Amma "Money"). Analysis of this sort might have enriched our understanding of the endless triumph of hope over experience that was part and parcel of speculative gold-mining. It might also have added a fuller accounting of the social ideologies and purposes of wealth that impelled participation in such a risky business.

But it would be unjust to conclude by caviling. Dumett has produced a book of enduring value on a complex subject, and he has done so using a formidably disparate body of evidence with judicious expertise. Gold Coast people are at the heart of his study, and properly so, but he has much to say as well about such matters as the evolving technologies of gold-mining, the conflicted ownership of land, and the implanting of colonial capitalism under the aegis of British imperial power. This is a book that contributes both to West African and to British imperial history, and its skillful execution whets the appetite for Dumett's continuation of the story into the twentieth century.

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Film Reviews

THE GLEANERS AND I (*Les Glaneurs et la Glaneuse*). Written and directed by Agnès Varda. 2000; 82 minutes; color. France. Produced and distributed by Ciné Tamaris, Paris.

French director Agnès Varda, the maker of some thirty-two films celebrated for stylistic innovation and unsentimental realism, has produced an audacious, award-winning documentary, *The Gleaners and I* (premiered in North America at the 25th Toronto International Film Festival). The film constitutes a coherent study over time of the ancestral gesture of gleaning, a tradition that permits those without means to gather wheat and produce after the harvest. A former official photographer and archivist for the Théâtre National de Paris, Varda observes with acuity the forms in which this once rustic custom persists in our times and, in so doing, reinserts it within its historical context.

The film draws on painterly representations of peasant women gleaning, the most famous being *Les Glaneuses* ("Women Gleaning") by Jean-François Millet (1857) in the Orsay Museum of Paris, where the opening sequence takes place. (We learn that some 12,000 postcard reproductions of this painting were sold in 1998 alone, in conjunction with an exhibition that paired works of Millet and Vincent Van Gogh.) Other artistic sources include Jules Breton's *La Glaneuse* (1877), in the Arras Museum of Fine Arts; *La Petite Glaneuse* by Hugo Salmson (1864), at the Nantes Museum of Fine Arts; and *Glaneuses à Champbeaudouin*/*Glaneuses Fuyant l'Orage* ("Gleaners Fleeing Before the Storm") by Pierre Edmond Hédouin (1852), at the Museum of Villefranche-sur-Saône.

In addition to exploring past images of such labor, *The Gleaners and I* investigates the contemporary, hidden universe of men, women, and children who know that the fields and streets are still full of discarded treasures after the harvest, market, or second-hand commerce has been completed. Motivated by poverty and the need for survival or by an obsession with recycling, by chance or pleasure, Varda's gleaners consume items marked past their "sell by" date or deemed improper for consumption. In their gestures of survival, the silhouettes bending to gather their objects strike a posture reminiscent of that of the nineteenth-century peasants portrayed on canvas. The

camera focuses evenly and respectfully on the desperate and the nonchalant alike in their quest for potatoes or grapes, oysters or apples, a handleless clock or an abandoned television set. In conversations with the filmmaker, one learns that many of her subjects claim to have been violently cast out of the social net, struggling to survive among civilization's rubble.

Traversing France from the north to La Beauce, passing through the Jura, Provence, the eastern Pyrénées, the Parisian suburbs, and the Montreuil flea market in Paris, from September 1999 to April 2000, the film encompasses the displaced and the homeless, the unemployed, the unpropertied, and the disenfranchised, analyzing the historical manifestations of gleaning as rural custom (collective, codified, and authorized) and urban habit (solitary, often stealthy, and ashamed). The film distinguishes gleaning from foraging, pilfering, scavenging, rummaging, collecting, and recovering as practiced by segments of the population in an economy that has failed them and for whom it has become regular activity, even a way of life. Among its subjects are a renowned chef who gathers aromatic plants; a painter, Louis Pons, who elevates rusty bric-à-brac to high art; François, a former biology teacher who has lived entirely on garbage from the city's greenmarkets for ten years and who volunteers his time teaching reading to immigrants; the celebrated psychoanalyst, Dr. Jean Laplanche, also a grower of vintage wines, known for having developed an "anti-philosophy of the subject" in which the Other is always foremost in the construction of subjectivity; a descendant of Étienne-Jules Marey, one of the inventors of cinema; the unemployed Claude, who has lost his wife, children, and job, and lives in a caravan; and a country lawyer who reads aloud an edict dated November 2, 1554, authorizing gleaning on French soil between dawn and sundown. These diverse individuals and objects, the film suggests, benefit from land left clear in accordance with civil code and Biblical text (and in contravention of the laws of merchant society), by virtue of which unowned goods may be gathered by those without property.

But Varda's gaze does not merely constitute a socioeconomic critique, for it also contemplates the inexorable and irreversible process of aging as experienced by this ever-vibrant filmmaker. In a self-refer-

ential moment, the seventy-two-year-old Varda experiments with the small Sony digital camera as a mirror, filming fragments of her own body that have become estranged objects. She films, for example, her now-wrinkled left hand with her right as her fingers curl in the shape of a lens, framing the enormous trucks speeding along the highway, linking agricultural production with consumption.

The Gleaners and I is based on the assumption that "documentary filmmaking is a discipline that teaches modesty," and that there are many ways of being poor. Without aestheticizing poverty, the images are beautifully rendered by a filmmaker fully in command of her craft. In an anarchistic, libertarian itinerary, she shares her unprecedented discoveries, encounters, and narratives, demonstrating that visual imagination transgresses conventional boundaries of cliché and stereotype. In so doing, the film is at once a history and an ethnography of forgotten spaces and of the passing of time, a tribute to the origins and practice of cinema itself as a gleaning of images.

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NUREMBERG. Produced by Ian McDougall and Mychele Boudrias; directed by Yves Simoneau; screenplay by David W. Rintels, from the book *Nuremberg: Infamy on Trial* by Joseph E. Persico. 2000; color, 240 minutes. Distributor TNT Originals, Time-Warner.

NUREMBERG: TYRANNY ON TRIAL. Produced by Lou Reda. Written by Jerome Alden. 1995; black and white and color; 50 minutes. Distributed by A&E Home Video for the History Channel.

Defining the "true evil" of the Nazis as a "lack of empathy for their fellow man" is perhaps the only profundity one should hope to glean from TNT's miniseries, *Nuremberg*, unless, of course, one's sentiments lie with the villains of the piece. It is hard to believe that an American network was responsible for producing this miniseries, which at times seemed more like a sloppy, revisionist apologia for the crimes of the Holocaust than a dramatization of the famous trial of Nazi Germany's surviving leaders.

Unlike fiction, dramatizations of epic real-life events prosper or fail because of the choices made by their writers, directors, and producers as they narrow down topics to include vs. those for which there is no room. Since the massive judicial effort of the Nuremberg trials took more than a year, someone had to make some hard choices to make the events fit it into a four-hour miniseries, which, minus commercials, ran just three hours and five minutes. My main objection to the producers' scriptwriting and editorial decisions was the inordinate amount of screen time given to the fascist ramblings and self-serving rationalizations mouthed by former second-in-command to Adolf Hitler, now war-crimes defendant Hermann Goering.

With stories in the news about neo-Nazism spreading across Europe and the United States, is this really the right moment to repeatedly beat audiences over the head with the mean-spirited philosophies and arguments of the Third Reich? At one point, Goering tells the American army psychologist assigned to him that the doctor cannot possibly comprehend his defense of Nazism because he is a Jew. Overall, Goering is portrayed less as a war criminal and more as a Dutch uncle. He even wins over the loyalty of a young American officer assigned as his jailer. They could have renamed this film "The trial of poor, misunderstood Herman Goering and his friends."

During one day in this trial of many months, Goering manages successfully to exchange rhetoric with U.S. prosecutor Robert H. Jackson. The producers choose to blow up this incident into an unwarranted crisis of values. Right after this sequence, the prosecution counters with death-camp films and damning testimony against the Nazis. But, amazingly, the miniseries' producers then feel the need to counter with a scene in which Goering, talking to the psychologist, tries to wiggle off the hook, comparing Allied bombing of civilians and the segregation of African Americans in the United States to the Nazi extermination of European Jews. Contrived balance is not needed here: not over six million graves.

This is about filmmaker's choice. Why not delve into defendants' stories to explain how these men could perpetrate these evils? Why did Field Marshall Wilhelm Keitel, who certainly knew better, sign the "Command Order" or the "Night and Fog" decree when other top generals, such as Erwin Rommel, steadfastly refused to give in? The producers tell us he did it, but not why? Was it really as simple, as we hear Hans Frank say, as "I wanted to keep my job?" Not according to the book by Joseph E. Persico, on which the miniseries was based. What about Rudolph Hess's faked insanity? Why not replace some of Goering's endless monologues with a deeper inspection of Albert Speer's coldly calculated, simulated remorse, which some say saved him from the gallows? Instead, this screenplay glosses over such points.

What any right-minded citizen of the world did not want and need from *Nuremberg* was a mini-treatise on, and a defense of, the Third Reich. By the end of this two-part miniseries, the central focus on Goering actually has us sympathizing with him. And why was one of the most bizarre occurrences in all this affair overlooked? I refer to the botched executions of the eleven convicted defendants sentenced to be hanged. A U.S. Army hangman, veteran of 347 successful executions, bungled a number of them. One Nazi hung, strangling, swinging, and bleeding, for seventeen minutes before he died.

And at the end of *Nuremberg*, why no epilog? What happened to all the Nazis who were only imprisoned instead of executed? What about the three who were acquitted? And why did participation in these trials

cost the lead prosecutor, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Jackson, a chance at becoming chief justice?

The History Channel's one-hour documentary version of the trial of these twenty-two Nazi leaders, *Nuremberg: Tyranny on Trial*, aired later on the same night that TNT's *Nuremberg* first played. Ironically, this documentary contained interview footage with Joseph E. Persico, author of the book from which the miniseries's screenplay was derived. A much more insightful, balanced examination of the events than the miniseries, *Nuremberg: Tyranny on Trial* asked more questions, covered more ground, and piqued more curiosity in fifty minutes than the bloated miniseries did in four hours—and without subjecting the audience to any mention of the miniseries' irrelevant, silly love affair between Jackson and his secretary. Perhaps this digression was executive producer Alec Baldwin's idea, a way to punch up his lackluster part. If it were not for a brief moment when Jackson becomes aggressive while cross-examining Goering, it would be hard to tell that this character has a heartbeat.

In short, my advice about *Nuremberg* is to skip it, all four hours, and either view the documentary or pick up any one of the excellent books on the subject.

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WARRIORS (U.S. title: *Peacekeepers*). Produced by Nigel Stafford-Clarke; written and directed by Peter Kosminsky. 1999; 170 minutes; color. Distributed by BBC Worldwide.

Peter Kosminsky's wrenching account of the experiences of British peacekeepers in Bosnia in 1992 is not the first film to address this grim corner of contemporary history, but it is the best to date. Kosminsky has a track record of provocative documentary filmmaking. His best-known work includes *Falklands War: The Untold Story* (1987) and his exposé of British counter-insurgency policy in Northern Ireland, *Shoot to Kill* (1990). In the 1990s, he moved into the netherworld between fact and fiction, dramatizing testimony in a hard-hitting account of child abuse in *No Child of Mine* (1997). *Warriors* builds on the military themes of his early work but uses the production strategies of the second, dramatizing a narrative distilled from the testimony of ninety soldiers who participated in the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping mission.

The film reconstructs the experiences of a group of British soldiers in 1992, from the cancellation of their leave to join the UN peacekeeping forces near Vitez, Bosnia, through the harrowing months of duty, to the impact of the experience on their life after they return to Britain. The title is an ironic play on the name of military vehicles crewed by the soldiers and the mythical role of the soldier. These warriors find the rules of peacekeeping in the blue helmet very different from textbook soldiering. They are, for example, compelled to stand by as one faction slaughters the other, and

they are required to abandon the inhabitants of a village they know is about to be shelled because the rules of engagement prohibit their transporting healthy civilians.

The company's two lieutenants (Ioan Guffield and Damian Lewis) develop attachments to their female translators (Sheyla Shehovich and Branka Katic). These are not the usual on-screen wartime romances, however, but unsettling, guilty, half-spoken bonds that open as much personal unhappiness as they provide warmth. While the soldiers watch impotently, the horrors mount. Attempts to intervene merely make matters worse, and in the end the British troops merely preside over the exchange of corpses.

Returning to Britain, the soldiers grapple with the gulf between their routine lives at home and the extremity of their experiences in Bosnia. They slip into dysfunction, depression, and domestic violence. One private (Matthew Macfadyen) flies into a rage on encountering a child crying over nothing in a supermarket. Memories of the horror are everywhere. Another soldier confesses that he is now unable to defrost a frozen chicken, as the smell carries him back to the stench of Bosnian body piles.

Kosminsky's film implicitly opens questions over the policy adopted by Western governments in Bosnia, but he leaves the audience to ponder the implications. Although the events depicted frequently concern Bosnian Croatian attacks on ethnic Muslims, Kosminsky avoids any simple heroes or villains. At one point, it appears that Muslim forces shell their own settlement in an attempt to force the peacekeepers to take sides. The shadows of Yugoslavian history are also acknowledged: the soldiers are shown, for instance, the site of a concentration camp from which Jews and Serbs—including the mother of the platoon's sergeant—were deported by the Nazis in World War II.

Besides its value as a synthesis of experiences in Bosnia, *Warriors* makes a significant contribution to the genre of the war film. The division of the film into three acts—Britain, Bosnia, Britain—begs comparison to Michael Cimino's *The Deer Hunter* (1979). Too often, filmmakers, including Cimino, have claimed antiwar credentials only to glory in violence, reproduce wartime prejudice, or more subtly sell the benefits of the camaraderie that allegedly attends combat. *Warriors* denies the audience any such comfort. Here, violence is sudden, sordid, and unglamorous. The business of soldiering is futile. The relationships between soldiers within the film are troubled, and their homecoming merely confirms their alienation. They are not even accorded the status of victims, but ignored. Non-British viewers will be struck by the degree to which class distinctions remain pronounced in the British army and the parallels between life in Yugoslavia and working-class Liverpool. The shared world of video games and Manchester United soccer shirts makes the disparity between the peace of Britain and horror of Bosnia seem all the more cruel.

Needless to say, the fictionalized docudrama format

raises more issues of creative license than Kosminsky's former talking-head approach, but the dramatic manipulations are an important part of the achievement. Point-of-view shots of sudden atrocity; the emotional element of seeing horrific events touch established characters; even the movement of the camera through devastated streets accompanied by mournful singing

on the soundtrack: all these cinematic tactics work well to bring time and the place alive. The facts of ethnic cleansing are well known, but Kosminsky's triumph is to make a jaded audience feel their impact.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

HARTMUT LEHMANN, editor. *Historikerkontroversen*. (Göttinger Gespräche zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 10.) Göttingen: Wallstein. 2000. Pp. 189. DM 28.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

In the October 2000 issue of the *American Historical Review*, Andrew J. Rotter wrote about the tendency of foreign relations scholars, even those most interested in the intersection between cultural and diplomatic history, to ignore the work of Edward W. Said ("Saidism without Said: Orientalism and U.S. Diplomatic History," pp. 1205–17). My work on public opposition to U.S. hegemony in Mexico and the Caribbean region in the 1920s profiles a social movement that traversed the core/periphery divide. I begin with this quote from *Culture and Imperialism* because it places my case study in a broader context: "The ideological and cultural war against imperialism occurs first in the form of resistance in the colonies, and later as resis-

tance spills over into Europe and the United States, in the form of opposition or dissent in the metropolis. The first phase of this dynamic produces nationalist independence movements, the second, later, and more acute phase produces liberation struggles" (Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, 1993, p. 276).

It is Said's work on anti-imperialism that I find most compelling. It is when Said moves away from his academic deconstruction of empire and considers how and why movements to overcome empire and build a just and equitable society have succeeded and failed that those of us studying anti-imperialist and ethnic solidarity movements and U.S. foreign relations lean on his insights. Said is himself a nationalist/internationalist trying to find a way toward "Freedom from Domination in the Future" (one of the chapters in *Culture and Imperialism*). Because he is a scholar/activist, there is clarity and utility to his insights on ethnic identity movements and the construction of international liberation struggles. Historians concerned with the role of public dissent in U.S. foreign relations have much to gain from consulting the works of Edward Said.

ANNE WINKLER-MOREY
University of Minnesota

Andrew J. Rotter does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

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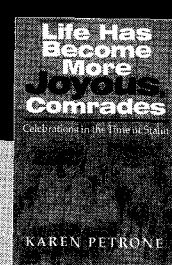
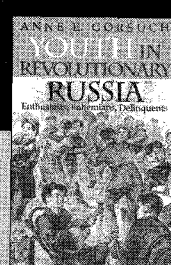
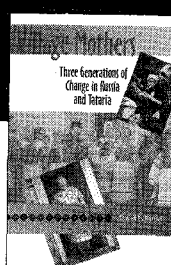
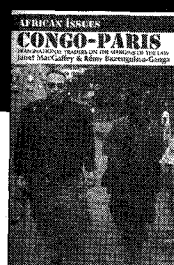
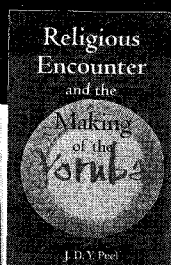
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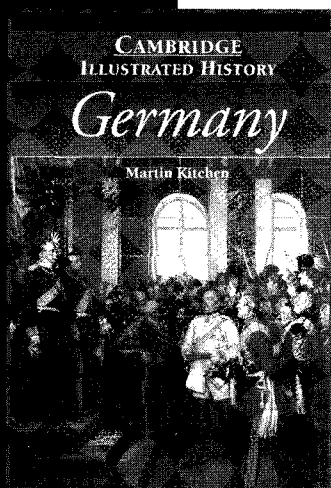
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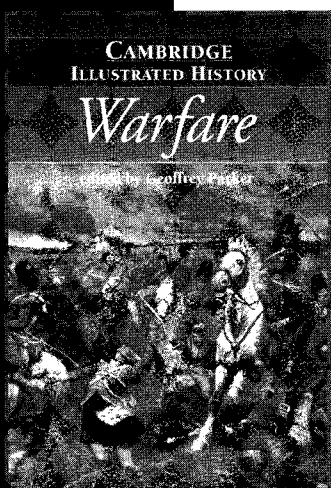
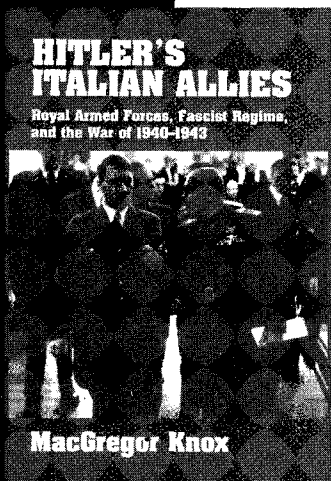
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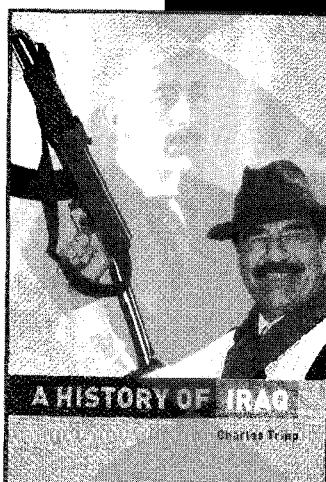
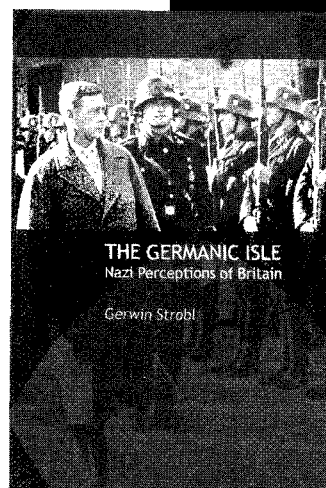
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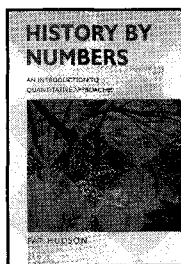
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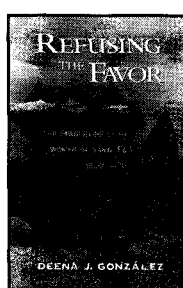
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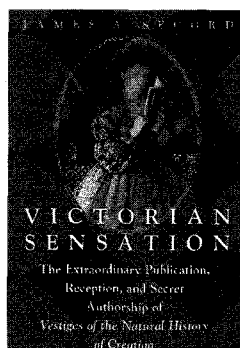
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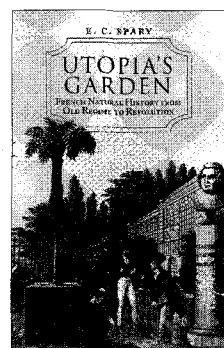
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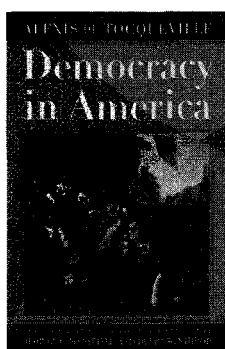


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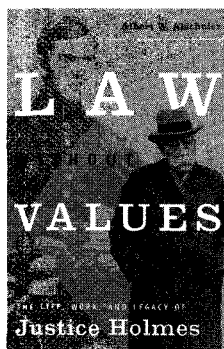
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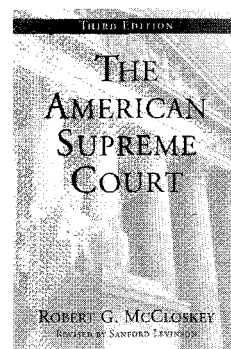


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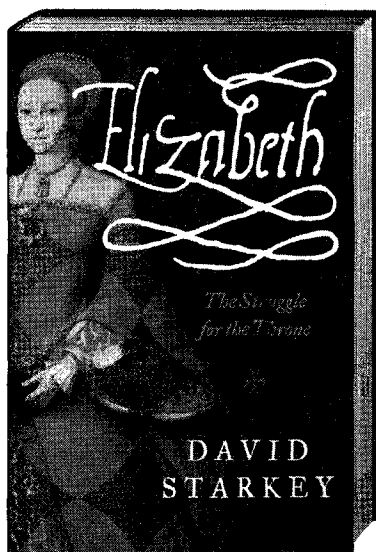
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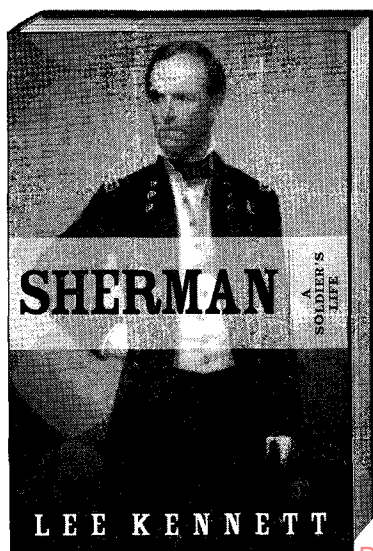
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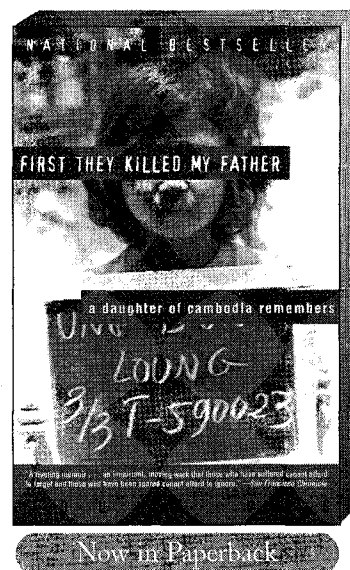
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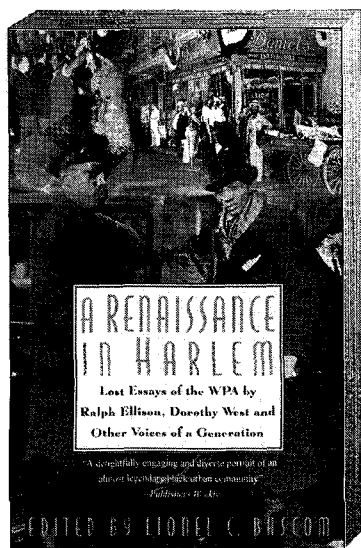


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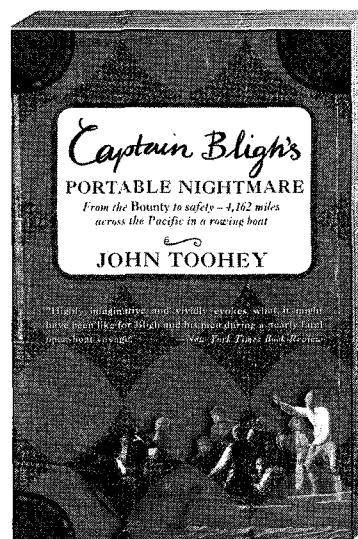
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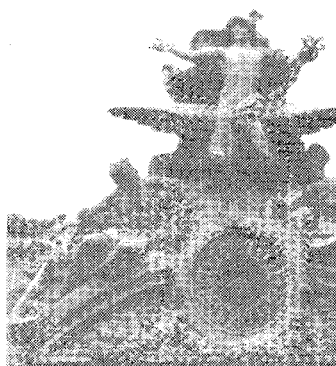
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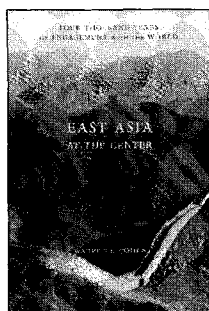
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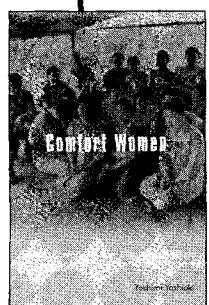
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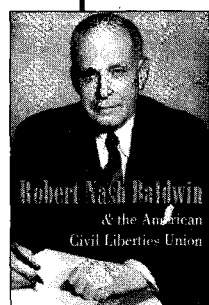
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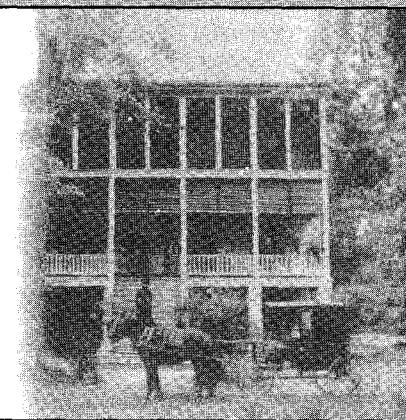
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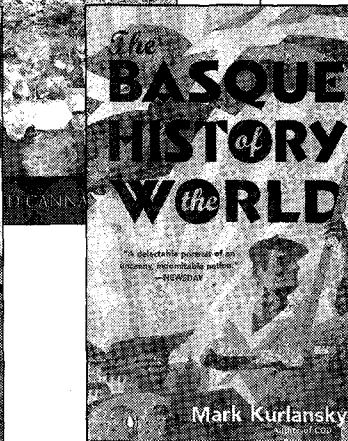
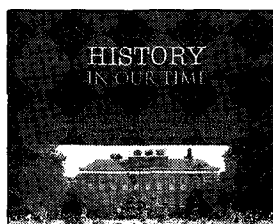
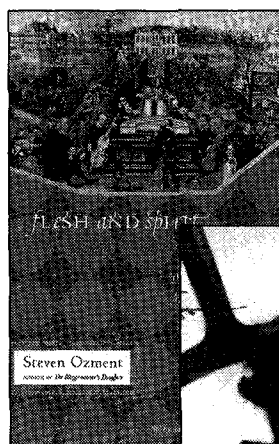
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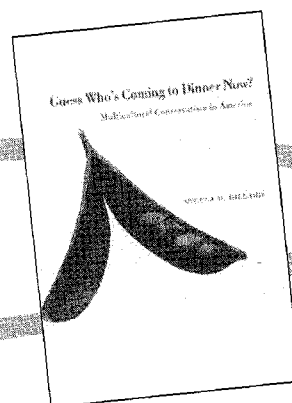
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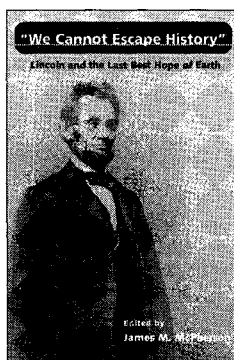


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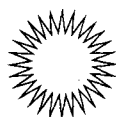
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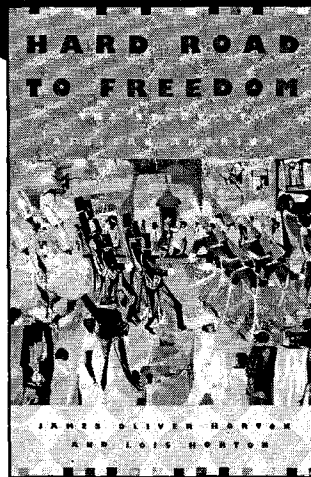
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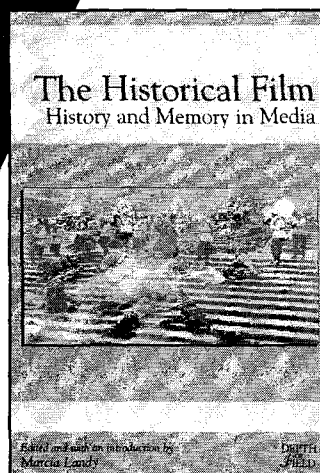
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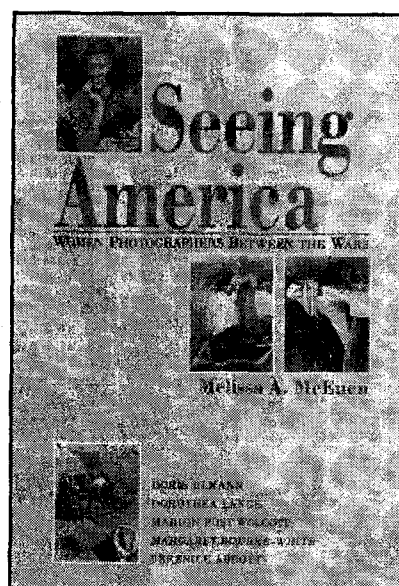
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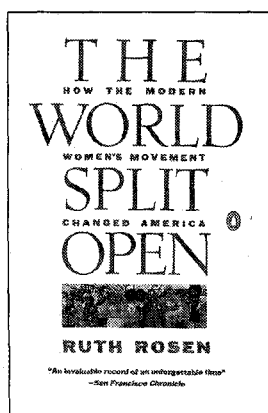
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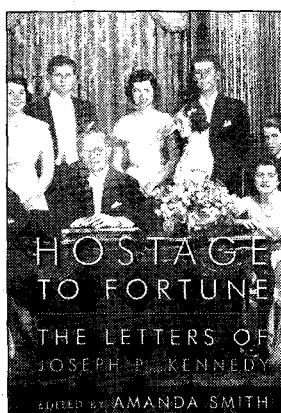
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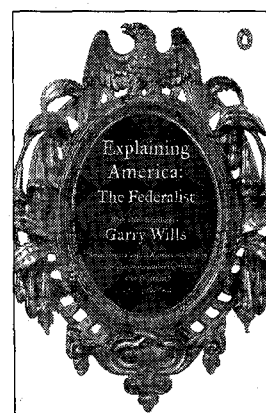
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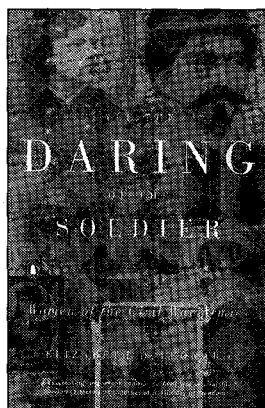
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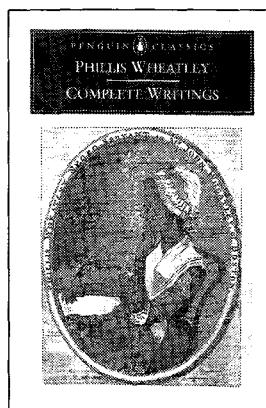
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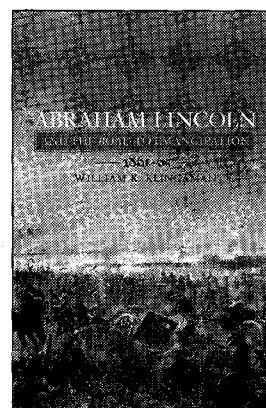
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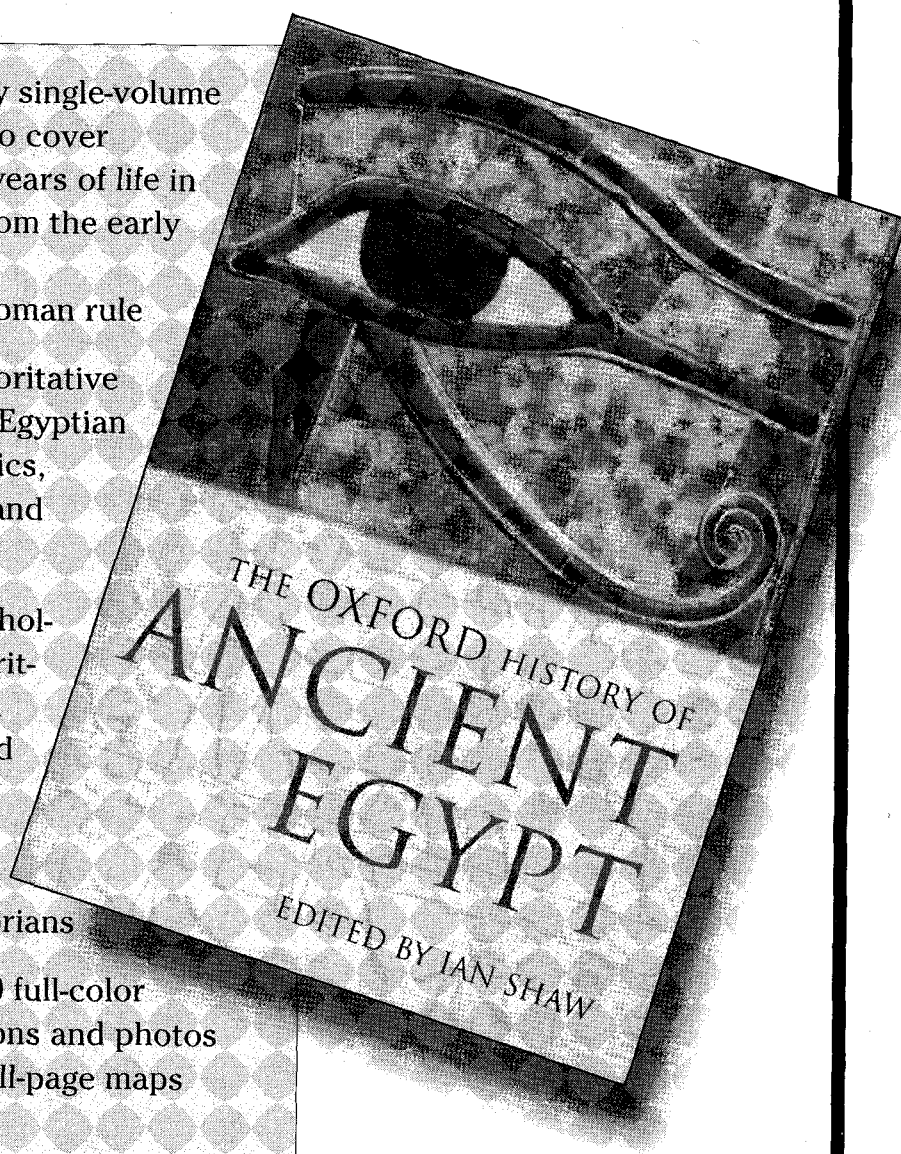
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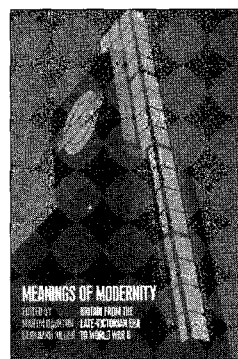
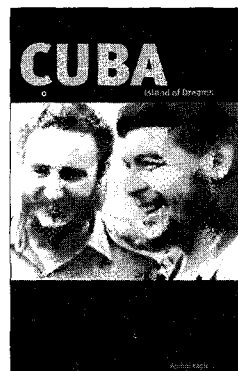
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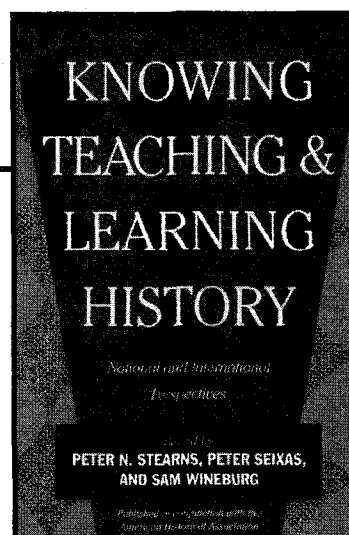
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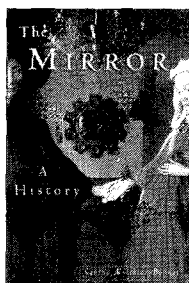
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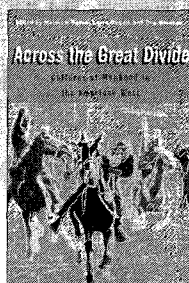
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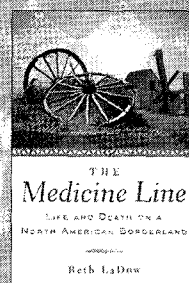
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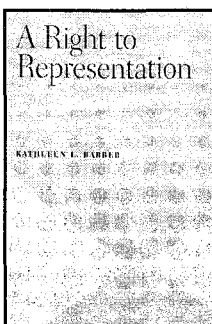
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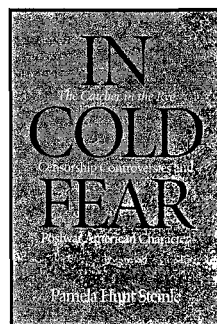
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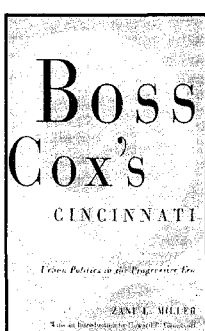
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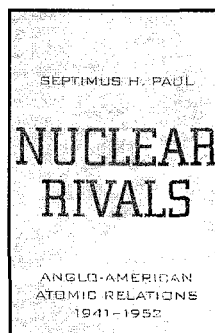
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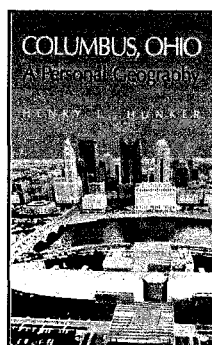
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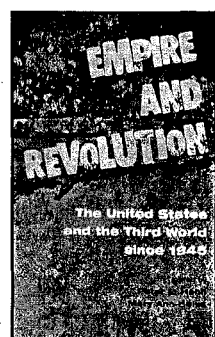
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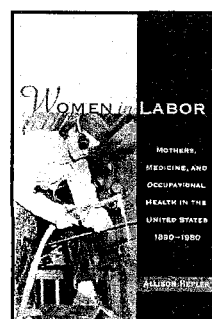
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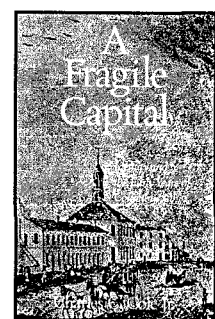
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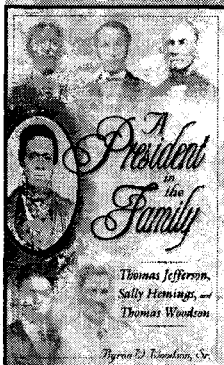
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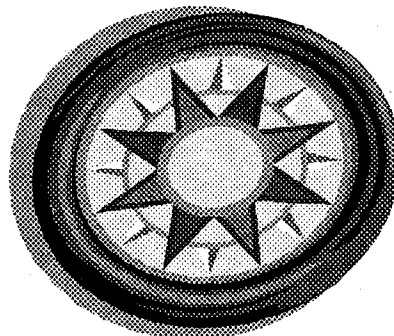
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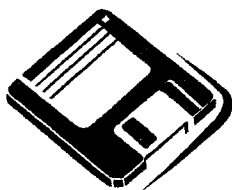
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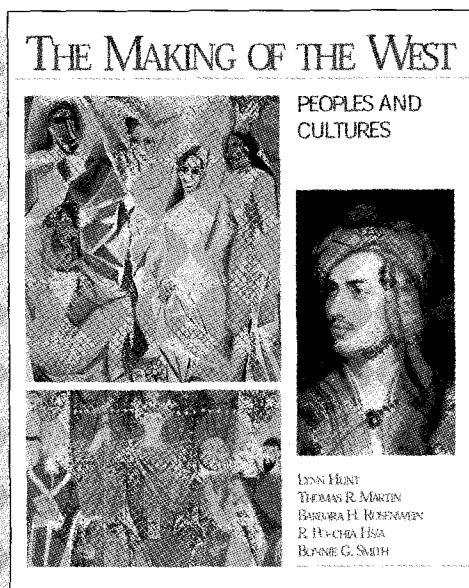
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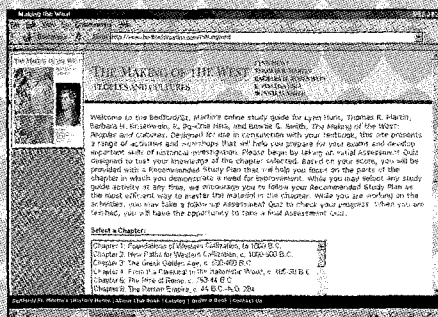
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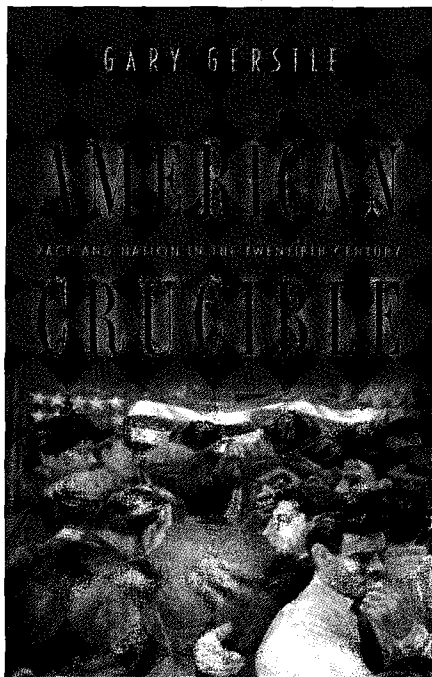
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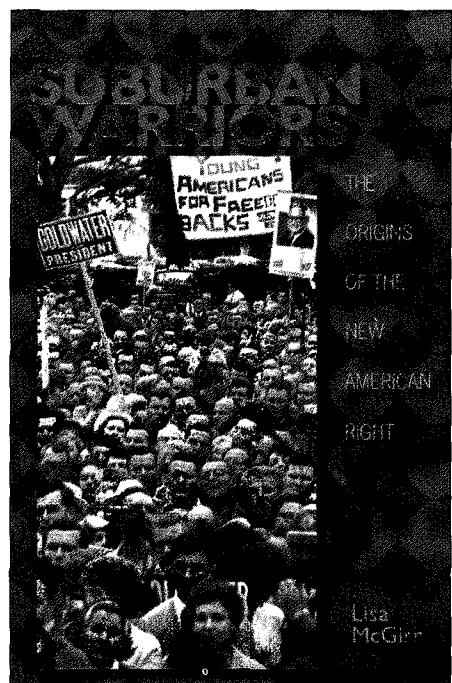
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